

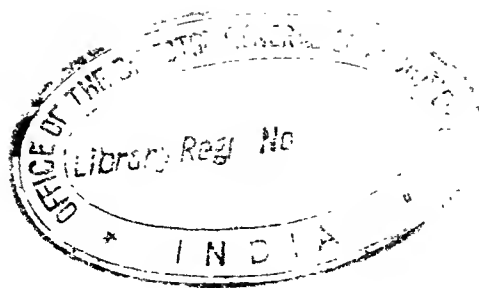
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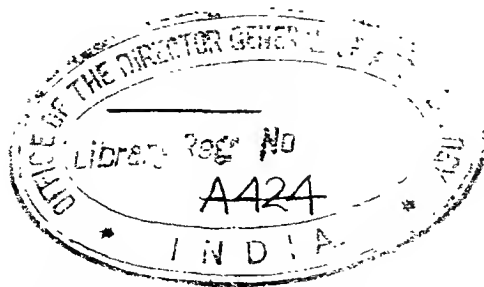
HINDUSTAN REVIEW

INDIA'S JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY, POLITICS AND LITERATURE



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The Hindustan Review

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1900

BY
Sachchidananda Sinha.

Vol. XLVIII]

JANUARY, 1925

[No. 283

A GHAZAL.

Farthest from Thee I depart, nighest I come to Thee !

Most forgetting Thee, most I remember Thee !

Rose of the World, whatever nightingale singeth,

Sing what he may, that nightingale singeth to Thee !

J. C. Johnston.

Xmas, 1924.

New Year, 1925.

POLITICAL INDIA IN 1924.

BELGAUM AND ITS LESSONS.

(Contributed).

The year 1924 was a busy one for India. It was packed with mighty events. Protean changes came over parties and politics in quick succession. The country was torn by communal discord and ravaged by disastrous floods. The melancholy retrospect is not, however, unrelieved. Failure helped swollen enthusiasm to steady down. The New Year has dawned under the eaves of a chastened nationalism.

The last year was rich both in the number and variety of its occurrences. But nothing

was so conspicuous on the scene as the dyarchal system and the peculiar politics which it engendered. When an English schoolboy described dyarchy as "a kind of disease just now prevalent in India" little did people suspect that he was blundering on the right side. But it was not long before most of them were convinced rightly or wrongly of the truth of the boy's ignorant assertion. Publicists, politicians and ex-ministers clubbed together to strip it of its trappings. As the *Statesman* of Calcutta put

it, "Mr. Montagu's scheme has gone to its doom amidst irreverent laughter."

The Swarajists began the game of throwing discredit upon the doomed thing. They burst in the Councils with the avowed intention of carrying fire and sword with them. In the Central Provinces where they enjoyed a thumping majority, the Swarajists were as good as their word and threw out every Government measure in a spell of promiscuous Parnellism. They carried a want of confidence against the Ministers. Later on they refused supplies and with a touch of quaint humour fixed the ministerial salaries at the magnanimous amount of Rs. 2. Seldom has any Government been jeered at with such light-hearted irreverence. The Swarajists were out to be nasty. The embarrassed Governor of the Central Provinces was thus driven to the bitter necessity of assuming charge of the 'transferred' subjects.

The Swarajist 'victories' in the Central Legislature were second only to their record in the Central Provinces. Although they were at first in a minority in this Indian House of Commons they soon enlisted the sympathy of the Independents with whom they formed a somewhat fluid phalanx known as the National Party. Mr. Rangachariar the 'Independent' protagonist of Self-governing Dominion Status within the Empire for India closed with Mr. Motilal Nehru and their joint efforts carried a resolution for the convening of a Round Table Conference to draft a scheme for the immediate inauguration of full responsible government in India. This resolution was passed in the teeth of the Government opposition who were not prepared to overstep the four corners of the Government of India Act. Such attitude on the part of the Government coupled with the Jaito shooting and the disappointing statement of the first Labour Secretary of State helped the diverse elements of the National Party to combine in a dead opposition against the Executive. The result was the refusal of leave to introduce the "overflow" Financial Bill into the Legislative Assembly, an act which, though inconsequential, had the immediate effect of concentrating popular attention on the Swarajists' cinematographic scuffle with the bureaucracy.

In Bengal also the Swarajists gave no shelter to government. Their excellent party organization here as elsewhere carried everything before them. In Bengal the Swarajists twisted the lion's tail 'a little too thick.' Refusal of

salaries to Ministers, mangling the grants for certain of the 'transferred' subjects and all the rest of it followed one another in triumphal procession. When about the middle of the year the Government of Bengal sought to introduce a Supplementary Bill for Minister's Salaries, the quick-witted Swarajists secured a mandamus from the High Court to prevent the Bill from being placed before the house. Such comic collisions between the Executive and the Judiciary were, however, extinguished once for all by an alteration in the 'rules' and the Supplementary Bill was introduced. The Swarajists knocked 'the bad halfpenny' by a narrow majority of two members. This was a 'sock-dologer' and the Reforms have had their quittance in Bengal. The hilarious victors danced on the high ropes.

Nor was this all. For shortly after this incident the Lee Commission Report came up for consideration in the Legislative Assembly. Opinion in India was generally against the setting up of the Commission. The impression had gained ground that it was a device 'to make fat salaries fatter.' "The Government of India wanted to have a resolution passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly in favour of the carrying out of the recommendations of the Lee Commission." Here again the Swarajists defeated the Government by a large majority. Another noteworthy Swarajist victory was the passing of a resolution in favour of the abolition of the excise duty on Indian cotton goods. Thus the Swarajya Party won the applause of Extremist opinion throughout India in the year 1924.

The Liberals, on the other hand, were quiescent. Their timid vacillation kept them in the background. They were moreover very sparse in the Legislatures. Theirs was, therefore, no more than 'a voice from the edge of the crowd.' Indeed *liberalism* is everywhere at a discount. People want furore, and fanfare, cautious steps will not take in these days of thrills. It is perhaps unfortunate that the Liberals lack popular support which alone can make their policy tell. For that policy, in the opinion of the writer, is, at any rate, practical and full of promise. But it has never been given a fair trial—a statement, to which the Swarajists naturally demur. If the Liberals begin to live in actual contact with the masses and work for their amelioration, they will surely come to the fore and hasten India's march along the path of progress.

But that is neither here nor there. Let us therefore resume our review and chronicle the main events. As we have seen the Swarajists swept the board with regard to their policy of obstruction. Their successes were, however, not confined to the Councils. For they captured not only the councils but also the Indian National Congress. When Mr. Gandhi was released early in the year, the Swarajists must have had lively apprehensions that he might taboo their aberrant activities. And it soon became clear that the author of the non-co-operation movement still swore by it and set his face against the evangel of Council entry. Mr. Gandhi spent some time at the seaside to recuperate his health and to take stock of the situation. He had no idea of the volume of water that had flown under the bridges since his incarceration. He little knew that his non-co-operation was dead and buried. He fancied that the country was still with him. He therefore attempted to exclude the Swarajists from the Congress on the ground that their policy was in contravention of the non-co-operation programme on which the Congress had set its imprimatur. But Mr. Gandhi had reckoned without his host. This became clear at the All-India Congress Committee which met at Ahmedabad in June. As one writer puts it, "Their (Swarajists) energy, their resourcefulness, and their excellent organization had gone far to shake the Mahatma's hold upon the political classes." Mr. Gandhi had tabled a number of resolutions which if carried would have sacked the Swarajists from the Congress organization. He, however, realized in the course of the discussions that he had greatly underestimated the strength of the Swarajists and that he was no more the undisputed autocrat of all India. He, therefore, considerably modified his resolutions to preclude the secession of the Swarajists. He had tried to browbeat them but got the worst of it. With characteristic frankness he confessed that he was defeated and humbled. It was an hour of sad disillusion to Mr. Gandhi. The *che'as* had become the mentors of their master and had begun to order him about as they pleased.

A word about Mr. C. R. Das may not be out of place here. He is essentially an emotional man. To be sure, impulses are the spring of his conduct. Such a man often finds that his impulses run away with him and land him in all manner of difficulties. For example, Mr. Das

extolled at Serajunge the motive of Gopinath Saha in murdering a white man while he condemned his action, and thus created for him a nasty situation from which all his logic and legal acumen have not been able to rescue him. Mr. Gandhi on the other hand always keeps his head and seldom allows reason to yield to emotion. He carried a resolution at the Ahmedabad Meeting roundly condemning Gopinath Saha lock, stock and barrel. Temperamentally Das and Gandhi are poles asunder. Their policies likewise are ditto. Yet they struck a bargain and concluded the now famous *Calcutta Pact*.

But before coming to this *volte face* we have just to glance at those orgies of communal riots which filled the better portion of the nation with shame and dismay. The bloody outbursts spread like wildfire and plunged the land into dark despair. The terrible tragedy of Kohat was the last straw. Mr. Gandhi was unable to bear the pangs of this insane suicide of the nation any longer. In his extreme helplessness, on September 18th, he announced a fast of 21 days as a penance for the heartless conduct of his countrymen. This roused the leaders to the acuteness of the situation and an assemblage of representative Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees, Sikhs, Indian Christians and even Englishmen met on the 26th September at Delhi to devise means to compose the communal differences. This gathering has aptly been called the *Unity Conference*. It undoubtedly is a landmark in the painful annals of Hindu-Moslem relations. This Conference passed some noteworthy resolutions, chief among which was the one to constitute an All-India Panchayat of 15 persons whose task it is to appoint local Panchayats all over India to help the two communities to live and to let live. Mr. Gandhi's fast did not a little to arrest enlightened attention to the communal squabbles which have been poisoning the springs of our national life so long.

The next milestone of the year is the Bengal Ordinance. This Executive *ukase* put summary powers into the hands of the Government to deal with the revolutionary party and anarchical crime in Bengal, the existence of which, the Government maintained, had been proved to their satisfaction by overwhelming evidence. Under the Ordinance some 70 persons were arrested and put away. Several of them including the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation were prominent Swarajists. This *lent colour* to the suspicion that the Government

were out to suppress the Swarajya Party. Mr. Gandhi hurried down to Calcutta and concluded his famous Pact with Mr. Das by which he consented to suspend Non-co-operation and to suffer the activities of the Swarajists in the Legislatures in return for the adoption of a *spinning franchise* by the latter for Congress membership. This was a virtual surrender on the part of Mr. Gandhi to Swarajist truculence but he justified it on the ground that the Bengal Ordinance had made not only closing the ranks but also but-tressing the Swarajists imperative. Close on the heels of this Pact a Unity Conference met in Bombay to devise means of bringing about united action among the various political parties in the country. There was general agreement on the gravity of the situation created by the Ordinance and on the supreme necessity for united action. A resolution was passed condemning the Ordinance in downright terms. The chances of unity, however, seemed to be not very hopeful. Says the *Hindu Annual Supplement* optimistically, "The fact that the leadership of the Congress in the coming year is to be in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi, who has been unanimously elected to the ensuing session at Belgaum, and that Mahatmaji himself is the President of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Conference for suggesting measures for bringing about unity and drafting a constitution should inspire in us hope and faith in the settlement of the problem and in the future progress of the nation towards freedom."

It was under the shadow of such exciting and epochal circumstances that the Congress met at Belgaum under the distinguished presidency of Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

The Presidential address was a short speech of concise thoughts couched in compact English that Mr. Gandhi delivered from the Congress rostrum. He opened the address with a brief account of the Non-co-operation Movement. "From the September of 1929" he said, "the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within." While admitting that "not a single boycott was anywhere near completion" he maintained that "every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted."

Undoubtedly. But may we not ask if the diminution of the prestige of Government can actually advance the interests of India? The

boycotts were started with the object of bringing about the paralysis of a 'satanic government.' They, however caused only some loss in its prestige, not its paralysis. Quite naturally this led to a general but ill-reasoned contempt for Government. Was not this contempt mainly responsible for those outbreaks of violence that called forth no end of pathetic outpourings from Gandhiji? However the following emphatic words are noteworthy. "It is my deliberate conviction that non-violent non-co-operation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could give."

Again his eloquent plea for unity is characteristic of the high-souled prophet that he is. Says he, "What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have seceded to rejoin the Congress. If non-co-operation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us, Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in."

"You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swarajists."

Mahatmaji enlarges copiously on the boycott of foreign cloth. He gives ample reasons why in his agreement with the Swarajists the boycott of foreign cloth alone has been retained and emphasized. For him it is an effective substitute for violent method. We do not know if it is possible to associate with Khaddar all that Mr. Gandhi claims for it, but there is no doubt that we may do worse than encourage the increasing use of Khaddar by example as well as by precept. It must however be admitted that to universalise the spinning wheel at this time of the day is, if not impossible, an up-hill job indeed. Non-violence may take but not the spinning wheel. It goes against the grain of the Modern Indian. It is far too tame an occupation to catch popular fancy. Nor does it substantially cater for the *inner man*. Of course, those who have nothing better to do must embrace the wheel effusively. If, as Mr. Gandhi affirms, Britain's chief interest centres

round the Lancashire trade with India and if it is the one thing that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had, the easiest way to remove the evil is to spread the exclusive use of Indian cloth through the length and breadth of the country. It may be pointed out that this will not give the Indian peasant his supplementary occupation back. But when once we have got rid of Lancashire, it will be time to look about for means to rehabilitate the peasant. It is hardly advisable to fritter away time trying to kill two birds with one stone. As long as Gandhiji continues to glorify the spinning wheel beyond all reasonable bounds, suspicion will, here and there, be in evidence that he has a bee in his bonnet. However his great sincerity in these matters is his best claim to be heard.

Regarding *Hindu-Moslem Unity and untouchability* Mr. Gandhi did not say anything that he had not said before. But the following excerpt is so noble and true that it cannot be quoted too often.

"I would however warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves. The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us 'superior' Hindus to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions like nations are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they

can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality."

Mr. Gandhi then proceeds to enunciate a dozen points for the consideration of the All-Parties' Conference in framing a scheme of Swaraj. They will repay perusal.

- (1) "The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for the Congress Franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish to take part in the Government and the well-being of the State."

A catchy suggestion. The exaltation of work, not of manual work alone, is desirable. But suppose mere labourers sweep the constituencies. There's the rub. It is more than one can say if the proletariat will ever be able to guide the destinies of a country wisely and well.

- (2) "The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times."

None will say nay. If Lancashire has ruined the poor Indian peasant, a huge and increasing military expenditure has nearly ruined poor India.

- (3) "Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decision of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases."

The last part of the last sentence in the above is important. When higher education becomes universal, the profession of law may very well be given a long and much-to-be-desired respite.

- (4) "Revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished."

For the simple reason that otherwise no Government can be *for the people*, not even Government by the people.

- (5) "Salaries of the Civil and Military Services should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country."

If this is done the unseemly scramble for the loaves and fishes will lose much of its present rancour and the country will have its quittance from the rank communalism of to-day.

- (6) "There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth."

Aggressive and arrogant provincialism may well be the first fruits of such an arrangement.

- (7) "Appointment of a Commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the Commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired."

Highly desirable. But the Commission will certainly not have an easy time of it.

- (8) "Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in Self-governing India."

Too big a subject for a categorical and extempore solution. After all this is a matter for the subjects of the States to decide.

- (9) "Repeal of all arbitrary powers."
(10) "The highest post to be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military Services to be in India."
(11) "Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance."

These do not call for comment.

- (12) "The official language for Provincial Governments, Legislatures and Courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province: of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani; the script to be either Devanagiri or Persian. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of International Diplomacy to be English."

This is far too much to ask even from such born linguists as ourselves. Most of us would be satisfied with English and a far wider use of the vernaculars.

It is gratifying to find Mr. Gandhi urging "every Congress-man not to be insistent on independence in each and every case, not because there is anything impossible about it, *but because it is wholly unnecessary** till it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary."

Britain must be a jolly old fool to mean subjugation in perpetuity.

Mr. Gandhi has some penetrating observations to make regarding repression in Bengal. They are given below.

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation; and lastly
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the Legislature which is of their own creation.

Here is a bit of tonic philosophy to help Bengal *dree her weird*.

"Repression, if it does not cow us down, if it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of Swaraj; for it puts us on our mettle and evokes the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger. Repression does for a true man or a nation what fire does for gold."

The address, on the whole was a forceful appeal to the nation and ought to help on India's advance towards Swaraj.

The two important things done by the Congress this year were the adoption of the *spinning franchise* and the affiliation of Swarajist activities in the Legislatures with itself.

We are told that the attendance at the Congress exceeded 20,000 persons and that Mr. Gandhi's popularity seemed to be as extensive as ever. Belgaum with its 18 All-India Conferences must have presented a panoramic miniature of picturesque India.

WAYFARER.

*Italics ours.

IS WEST MATERIAL AND EAST SPIRITUAL?

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore denounced the material West, with all its lusts for power, greed and wealth, because with the spread of Western materialism, the world was developing a separateness, race hatreds and race inferiority. But he called on the East to make good use of its opportunity, which is moral, and to cherish its faith in a civilization that "recognised hospitality and revered spiritual gifts."

The innate and inexplicable distaste of most men for thinking things out for themselves is one of the curious facts the history of human thought has to reveal. It is indeed amazing with what pathetic simplicity great masses of men would let themselves be swayed and mastered by certain ideas and delusions floating in the air. There may be really no basis for a notion or an assertion, yet finding everybody around us tacitly and unquestioningly accepting it, we not only readily adopt it ourselves but would consider any contradiction of it to be an unmistakable sign of cussedness or of pure perversity hardly to be borne with patience.

"The East is spiritual and the West is material" is one such proposition the truth of which is universally taken for granted both in the East and in the West. No logical statement of facts is more readily accepted by the public press in England nor any mention of national achievements more instantly acclaimed in India than the above baseless generalisation about the fundamental difference between the East and the West. And yet this generalisation is not wholly baseless but like others of its kind has a real substratum of truth and fact.

There was a period in the history of India and the East generally when a class of men, foremost in intellect and character,—being taught by the vast stores of knowledge handed down to them and confirmed by their own sifting experience of the peculiar limitations of this existence of ours,—gave up as vain and unprofitable the normal pursuits of men in the direction of making their way in the world and securing for themselves the good things of life. They took instead to investigating the invisible realities of life by sounding the abysmal depths of their own personality and solving the still-unresolved problems of human death and destiny. All these vast and profound researches of theirs

led them in one way or another to the general conclusion that all that we see, hear, feel, smell and touch in this physical world,—in other words, all that we can cognise or achieve by means of our five senses, has nothing of permanent value in it and is pure illusion or *Maya* without any foundation in reality. Consequently, to spend our time and energy in the pursuit of objects that has this ineradicable taint of unreality and impermanence is so much time and energy wasted. Better would it be for men to withdraw themselves from these wasteful activities of the senses and spend their allotted years in living in the realms of thought and of the spirit which, being the great domains of Truth and Reality, lead to the immediate exaltation of the individual soul and the permanent advancement of mankind as a whole.

This Mania of *Maya* once set going by the most active minds in the East and being peculiarly adapted to Eastern temperament found a fruitful soil in the heart and conscience of its people and permanent expression in their song and philosophy. But when the *mayama* filtered down to the bedrock of inert and infructuous masses, it underwent an inevitable transformation. For those great minds when they demonstrated the evanescence of the things of this life and unmasked the treachery of the senses, they did so by organising and personally conducting hazardous expeditions into the rich and closely guarded regions of the Unknown and returning therefrom laden with nameless treasures and priceless trophies. When, however, their non-descript multitudinous heirs came into free and unearned possession of the fruits of their splendid conquests, they, like some of the prodigal heirs of modern capitalists, gladly lived on the accumulated wealth of their forbears, and finding it unnecessary or being unable to make any

further contributions to it, soon ate up the original capital and had, in consequence, to move about in the rags and tatters of their once splendid spiritual heritage. The result was that, ever since the time of Asoka, the East,—apart from the brilliant and epoch-making achievements of Islam,—became the bulwark of decadent conservatism and the repository of effete and devitalised store of knowledge and wisdom. Its people following suit, made a fetish of forms, formulas and formalities and hugged to their hearts rules, rites and routine. Religion was lost in superstition, art in mere uninspired imitation and philosophy in dreary, senile repetition. To such a pass have a mighty people come,—people who were once creators of art, masters of mind, lords of thought; because, forsooth, they mistook a stray verdict of philosophy for a true end of existence, despised matter and enthroned Maya, called the senses a cheat and the things of the world a snare and a delusion.

* * * *

From them let us turn to certain other people who welcomed Matter with open arms, put their trust in the Senses and gladly took to the normal pursuits of men in the direction of making their way in the world and securing for themselves the good things of life. These people of the West did not rest with merely welcoming matter or believing in the senses, but they explored matter and exploited the senses and brought out the vast and wonderful possibilities of them both. And what has been the result of this ceaseless exploration of matter, this tireless delving in the secrets of the senses? Space and time have been annihilated; air conquered, disease vanquished, heavens mapped out, the invisible made visible, nay even the doors of death, barred and locked fast, are swaying and tottering before the invincible Spirit of the West, this spirit which is:—

“Ever longing, forever sighing
For the far-off, unattain’d and dim.”

But I shall be told that these things and many others were discovered in the East long, long before the West even dreamt of them and that the vaunted air-ships and the wizardry of the wireless and the rest of the modern scientific witchcraft, of which the West is so proud and at which the thoughtless among us stand agape

and wondering, were not unknown to the people of the East when their great Shastras were produced and their immortal scriptures written.

I am not certain if those things spoken of in the Shastras and other Scriptures of the East about ships flying in the air, of carriages moving without horses, and of people communicating through space were not intelligent anticipations of future possibilities rather than verifiable narrations of concrete achievements. But even were they concrete achievements, they would only substantiate my argument. When those daring souls of the East, of whom I spoke before, were making deep inroads into the treasure-fields of the Unknown, they returned laden with a rich and plenteous booty in the shape of a profound knowledge of the hidden laws of nature and of the secret contrivances by which Mind masters Matter. And it is in this mastery of mind over matter, which includes among other things the discoveries of science and the inventions of mankind, that the essence of spiritualism, truly so-called, lies. For spiritualism is not a mere vapid belief in Spirit nor an implied distrust in Matter. On the contrary, true spiritualism has such a vital faith in matter and is besides so completely involved in it that far from despising or ignoring it, it lives in and through matter. For the life of the Spirit consists not in ignoring but in organising Matter, not in superseding or destroying but in impregnating and beautifying Matter, nay, in transforming, transmuting and transfiguring Matter. This is exactly what “the material West” has been doing ever since “the Spiritual East” turned its back on the Spirit of Research and shirked the terrors of the Unknown.

Nor again is the life of the spirit an attachment to any set system or formal cult of the spirit. Spirit never clings to its forms but ever renews them. It is often among those who style themselves spiritualists, as the *yogees* and *sanyassis* of the East do, that the true life of the spirit is least to be found. On the other hand, there have been individuals and small sects of men who have, like the agnostics and scientists of the West, openly denied the spirit and gladly called themselves materialists and yet their whole life has proved them to be the finest exponents of true spirituality in as much as their works have been the truest, though unconscious, creations of the spirit. It is the Soul’s egoism, its indifference towards obscu-

city of form, its refusal to accomplish in the midst of chaos the work of light, in other words, its failure to spiritualise matter, that go to make for materialism in the true sense of the word. For, materialism consists essentially in a certain deadness of the creative faculties, in the growing inertia and incapacity of the Soul to follow the spirit in its perpetual renewal, readjustment and redintegration of matter.

It is under the cloak of pseudo-spiritualism of formal cults and set systems that materialism of this most insidious and deadly type, has taken possession of the soul of "the spiritual East" for past many centuries. While the soul

of "the material West" has been for the same period busy organising, beautifying and transfiguring matter with the result that it has produced the truest works of creation and now stands at the head of every department of arts and sciences and so leads the vanguard of human thought and action.

Though it is truly said that there is no surer way of perverting facts or befogging the issues of a discussion than by labelling them, still if the discussion called for labels, it would be nearer the mark and more in the fitness of things to exchange the present labels of East and West and call East material and West spiritual.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN MYSORE.

(Contributed).

Earl Ronaldshay writing in the British Press, not long ago, held up for admiration the constitutional Reforms introduced in Mysore by the direction of H. H. The Maharaja. Such commendation from such a quarter may look somewhat strange; and even suspect. But it is to be remembered that the Mysore Reforms, for an Indian State which has had the benefits of a thoroughly modernised administration for nearly eighty years is not by any means either novel or excessive. The peculiar *local* conditions which the framers of new scheme had to meet have made it impossible, perhaps, for foreign critics either to grasp its essential features or their implications. The scheme, if analyzed, will be seen to possess certain virtues which should not be ignored. Nobody, at the same time, can deny the fact that it has been attacked by local critics as not sufficiently comprehensive. It would not do for me to anticipate here the examination of the scheme as finally adopted, which is attempted herein, but I might, in passing remark, say that the scheme, if worked, will disclose where it is really defective and where it is really an advance. Defects of the minor type can always be remedied, if good-will prevails on both sides. Defects as to fundamentals stand on an altogether different

basis. Unless there is a change in the policy, there cannot, it may be given out without denar, be any change in the basis of the constitution. It is possible that in the next few years there may come about a change in the policy of the State in regard to the fundamentals of the constitution, and it is possible that the advance then will be more marked than has been the case in the past. What is required at present is a *desire* and a *willingness* to work the new constitution to the best advantage of the people and get the most that is possible out of it. If this is done, there is not the shadow of a doubt that a further instalment of Reform will follow as a *direct* consequence of such action. The policy of the people should be a plain and straightforward one to gird up their loins to the task and to discharge their duties with the utmost goodwill towards it and its authors.

Now, what are the merits of the scheme as set out in H. H. The Maharaja's Proclamation and the Legislative measures giving effect to it?

I. Diarchy which is not wanted in British India, has been avoided.

II. The powers of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council are enlarged, while the basis of each of these institutions is broadened to an extent which will

bear comparison with any advanced country, East or West.

III. Disqualification of women from registering as voters has been discarded.

IV. Graduates (without property qualifications) are given the right of registration. (This is not so even in England, where the registered graduate has a vote only in connection with the election of University representatives). This is a valuable privilege so far as the general constituencies are concerned, and is eminently in keeping with Indian sentiment.

V. The strength of the Representative Assembly has not been decreased, while its membership has been confined to non-officials. Under the scheme 275 members is the limit prescribed—150 from Rural areas; 30 to 50 from Urban areas; 15 to special interests; and 35 to unrepresented minorities. [The British House of Commons consists of 670 members and the electors number about $8\frac{1}{3}$ millions, i.e., about $1/6$ th of the total population. The Mysore Representative Assembly as now constituted has 275 members, i.e., slightly less than half the strength of the House of Commons, while its voting strength has been raised from about 28,000 to 100,000.]

VI. Communal Electorates have been avoided and with it much unnecessary strife has been done away with. The establishment of what are really Electoral Colleges for the return of members by recognized minorities is a solution that ought to be widely welcomed. It points a way out of a bad *impasse* to British India.

VII. A statutory basis is given to the Representative Assembly.

VIII. The Representative Assembly is entirely non-official; and the Legislative Council will contain a statutory non-official majority controlling legislation and finance. (Out of 50 members, 30 are non-officials—8 from Representative Assembly, 2 from Urban Constituencies, and 8 from Rural Constituencies, 4 from Non-territorial Constituencies, and 8 nominated by Government to represent special interests and minorities or for any other cause. A constitution like this means popular control over both initiative and legislation. Wisely used, this power of popular control ought to mean much.

IX. *Widening of the constitutional rights of the Representative Assembly*:—It has, under the scheme, the privileges of interpellating and

of being consulted on the levy of new taxes—"New tax" being defined by the Mysore Representative Regulation as "any tax which requires for its imposition the passing of a new regulation or the amendment of an existing Regulation"—and, except in cases of urgency, also on the general principles of all measures of legislation within the cognizance of the Legislative Council. It has also the right of passing resolutions on matters relating to public administration, and on the general principles and policy underlying the annual State Budget. The Assembly has the right to decide on all questions on which its opinion is taken. As regards the Legislative Council, it has, subject to the usual limitations as to matters relating to the Paramount Power, the Ruling House, and like matters, the power to make laws and regulations. As to the Budget, it may assent or refuse to assent to a demand, or reduce the amount either by reduction of the whole grant or by omission or reduction of any of the items of expenditure of which the grant is composed. There are the usual limitations as to restoration of disallowed demands, which will be referred to below, and as to items scheduled to be outside its purview. The Council has, of course, the right to interpellate and to move resolutions.

X. Standing Committees to be elected by the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council to enable these bodies to maintain closer touch with and influence the everyday administration of the State. Three such Standing Committees have already been sanctioned.

XI. The Economic Development Board to be reconstituted that they might get into closer relationship with the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. There will be practically three other Standing Committees. This re-construction of the Board has already been effected.

XII. Revision of the constitution, powers, and functions of Municipal Councils, District and Taluk Boards and Village Panchayats so as to give them the largest possible measure of responsibility and autonomy in the administration of local affairs.

In the scheme as proclaimed and legislatively put through, it must be acknowledged caution has been the guiding factor. Though reform by high explosives has been commended at times, in the particular circumstances of Mysore,

caution has been specially needed. First, because of its peculiar obligations under its Treaty with the British Government of India. Secondly, because it has a great reputation for statesmanship bequeathed to it, which it is its duty to maintain. And thirdly, because it has to see to it that in ending one era, it sets its feet on another firmly and well. Critics should bear in mind that (1) some division of functions is necessary as between the Government and the people's representatives; (2) some division of labour between the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council; and (3) some co-ordination of work as between these two by a person who is in close touch with both these bodies. The *raison d'être* of the scheme will be apparent when these three cardinal points are borne in mind. The much criticised factor in the scheme—the Dewan of the State presiding in both the Assembly and the Council will now, perhaps, be clear. Similarly the reason for the institution of Standing Committees and the abandonment of the Diarchic form of Government will be easily perceived. As a forward step, the scheme has merits that cannot be summarily brushed aside. Particularly there is much to be said in favour of the divisions of functions and powers as between the different parts of the body politic, apart from the prerogative of H. H. the Maharajah. All modern experience seems to us to point to the advantages of centralization of power and a delegation of functions. The scheme, as administrated, is, to our minds, well poised. What is required is working it to the fullest extent. At the end of, say, ten years, the change would be so great that who knows Responsible Government of the full pledged Western type may not follow—instead of the halting Diarchy which is neither here nor there nor anywhere indeed. One word more on this head, before we leave it. The casting away of Diarchy means, on the financial side, not a little, as we know now from the working of the British Indian models set up to us and worked for some three years now. We know people will say we can work it cheaper out here, but we think the grounds for thinking so are not quite so plain to us.

It seems strange that those aspects of the scheme which mean additional powers and rights have appealed so little to the public, while those aspects of it which will not take away anything from their exercise of them have created just the impression they should not. The fact is that

while the power conceded is solid, there is nothing to create a glamour about it. The result is what it has been. It has been attacked from at least three sides: (1) that there is no real yielding of Sovereign Power (in the constitutional sense) to the People. This can only result if the Sovereign of the State gave up a part of his Prerogative in favour of the people. This is nowhere the case, and those who urge this as a point against the scheme can have little or no idea of Constitutional history. (2) That the Government *qua* Government is not the people's Government in as much as there is no popular 'Minister' chosen by the people's representatives or nominated by H. H. the Maharajah's Government in their place on its executive side. Nowhere does the proclamation bar this and this may yet follow hereafter. If the powers now bestowed are well utilized the Government would themselves soon see the utility of having a representative at least of the people within the fold of the Government. That is the very reason why the present scheme should be taken advantage of to the fullest extent. Confidence begets confidence. Trust and test go together in political advance as in business. (3) That it is inexpedient that the Dewan of the State should be President of the Representative Assembly and of the Council, that the Government (apart from H. H. the Maharajah) should have power under section 12 of the Legislative Council Regulations to frame emergency Regulation to have force for six months from date of its promulgation, and that the Government (apart from H. H. the Maharajah) should have the power under section 13 to restore Budget demands disallowed by the Council, and to authorize in cases of emergency such expenditure as may, in its opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquility of the State or any part thereof, or for the discharge of Government's responsibility. This criticism is based on a variety of misconceptions, three of which may be set down here. First, the position of the Dewan of the State is usually held by an Indian and it is manifest he is and will be more so in the future, likely to think with the people than any Governor of an Indian Province may be expected to do. What affects him will likewise affect them and *vice versa*. The chances of a Dewan-President proving anything other than acceptable to the peoples' representatives, or the Government at the head of which he stands, restoring a demand properly

disallowed or framing an emergency legislation not required by the people are really little. These provisos are set down by way of caution and no more. Experience shows that the very provisions which are least likely to come to the fore in the actual working of the new Constitution should attract wider attention than the parts of it which mean more strength, more power and more authority to the people. These are merely safeguards and limitations which necessarily exist in every scheme of Government. There is no reason to misunderstand their real functions in the early stages of what might be termed a scheme of progressive realisation of "Responsible Government." They should not, in any case, be taken out of their context, and made the starting points for attack of the whole scheme. Secondly, in regard to these safeguards (about emergency legislation and restoration of disallowed grants) the position of the Government is analogous to the Governors of the British Provinces and hence the reservation of such powers to them seems both constitutionally correct and legitimate. Thirdly, these safeguards and limitations can be successfully nullified if the peoples' representatives work their powers and rights justly and effectively. This by itself shows their position and scope in the scheme. They cannot be touched if the chances for doing so are not allowed to crop up by the peoples' representatives. In an Indian State, take Mysore, it is possible, we state it with some experience of actual conditions in it, to work the scheme without giving a chance to the Government to have any recourse to these reserve powers. The British Provinces have, it is true, their own experience in this matter; but conditions differ and let us hope, the results also will differ. The greater reciprocation between *Indian Governments* and *Indian Peoples' Representatives* is likely to lubricate the constitutional machinery a great deal better than in the British Provinces, where the situation in this regard is different. The same remark applies to the position of the Dewan-President of the Council and Assembly. As regards the Assembly, a little reflection will show that the advantage of possessing the Dewan as its President is great. The functions of this Assembly are such that he should continue as its President. Unless its constitution is radically altered and its utility impaired as a result of such change, a change in its Presidentship cannot, we think, be contemplated. It is,

in fact, not practical politics. As regards the Council, the scheme not being based on Diarchy, but on a full advance towards Responsible Government, contemplates a situation where the head of the Government alone could effectually discharge the functions of President. It is a question if even a panel of Vice-Presidents chosen by the Council can be brought into line with the basic ideas underlying it. With a further change in the *personnel* of the Executive, a change is *automatically* possible, as every member of the Executive Council is *ex-officio* Vice-President of the Representative Assembly under Section 4 of the Representative Assembly Regulation and *ex-officio* Vice-President of the Legislative Council under Section 4 (2) and has the right under Section 7 (2) to preside in the absence of the Dewan-President. The constitution is widely different from Diarchy and we should not judge it, therefore, from the Diarchic point of view, with which we have now become so familiar. The tendency to do this should, we think, be resisted, as it is of little service to us in understanding the Reform Scheme introduced in this State. While examining the State scheme, we should not, in one word, think in terms of Diarchy. Diarchy has been discarded as unsuitable and there is little use importing its implications when criticising the local constitutional advance. Among the minor suggestions put forward by some, a great many have been met. The question of communal electorates has been discreetly avoided. The guaranteeing of two seats in the Legislative Council in certain circumstances (See para 28 of Government Order dated 27th October, 1923) seems fair and provides the incentive for this community, which contains many public spirited gentlemen of note, to stand for general constituencies. If they are not elected, they have the chance of nomination. It has been suggested that as two seats are guaranteed, the incentive for contesting general constituencies will be less. This we think, is a mistaken idea. The general constituencies offer a *large* field and promise a *better* return than the bare two seats set apart for them under the scheme. Human nature being what it is, our Muhammadan fellow-citizens are likely to take advantage of the larger chances offered them under the scheme than rest content with the two seats offered as the maximum under the Rules. The suggestion as to Yelandur and Sringeri

Jaghirs being granted, a first hold in the Representative Assembly has been given them. These two Jaghirs have declared Rural Constituencies for the purpose of returning a Member each to the Assembly. Naturally the somewhat extravagant demands of the Representative Assembly being empowered to call for special sessions of the Assembly *suo moto*, &c., have been discountenanced. Words need not be wasted on such proposals. Similarly questions affecting the policy of the Government of India or Treaty rights have been rightly put outside the purview of both the bodies. We need not enlarge further on what is given and what is not given under the scheme. What is given is valuable enough and that has to be worked fairly to all concerned.

The true test of the Reforms is whether the people's representatives have a substantial voice in and control over *Legislation, Finance and Taxation*. What we have stated above will show that under the new scheme, they have. It is true that the powers are hedged round with safeguards and limitations. But these should scare us away. They are to be found, in varying degrees and forms in almost every free constitution in the West. These limitations are there for eventualities and no more. They can be rendered obsolete and valueless by a responsible use of the powers given by the scheme. If, for practical purposes, the power of the purse is effective, if legislation of an undesirable kind affecting the interests of the people can be prevented and of a desirable type given effect to, and if taxation is rendered impossible without popular consent, can it really matter much if Government possessed, as all Governments do possess the world over, certain *reserve* powers in themselves to meet certain extraordinary contingencies? Have the people under the scheme, the right to decide what is good for themselves or not? If so, do they govern the policy of Government or not? There can, under the scheme, be only one answer, to these questions. If this right to control Government policies is well secured, and if the franchise is broadened, and unnecessary friction between communities done away with and the way laid out for a progressive realization of higher rights and powers implied in "Responsible Government," can it be denied that a scheme of Reforms which gives so much and which promises yet more is either shadowy or unsubstantial? It is surely one thing to ask for more than is given in the

scheme ; it is another thing to fail completely to understand what the scheme is. It is unnecessary to belittle what the scheme does in order to ask what it has done. They are surely blind who will not see. If only those who still sit on the fence will jump on the right side, and put their best into it, the scheme will prove a success and open the way out for the removal of misconceptions about it and help the development of political life in the State on sound and safe lines. We would add by way of appeal that this is not the time for exhibiting an unreasonable attitude or for canvassing of extravagant demands. H. H. the Máharajah, in his kindness of thought and feeling towards his subjects, has, as becomes a statesman of his eminence and reputation, done his part ; and he has, besides, called upon his people to "respond" to his call and expresses his confidence "that they will respond" to his "call with the same loyalty and sense of responsibility as in the past and in a spirit of mutual toleration and good will." The turn of the people of this State and of their leaders, sagacious and able, is now come. They must ask themselves, how is the scheme going to work out in actual practice, taking it for granted, that they themselves, as wise people and true, will adopt a practical and far-seeing attitude in regard to their new rights and responsibilities? We feel we cannot conclude this all too brief review of the scheme of Reforms announced without a word of commendation to the excellent work done by the Reforms Committee headed by Dr. Brajendranath Seal. Dr. Seal's reputation for practical statesmanship has been greatly enhanced by the Report which he has been instrumental in issuing. He has been rightly honored *Raja Tantra Pravina* by the Sovereign he has chosen to serve. His Report not only sustains his reputation as a philosophical historian, but also marks him out as a political scientist of a high order. That his proposals have practically been adopted *in extenso* by the Government of Mysore shows that the faith placed in him by H. H.'s Government has been fully profited. Nor can we omit to add our meed of praise to Mr. Banerji, the Dewan of Mysore, who has brought to bear his practical statesmanship in giving final shape to the Seal recommendations and to pushing through the scheme in all its stages and making it possible for the new Assembly and Council to discharge their functions so soon after they

were called into being. His administrative experience has stood him in great stead in this matter. He has demonstrated that it is possible to evolve a scheme of Reform in larger Indian States which is compatible with modern democratic ideas while not violently departing from time honoured and treaty-bound kingship founded partly on theoretic ideals and partly on political accretions of a later age. Finally, we feel it our duty to state that the highest tribute is due to H. H. the Maharajah, who, as a token of his goodwill towards his subjects, has inaugurated the new Constitution in Mysore. His love and affection for his people is too well-known to need mention here. What he has given it is the bounden duty of his subjects to make the utmost use of. He has done his part ; it is time for the people, his subjects, to act in a manner becoming their position and reputation. They would do well to remember that no philosophers' stone of a constitution can produce gold out of lead ; it is the character of a Nation

that determines its constitution. The signs are that the people of Mysore realize their responsibilities and are ready to shoulder them with becoming grace and goodwill. They have been both reasonable and active in the discharge of their duties. If anything, they are more anxious to go forward with their work than ever before. The spread of education in the coming years is bound to secure an electorate which is likely to prove critical of the doings of Members than of Government. The advent of that day is being hastened by a carefully planned education policy in the State. It behoves Members, therefore, to build up traditions and conventions on a State basis, conserving all that is good to the commonweal and discarding all that may retard its progress. *Salus populi suprema est lex* (The Supreme law is the welfare of the people) ought to be their motto, if they desire to get the best out of their work.

POLITICS.

AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS.

A CAUSERIE FROM LONDON.

By MR. R. L. MÉGROZ.

New Year Resolutions.

A year ago I was asking several men well-known in spheres as various as literature, commerce, medicine and politics, to tell me the best New Year resolution they ever made. Most of the answers I got tend now to discourage me from making a "resolution" for the forthcoming year. The particular resolution I had thought of making was to keep a set of note-books entered up regularly and with particulars of specially interesting new books which I feel I ought to read whenever the opportunity presents itself. For the bald fact is that one simply cannot keep pace with the quantity of good and interesting books (to say nothing of the

rubbish) which is continually being published. Systematic note-taking might alleviate the difficulty, but I feel certain that it would not solve this problem of reading all that an intelligent citizen of the world ought to read. For many years I have been in the habit of jotting down in a most unsystematic way details taken from publishers' catalogues of new books which attract me from a distance. And so far from keeping my reading up to the mark, these scattered notes merely remind me from time to time of the books I once meant to read and perhaps never shall read. Among modern books which I have marked down at one time or another—so far ineffectually—for reading, I

see the first series of Mr. Havelock Ellis's "Impressions and Comments"; "Mary Olivier," one of the most important books of a famous woman novelist, Miss May Sinclair; "Visions and Beliefs in West of Ireland" by Lady Gregory; and "The Tragic Bride" by Brett Young, a novelist whose other books have aroused my deepest interest, and whose "Cold Harbour" (Collins 7/6) published in the autumn was a finely written and thrilling "Spook" story of the occult.

Before proceeding to our task of making the best of a bad job and picking out more authors and books worthy of attention, I may perhaps quote some of the answers which met my request for "the best New Year resolution you ever made?" Mr. A. St. John Adcock, Editor of the *Bookman*, whose entertaining and informative collection of essays on living authors, "Gods of Modern Grub Street" (Sampson Low 7/6) went into a third edition during the autumn, answered as follows:—

"I have made so many good New Year resolutions, and broken them all, that now I never make a resolution about anything I really mean to do. I just do it, or try to".

I note, by the way, that Mr. Adcock's "Divine Tragedy", one of the best satirical poems in English published this century, has been issued by Selwyn and Blount in a cheap edition, a sure sign of an increasing public for this sensitive and searching satire on modern society.

Returning to the New Year resolutions, Lord Inchcape (Chairman of the P. and O. Company, and one of the greatest leaders of British commerce) replied in a similar vein:

"I am afraid I have never made any good New Year resolutions. They say the way to a certain place is paved with good intentions, and I am in no hurry to go there. I have simply adopted the course through life to do my best to overcome difficulties as they arise, and to make the best of things."

And so, too, Mr. Eden Philpotts, the famous novelist and poet:—

"There is nothing like stark truth in these cases. I might invent a sublime resolve, but honesty demands that I should do no such thing. I never made a New Year's resolution in my life."

In case these replies have too depressing a cumulative effect on the reader at the beginning of the year, two more follow which reveal some faith in the making of good resolutions. The

Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, D.C.L., M.P. (second-in-command of the British Parliamentary Labour Party) answered:—

"What is the best New Year resolution I ever made? To resolve never to regard any period of time as unimportant. To do anything merely 'to pass the time away' is a fatal habit of mind and in a spell of years corresponds to a serious loss of life values."

This might almost be held as sufficient justification for the resolution I suggested above, for the making of adequate notes of good new books. And here is one more point of view, expressed with charm by Mr. Thomas Moulton, the novelist, poet and critic, who I see is editing a fresh volume of "The Best Poems", this one to cover the year 1924. It will be published in the spring. He replied to my question:—

"To endeavour, in my moments of fret, annoyance, and what seems to be real and catastrophic trouble, to imagine myself a year older; and so, looking back from my conning-tower of detachment, to see those discordant moments in their proper perspective. Thus, through whatever happenings may come, and only thus, am I able to preserve the serenity of heart and mind without which life is but a thing of shreds and patches—not what it must be if I am to gain my share of happiness and help others to gain theirs; an enduring and unassailable harmony."

I hope that Mr. Moulton will include in his next volume of "The Best Poems" something by Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, whose recent new book of poetry, "The Thirteenth Caesar" (Grant Richards 6/-) I found one of the most exciting I have ever read, exciting, that is to say, as only the genuine poet can excite the imagination of a reader—with beauty and wonder. The increasing fame of the three Sitwells—Miss Edith Sitwell, Mr. Osbert Sitwell and Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell—is indeed a notable phenomenon in post-war English literature: and as all three of these writers are gradually abandoning mere eccentricity while preserving their own flashing personalities their success is welcome as well as notable.

* * * *

Robert Louis Stevenson.

Among the recent noteworthy books which perhaps might be classed under the general title of Miscellaneous, or, according to a label which was more fashionable in the eighteen-nineties than now, "Belles Lettres," is a most interest-

the art may be—whether playing at music or playing at life—there is no mastery until ease is attained.” This serves to remind us that the apparent ease of manner with which Mr. Ellis appears to shape out and then gather up in shining heaps his radiant memories and ideas is an ease which belongs only to a master artist. I hope many of my readers read his last book, *“The Dance of Life,”* one of the very few great books of prose devoted to an examination and criticism of the habits and ideals of mankind which English literature can boast of; for in spite of the just fame which has been bestowed upon the scientific author of *“The Psychology of Sex,”* Mr. Ellis has always been fundamentally a philosopher of æsthetic experience, while his books could have come only from an artist in prose. Here in this—I note with regret intended to be his last—collection of *“Impressions and Comments”* we have once more sheaf upon sheaf of the golden corn of his rich mind. Music, painting, sculpture come to him as readily as literature and life to illustrate and amplify his ideas. Observe the simplicity with which he presents ideas springing out of his observation that ritual is often treated with contempt:—

“It is a widespread feeling, most usually, of course, directed against religion, especially, among ourselves, that of the Catholic Church, in its ancient and fantastic, seemingly absurd and unnatural shapes. When in the last century the Evangelicals invented the term *“Ritualistic”* for a kind of ritual they disliked, they felt sure they were appealing to a sound common-sense principle of life.

“Yet all social life is ritualistic. You cannot walk along the street or enter a house without observing a ritual which you could not violate without an overwhelming sense of guilt. A child has not yet grown up to the sense of ritual. Imagine yourself doing in public the things a child does! Human society, as much that of the savage as of the civilised, seems, in practice, if not in theory, impossible without ritual, however we may have simplified it, or conventionalised it, from its primitively more elaborate and sacredly significant forms. The ancient Chinese, who had so profound a feeling for the essential things of life, based morals on ceremony and music. It is impossible to construct even Utopia without ritual, however novel a ritual it may be, and even Thelema was an abbey.”

I must not fill up this causerie with quotations from Mr. Havelock Ellis, though readers would have no cause to regret it, and so you must go to the book for the remainder of Mr. Ellis's remarks on ritual, and indeed for numerous other things which seem to irradiate and enrich the mind of one who reads them. But to salve my conscience I will quote one complete passage which will serve as a little model of the author's masterly ease in this beautiful book. In this his theme is *“The English Spirit”*:—

“I note that Garcia Calderon in his excellent book on Latin America seems passingly to suggest that he regards Ariel and Caliban together as the symbolic representative of the English spirit, much as we may regard Don Quixote and Sancho Panza together as the complete representative of the Spaniard. Whether in the vast jungle of Shakespearian commentary this idea has ever been worked out, I have no knowledge; it may have been, even to the last detail. At all events it seems an idea that is worth bearing in mind. Most nations present two totally unlike aspects. A nation that failed to do so would probably fail to play any great part in the world.

“Of no people could this be more emphatically said than of the English. Napoleon, like other observers before and since, said that the English are a nation of shopkeepers. To yet some others they have seemed a nation of singing birds. On the one hand, as so many foreigners have stated, often with a touch of contempt, practical, cold, short-sighted, cautious, hard-headed, grasping, unimaginative; on the other hand, as they have said just as often and with a touch of enthusiasm, idealistic, humanitarian, daring, adventurous, extravagant, high-pitched, imaginative. In reality we are both; so it has come about that Caliban has given us an Empire (as indeed the Spanish American remarks) and Ariel a Shakespeare. It is, in fact, the combination of those two elements which produces the characteristically English quality, what is unsympathetically called cant or humbug being the inevitable outside manifestation of their union. They may even be united in the same person, and our most ethereal poets have been well able and content to earn their living by keeping a shop, or preaching a sermon or carrying out the most varied and tedious round of official duties; Caliban is the

materialistic aspect of our Ariel, Ariel the spiritual aspect of our Caliban.

"The achievement of Shakespeare—however instinctive and unconscious it may have been—in thus finally embodying and symbolising the English Genius adds a further seal to the fascination of "The Tempest." Nowadays I am not much drawn to read the plays of Shakespeare. Their extravagance no longer attracts me; the fury of their passionate interest in life ceases to be of much concern as one recedes from the combat of life. But I am more and more drawn to "The Tempest", and my thoughts are often lingering over its loveliness. Here Shakespeare has emerged from the conflict, even though it may possibly have been by shipwreck; he had passed beyond tragedy and beyond comedy, beyond and above to a serene air in which they could at last be seen as one by the magician Prospero, who is the final embodiment of Shakespeare's inner self. Prospero's return to his dukedom was a weak concession to a stage convention. One knows that in his heart Shakespeare also knew that prospero would never return. For an earthly dukedom can mean nothing to the man who has finally grasped the whole universe in his vision, as an evanescent mist, and stands serenely on the last foothold and ultimate outlook of the world."

I do not know how this passage—like many others in "*Impression and Comments*"—will strike the rest of Mr. Ellis's readers, but to me it seems to be charged with a sweet and solemn music and lit up by a rare wisdom and a still rarer breadth of vision: these are the words of a man rich in experience and thought, whose age is the serene accomplishment of youthful efforts. The reference to poets who could keep a shop, preach a sermon, teach, or do other practical work in the world, reminded me of a distinguished Indian poet whose work, at Shantiniketan, has been a noble culmination of the work of his father, Debendranath Tagore, a Maharishi. You cannot, after all, say profoundly true things about any one nation, any one particular example of a class of things, without saying what may be applied beyond the particular to the universal. Unless I am much mistaken, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Mr. Havelock Ellis are both great men typical of this age and with a remarkable affinity to one another

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David Copperfield's Library.

Another recent book of a miscellaneous type which has much attracted me is "**David Copperfield's Library**" by J. Brett Langstaff (Allen & Unwin 6/-). The title itself will be very suggestive to anybody who knows his Dickens, and this admirable title is entirely justified by the facts so pleasantly and modestly unrolled by the principal worker in a finely carried out humanitarian scheme to the long-living memory of Charles Dickens.

But who except the boy himself with a starved mind, or the men who has been such a boy, can fully realise the glory of those first journeys into the realms of gold, the portals of which are books? Those precious, ardent, vivid hours when the boyish intelligence blazes under the spell of masters of the pen! It may be Defoe or Stevenson, some fiction-weaver who produces magical romance which looks like exciting fact. It may be religious allegory, or history even, providing the substance is couched in a rhythmical and sonorous language and charged with images which the hungry mind can feed upon. I remember that two of my own earliest enthusiasms were for Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Macaulay's "History of England." How foolish was that elderly adviser who discovered me one day with flushed forehead and sparkling eyes bent over Volume One of the History!

"Macaulay's opinions are very biased and unreliable" he said, when I had replied with a joyful "Yes" to his question "Did I find Macaulay interesting?" He did not understand that it is the enthusiasm, the stirring of imagination, the storing of the mind with creative ideas, which influence a child's development incalculably.

This is why the story of "David Copperfield's Library" seemed to me the story of a noble deed. It records the transformation of a tumble-down slum house in a tumble-down slum-street in north London into a cosy free library for children (including a crèche for the babies!) stocked with books and other works of art from all over the world—a little monument in fact to the persistence of human goodness in spite of many inauspicious signs to the contrary. The story is told by the man who did most of the spade-work in setting up this happily conceived memorial to the creator of David Copperfield and the Micawber family (and what

a host of other characters:) in the very house, number 13 Johnson Street, St. Pancras, where Dickens' father and mother, the original Micawbers, actually lived for a time. Every Dickens lover will want to buy the book of course, but so will everyone whose childhood in any way resembled that of Charles Dickens in its intellectual privations and sudden openings upon "perilous seas in fairylands forlorn"; and this not merely because of the subject, but also because the author intends to devote any profits from the sales of the book to the use of the children's library which he has done so much to bring into being. The idea behind the David Copperfield Library is one which might well be applied in many other places. Wisely selected books are a great power for good and the need for them is still far beyond the supply.

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The State of the Drama.

From time to time pioneers of a nobler national drama, well-known leaders in the fight of art against sheer commercialism, like Miss Lena Ashwell, and Mr. Granville Barker of the British Drama League, enter the arena of controversy and denounce the blindness of theatrical producers and the blatant vulgarity of the drama's chief competitor—the cinema. And yet there is a strong stream of revival in amateur theatricals throughout the country. Mr. John Masefield's village players at Boars' Hill and the masterpieces they act for the enjoyment of simple people are by no means very exceptional in England to-day although one does not hear much of their activities. Perhaps much of the pessimism regarding the drama arises from the mistaken belief that British drama is represented by the revues, musical comedies and shoddy plays which appear at the "West End" theatres of London. Not long ago a well-known producer complained that there was a lack of good modern plays, but I think a perusal of a publishers' list like that of Ernest Benn's **"Contemporary British Dramatists"** amply disproves any such charge against our authors. One of these clever younger dramatists who are supplying plays worthy of an intelligent audience is Mr. Harold Rubinstein, whose amusing skit, "What's Wrong With the Drama?" left the man in the street little excuse for not knowing that *something* was wrong. His play "Exodus", a brilliant dramatisation of the biblical story, written in collaboration with Mr. Haleott Glover, was a

sufficient indication that he himself was capable of helping to put the drama right. And now I have read his latest play, **"Peter and Paul"** (Benn, 3/6 paper, 5/- cloth) which confirms me in that opinion. Mr. Rubinstein is extraordinarily clever in making his play effective when read in the study and not less but more effective, I imagine, when it is played on the stage. Peter and Paul are two men, one in England, one in Sweden, whose lives are quite separated on this material plane but are brought together by the author with a fine effect of ironic tragedy-comedy. Peter's ambition is to be a writer who shall interpret life to his fellow men: Paul's ambition is to have a wife and beautiful children and to spurn the gift of the poet, and the poet's poverty, which the inscrutable fates have assigned him. Their careers, which of course are a mockery of their ambitions, are exchanged in the final scene, which is set in the spirit world, where after death they meet one another for the first time. But the irony persists to the last, as you shall see by reading this unusual play.

* * * *

Bernard Shaw and St. Joan.

There are of course many hopeful signs to confound the more pessimistic Jeremiahs, and a shining one is the continued popularity of Mr. Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan," which with Miss Sybil Thorndyke in the title rôle has been one of the most attractive plays in London for the last six months.

Mr. Bernard Shaw is indeed another of our Grand Old Men of whom any people might well be proud. From time to time he makes a half-apologetic reference to the fact that he is now an elderly gentleman (he was, indeed, born in 1856 in Dublin), and yet when you see him in the street or on the platform you need the evidence of his patriarchal beard and silvery mane of hair to believe that he will soon be 70.

The last time I saw him he was acting as chairman to Mr. Festing Jones, who was lecturing on Samuel Butler, giving the audience fresh information about the subject of his well-known biography. Mr. Festing Jones, Mr. Shaw, and Butler were, of course, all friends, and Butler's misguided notion that God had made him a musical composer (with Mr. Festing Jones's collaboration) offered Mr. Shaw an irresistible opportunity to delight the audience with a little talk on oratorios and music criticism. Like a chivalrous chairman, he held it all back until

the audience had finished applauding the lecturer. Then he began bubbling over like a well-charged syphon. The effect on the crowded audience was wonderful. They went, so to speak, into agonies of violent chuckling and gasps of laughter. I don't think there could have been another man alive, young or old, able to talk such sound sense on a difficult subject in such a genuinely humorous way.

Mr. Shaw used to be a very busy music critic in his younger days but most people have forgotten his article written for the *Scottish Musical Monthly*, of December 1894, on "How to Become a Music Critic." He began the article:—

"My own plan was a simple one. I joined the staff of a new daily paper as a leader-writer. My exploits in this department spread such terror and confusion that my proposal to turn my attention to music criticism was hailed with inexpressible relief, the subject being one in which lunacy is privileged."

But criticism was a natural outlet for the energy of a mind like his, and it is not a matter for surprise that both as music and dramatic critic he was only original, but of more than average influence. His gay manner must, however, have always accompanied his useful and energetic work, whether as critic of the arts, Fabian economist, theologian, or playwright. The many anecdotes which cluster about him are certainly not all true, but on the principle that smoke indicates fire, the constant elements of humour and unexpectedness in them show us the man in profile. For example, in 1895, the year after his article on "How to become a Music Critic", he was dramatic critic of the *Saturday Review*, and, according to Mr. Frank Harris, his editor at that time, Mr. Shaw was once refused admission to a theatre—or, at any rate, was told that he could not go into the stalls without evening dress.

"Is it the velvet jacket you don't like?" he demanded of the usher.

"Yes".

"Very well," exclaimed Mr. Shaw, rapidly divesting himself of his jacket.

"No, no!" exclaimed the manager, who had appeared on the scene. "The point is that you must dress like our clients."

A reflective pause, during which Mr. Shaw resumed the offending jacket and glanced over the ladies in the stalls of the theatre.

"Well", he said, "I wanted to see this play, but I'm not going to take off my shirt as well in order to look like your clients", and forthwith left the house.

More recent stories retain the same character. There is the incident when a film magnate from America decided to put Shaw on the screen. Tilting his cigar well into the corner of his mouth, he strode up to Mr. Shaw in his best business manner.

"Mr. Shaw", he said, "I want to film your plays. I know they're good and I've got the coin to pay for them. Nothing's too good for my company, to put out, and I want your stuff as headlines."

"Sir", said G. B. S., "I perceive you are an artist. I am a business man. There is no basis on which we can discuss the matter."

A better authenticated story refers to a dinner after the war, at which Mr. Shaw was a guest. The chairman stated that the playwright had been voted one of the three most famous Englishmen alive. The other two were Mr. Lloyd and Charlie Chaplin!

"I can't help wondering", he concluded, "how Mr. Shaw likes the company in which he was placed."

"Oh, I don't mind Charlie", was the swift retort.

One does not need to recall the "Revolutionist's Handbook" in "Man and Superman", to remember that Mr. Shaw is a satirist with a sting. Probably work like "Heartbreak House" would have been more widely appreciated if Mr. Shaw had employed a more subtle irony to veil (and reveal) the revulsions of his humane idealism against the world's inhumanities. Looked at as a contribution to literature his "Pack to Methu-elah," is probably his best work; I think it is a bigger monument to his genius than even his brilliant new play about Saint Joan of Arc, and yet it is weakened and damaged by the intrusion of the propagandist pamphleteer, who says many wise if bitter things, but too many irrelevant and false ones. An outstanding example of the second class is probably as widely known as any English epigram made this century:

"He who can, does; he who can't, teaches."

There are several other things in "The Revolutionist's Handbook"—to mention only one source—as neat and nonsensical as that. If one reads "Saint Joan: a Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue" (Constable 6/-)

one finds that Mr. Shaw has not quite got rid of his tendency to make irrelevant generalisations; but there is in the play, if not in the preface, a rhythmical progression and a masterly elimination of what is unessential dramatically and poetically. A story went round the press when "Saint Joan" first appeared at the New Theatre that Mr. Shaw was asked what had made him choose Saint Joan as a theme.

"To save her from Mr. Drinkwater" was his alleged reply.

It is a good story which even the author of "Abraham Lincoln" would probably smile at, but having quoted several popular anecdotes about Mr. Shaw, I can at least make some amends by authoritatively killing this one. It was invented by a bright Fleet Street journalist to make a chatty paragraph. I know the inventor, and the paper in which the story first appeared.

* * * *

Dramatic Mysticism.

We may accept the explanation given us by Mr. Shaw himself in the preface to "*Saint Joan*" that he found in her story a wonderful text for a sermon on eternal themes, such as the conflict between genius and discipline; the forms in which inspired truth may reach the individual; mediæval and modern superstitions, and so on. Anyone who has seen the play acted does not find much added unto them in reading it, which means that it is extremely actable, and that it is being acted (in London at any rate) by a very capable company. If you have not seen the play before reading it, you will, or should, be overwhelmed with admiration for the author's skill in combining the effects of a narrative with the rapid movement of a good drama. (It was this virtue in Mr. Rubinstein's play, "Peter and Paul" which impressed me to the extent of picking it out to begin this discussion of the state of the British drama to-day) The preface itself cannot fail to bring Mr. Shaw new readers of the younger generation which reached its teens during or after the European war. He is especially representative of the present age in his rôle of religious free-thinker and scientific mystic. The mystic and prophet have always been wakeful behind the passion of his satirical wit; from time to time an astonished world has discovered the intense seriousness of this witty humourist. Feeling, doubtless, that now he could depend on a hear-

ing, he has allowed himself in "*Saint Joan*" a more direct prefatory essay than usual, and has given us a play that relies almost solely upon drama for its success. Many of us on hearing it enjoy the drama of Mr. Shaw's ideas once more: but even if we refuse to accept his view of Joan's trial, and the relations between Church and State in the Fifteenth Century, we have still the moving story and the superb Epilogue, which is Shavian history at white heat.

On the subject of history in general, and Joan's history in particular, Mr. Shaw has many stimulating things to say in his preface. On the whole most of us will agree with his verdicts about Anatole France's *Saint Joan*, who was a sort of mascot; the romantic impossibility of Schiller's version; the slander that carried no weight of Voltaire's "*La Pucelle*"; and the inevitable libel in "*Henry the Sixth*", which Mr. Shaw is at pains to show is not Shakespeare's. As for history in general, children are never taught contemporary history because of the difficulty of thinking except in the fashion of the period. Says Mr. Shaw:—

"Their history books deal with periods of which the thinking has passed out of fashion and the circumstances no longer apply to active life. For example, they are taught history about Washington and told lies about Lenin. In Washington's time they were told lies (the same lies) about Washington, and taught history about Cromwell. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century they were told lies about Joan, and by this time might very well be told the truth about her. Unfortunately, the lies did not cease when political circumstances became obsolete. The Reformation, which Joan had unconsciously anticipated, kept the questions which arose in her case burning up to our own day (you can see plenty of the burnt houses still in Ireland) with the result that Joan has remained a subject of anticlerical lies, of specifically Protestant lies, and of Roman Catholic evasions of her unconscious Protestantism. The truth sticks in our throats with all the sauces it is served with: it will never go down until we take it without any sauce at all."

That paragraph alone would supply material for a stout debate! The principal question which "the Reformation kept burning" and which led to Joan's death was the antagonism between private inspiration and ecclesiastical and external authority. Behind the swiftly,

moving drama of Mr. Shaw's Joan is the constant appeal of her final words:

"O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy Saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

The Shavian Saints are prophets and bearers of divine knowledge to a stupid and resentful world. The Shavian creed is, at any rate, a noble and courageous one.

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Some Good Novels.

So many subjects have engaged my attention in this number of the *Causerie* that it is not

possible to deal with new fiction. But for those readers who would like to have the titles of a few of the best novels recently published, besides Mr. Brett Young's "Cold Harbour" already mentioned, I can unhesitatingly recommend the following:—"Sard Harker" by John Masefield (Heinemann, 7/6); "Across the Moon," by Hamish Macleod (Hutchinson, 7/6); "Arnold Waterlow" by May Sinclair (Hutchinson, 7/6); "The Treasures of Typhon" by Eden Philpotts (Grant Richards 7/6), and "Striving Fire" by Gerald Cumberland (Grant Richards 7/6).

* * * *

THE PRINCESS BELOVED.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE, F.R.S.A., A.R.C.A.

*"O! Queen of Night, for whom my Spirit burns—
Drink of the Wine of Life while yet Life burns:
How knows Thou that Thou shalt see the Dawn?
So swift the Spinning Wheel of Life e'er turns!"*

"Move carefully the Throne of the Princess Belovéd—move it carefully. The labour of a score moons are not to be grossly handled by ye, sons of the desert, dogs as ye are."

"Be careful I say".

The straining, sweating slaves of the Priests heaved again and again at the lifting of the tremendously heavy Throne of Gold on the polished red granite dais where it was to rest. Its glorious beauty was veiled in many wrappings of clean linen, that it might not be defiled by the touch of slaves. The High Priest moved about swiftly, pale and anxious, for the work of many past moons told upon his aged frame, strong and wiry though he was.

Ever since the King of Kings, Emperor of the World, had become beloved of the mysterious and marvellous woman who was known to that mighty City as the Princess Belovéd of Ishtar, the High Priest felt, rather than knew, that the sun of his life was setting:

that the days of his journey were drawing to a sudden tropical sunset, an affair of minutes rather than hours. Moreover, had he not read many signs that his release was at hand, in the skies—those starry skies that gleamed full of eternal wisdom for the learned, yet inscrutable to the vulgar masses? Did he not discover with the aid of the ancient wisdom of the Gods whose servitor he had been through his long life, that the end of his soul's trial was nigh?

And when the Great King, King of Kings and Emperor of the World, had given the solemn written and sealed order to have made the splendid new Thrones, for the public Ceremony of Betrothal between himself and his Princess Belovéd, then did the Priest know that his last hour was settled, and the day was set.

Now the Priest burnt his last offering, and smiled while yet he offered it, so stout was his heart. He knew well that no offerings of men, even though all the world was his to offer, might prevail against the universal might of forceful stars of destiny. So he shut fear in his bosom and spent his hours for duty with a smiling face. But as becomes a man about to depart from this dungeon of life, he had prepared.....

As the Laws of the Great Kings of bygone days, ancestors of his present King, had said, the priestly artificers who had built the Thrones of Betrothal had been killed that their blood might be sacrificed to the Great Gods of the Empire. Their work had been accomplished, and then, according to the Laws, they had been, one and all, except the High Priest, swiftly and almost painlessly slain. They were young men and strong: they had not known many of the joys of life. They had laboured earnestly and well at their Duties as the hierophants and instructed them.....and, at length, they had been slain.

The Priest sighed heavily as he thought of the silent row of bodies, that had so shortly before been pulsing with mighty and mysterious life. The vision of the slain arose; ...and among them was his son, his only son.

Nor was that all. He winced again at the memory of the sad grief of his son's betrothed, when she had learned, a few hours before, that her own heart's beloved was to die, and for no more than duty and the Ancient Laws. Her profound grief followed by her blasphemous outburst against the Laws of the Ancient Gods and Kings, would have brought upon the High Priest the still sterner duty of condemning her also to death, had she not forestalled that heavy blow by shrieking out a final curse against the Maker of the Laws, and ended by plunging a bronze dagger in her soft maiden breast.

The grief of the memory's stern moment wrinkled the old, old, face of the Priest with some strong emotion,.....it was hard to know what it might be.....sorrow.....fear.....love... hatred.....revenge? Who knows?

He had loved the maiden as a daughter: he had loved his son. Yet to fulfil these Ancient Laws, they had both been swept away from all the untasted joys of life. The flower was broken fully bloomed: the pitcher broken before it carried either water or wine.....

And now his own death was to come at last. He, the High Priest of the Great Temple of the King of Kings, was to die too, in fulfilment of the Laws, and to complete the Sacrifice of the Thrones.

He had no fear of his own death, but he had begrudged the death of his children. Had it been possible, he would have gladly offered up his own life in exchange, if by that ex-

change they could have lived out their full spell.

But that was not according to the Laws. By law, the makers of the two Golden Thrones were now in the Beyond. By law, he, the designer, the first to know of the need for the Thrones, was to die the last. Thus should the King of Kings come to sit upon his magnificent Throne, and his Queen on hers, and none should ever know any man whose hand had made them, and who had set them in the place whereon they stood.

Such was the Ancient Law of the Kings; and human blood could be shed freely. So the High Priest cursed the Laws within his heart, for their words had robbed his beloved ones of their full measure of their life. Yet welcomed them now for bringing his own life to end. The empty tradition he had during his long life supported faithfully had turned to strike him down too.

* * * *

The day of Betrothal arrived, and the enormous Great Hall of the Temple was crowded with expectant citizens, where before it had echoed strangely to the grunts of tired slaves.

The crowd had waited long, their vigil relieved only by the tones of a weird yet beautiful chant, sometimes near, sometimes sounding far-off.

At length the King of Kings entered from his apartments on the right, where he had retired during elaborate ritual processes of purification, according to the Ancient Laws. The Princess Beloved entered from the huge doorway on the left of the Golden Thrones, having also undergone the ritual ordained by long tradition.

She bowed low to the King for the last time, for once she was his betrothed she would be his equal as partner and ruler of the Empire.

The pair magnificently attired reached their places before the Golden Thrones, and stood to follow the long ceremony which the Laws had decreed for the Betrothal of the King of Kings and Emperor of the World.

As they entered and salutation was performed, the chanting of the hidden choristers, which had been attuned to a scarcely audible monotone, broke out to louder strains, and then to words.

Scholars gazed, curious and fearfully, as they distinguished the meaning of those words

Not being in the common tongue, the rabble who stood at a distance could not understand. They were merely workers and slaves, whose duty it was to be guided by those born in higher orders.

The King frowned heavily as he heard the words of the chants which not being prescribed by the Ancient Laws, were chosen by the High Priest.

The chant rose higher and higher.....the singers seemed full of the inspiration of some vision of a distant awful future, far-off in the very ends of Time, when the whole world should have changed and almost ceased its breathing.

The King stood silent and still until the chant became again subdued: he was troubled. The Princess Belovéd had no thought for anything but her master, her lover, her King. Through the sonorous chanting she would have whispered a question, some encouragement or term of endearing had she dared, but many thousands of eyes were upon her.

As the sound grew in volume the passionate music of those lost and forgotten instruments thrilled with magic from unknown hands. The words rose above triumphantly, one phrase running in rhythmic repetition, even as the metallic gold ran through the decoration of the robes of the Princess Belovéd....

*Yet blessed be the Hand of Mercy
The Hand that hath the Power to slay
Yet slayeth not.
Blessed is the Merciful Emperor,
The Merciful shall live,
And shall know Happiness....
But curséd are the fools who obey always...
Though the wisdom of Emperors and
Priests be great
By the folly of fools are they brought unto
the dust.
Curséd be those who obey blindly—curséd
be they who
Minister unto the ambitions of evil princes
and powers.....
Curséd are those fools who obey always
For while there be fools shall no land
know peace.
Fools only do lend their hands to evil deeds
And by their strength are evil things done.*

A strange love chant, truly, thought the King, with gloomy face bent to the awestruck

crowd that filled the mighty hall, a sea of life...of thought and of resistless death.

At length the chant subsided like the waves of a mighty sea, while the rites continued. The left arm of the King was bound to the right arm of his Princess Belovéd with a thread of silk, marking the frailty of life. The uniting bond was cut by the Priest:..the King noticed that his hand, usually so steady and tremorless, shook with some emotion—perhaps excitement, or fear even of his approaching death... It seemed strange that he should fear.

Once again the chant arose, the mystic song of the hidden singers pealed above the wailing cry of the unearthly instruments like the voice of protesting devas.... the first part of the ritual was over.... the time for the Sacrifices had come. The four Priests whose duty it was, according to the Ancient Laws that never changed, drew near to the altar, where glimmering fires rose until their mingled smoke and flame were lost in the immense dome of the Temple's darkness far above.

Suddenly the old Priest stayed them with a gesture, magnificent and grand. It was not part of the ceremony, they drew back, afraid of his authority.. he was yet alive...he still had power.

The old man sank on his knee before his ruler, under the eyes of the multitude he abased himself as never before had he done. He prayed to the King of Kings for mercy. The King was puzzled: this was no part of the Betrothal.

If he granted the Priest his life, the Sacrifice of the Thrones could not be complete. Yet he had great regard for the old man, who had advised him well in the many troubles of his youth.

He turned to the Princess Belovéd, and spoke direct to her for the first time on that day of the Betrothal.

"Shall we grant him the remaining days of his short life, my Princess?"

The Princess Belovéd had no love for the old man. She had more regard for the Ancient Laws, in which she had been well schooled by her tutors. Her wonderful eyes gleamed on the King as she spoke.

"He must die, O! King! for the Sacrifice of the Thrones cannot be complete if he lives, even though another takes his place. It is the Law; our forefathers made it, and we may not alter the Law. If the Sacrifice of the Thrones

be not fulfilled then am I not lawfully thine, O! my King! Let him die. It is the Law!" The King spoke solemnly. "Thou hast heard, O my father".

"I have heard, O my King. Unto the Merciful is mercy shown, and unto the Lawful is Justice given with exactness. So be it."

"The slaves labour, but great is the Architect—the soldiers fight, but the kings are heroes. He that takes joy in the battle shall find joy to die in the battle, and he that giveth Justice under the Ancient Laws shall himself die under their shadows."

The King frowned blackly at these bold words, and his heart grew harder while he gave the sign to the four priests of the altar to make way for the black masked giant with the gleaming axe of polished bronze.

The old High Priest continued, his voice ringing in powerful tones: "Blessed are the Merciful, O King, but thou art not merciful. Thou shalt not live to see the full moon again. And thou, O Princess Belovéd of the King of Kings, but not of the Gods, thou shalt never reign as the Bride of the King of Kings, but shall soon be the Bride of Death.

"Thus is mercy rewarded with mercy, and justice with justice."

"I am ready, O King of Kings, make the most of thy short time".

The Priest stepped down toward the altar. The axe crashed through the old man's thin neck. Blood stained the altar. Seldom had such a flow been seen, even by their accustomed eyes. It was a goodly sacrifice.

The head looked up with unseeing eyes from the shallow golden bowl. It seemed to speak. The lips formed words, but no sound came, save a faint gasping cry, and the click of teeth. As the headless body reached and writhed, the right hand moved from beneath the heavy robe, and in it was a dagger.

The Princess looked at the King triumphantly. Serenely they watched, fascinated, still standing while the act of sacrifice was made.

A marvellous coloured flame, as of a passing spirit shot up through the gloomy heights, while the mighty crowd murmured approvingly. The stench of burning blood was drowned

in stifling incense even more nauseous, yet sweeter than flowers to them, in their lust for blood

The four priests stepped forward to finish the Ceremony by their priestly blessing, after washing their hands elaborately in water running from the altar base, and the King's tense breathing grew slower.

Now the chant rose again, pealing in a triumphant strain, and the people, recognising a more familiar melody, began to join in as was their custom, the more gladly to relieve the pressure of long enforced silence.

The four priests quickly ended their blessing. For the royal pair, tired of standing so long and motionless, were eagerly ready to seat themselves on the Golden Thrones on which none had ever sat before, and few had even seen.

As the hand of the priest of the altar touched the arm of the King's Throne, he fancied he saw the eye of the god of battles, set over the back of the Throne, gleam green and cruelly. The King stepped back, and allowed himself to fall rather heavily on to the coloured leathern cushions of the Golden Throne. The war god's image moved—the priest by his side saw it—and with a cry swiftly tried to stay it—but too late.

The sharp gleaming spear of the war god, of steel-hard bronze, buried itself in the eye of the King of Kings, and his head moved no more.

The King uttered not a sound, the Princess cried in terror. Unto the strictly just had been given justice. The Princess Belovéd cried again most piteously, and fell swooning to her Throne. As she fell she caught at the Sceptre she was to have possessed as promise of the King that she should be his Queen. And then as she grasped it Death caught her as his Bride, even as the old Priest had said.

* * * *

And once again the chant of the hidden singers and their musicians arose. They had not seen the end of the Betrothal.

"Curséd are those fools who obey always"

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THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK!

IV.

*By MR. K. C. SEN.***External Exploitation.**

Just as internal exploitation in Western Europe was showing a tendency towards extinction, an unlimited field for external exploitation was presented to Europe by the discovery of the so-called New World. The genius of Columbus was the Devil's gift, that turned Europe into a pandemonium, in which the nations of the West were engaged in scrambling for the best viands of the banqueting hall gathered from the remotest corners of the world. Industrial and military exploitation divided the proletariat into trained production and protection forces. The latter are now distributed over land, water and air, and consist of soldiers, sailors and airmen. Their ostensible object is to afford protection from external attack, but the reality has a greater weight of aggressiveness than of defensive precaution. Their cost, ordinarily met from taxes, must eventually be recouped from external exploitation, directly or indirectly. They prevent unemployment by being employed on apparently unremunerative work, which must in the long run be either recouped from external sources or lead to internal bankruptcy. The tremendous increase in armaments during the early years of the present century, specially in England and Germany, leading eventually to what is now known as the Great War, implied an expenditure of wealth which instead of being recouped in any of the belligerent countries has led to the collapse of the trade and exploitation for whose facilitation it was primarily designed. Neither victor nor vanquished has gained in prestige, power or wealth. On the contrary while the vanquished lies on the ground, the victor is heart-broken, palsied, paralysed and moribund. It has been tersely said by a philosopher that the vanquished is dead and the victor is dying. The curse of the exploited nations has at length reached the exploiting rivals, while self-consciousness is encouraging

the former to challenge further exploitation. The weaker nations are growingly refusing to sweat for the benefit of the stronger ones, and the latter are woefully acquiescing, and submitting to the decree of Nemesis. We look upon the theory of eschatological retributive justice with suspicion, and substitute the theory of this paradise of abundance and happiness on earth for the spirit populated kingdom of heaven engaged in the disinterested service of God, and establish in practice the kingdom of the devil on earth as a substitute for the eternal perdition of theology.

No theory of paradise on earth has so far contemplated the happiness of all; every one of them is contaminated by partiality and preferential treatment. Utilitarianism, within or without evolution, cannot compass anything beyond the indefinite greatest happiness of the indefinite greatest number. The actual result is that not only is the percentage of people living in poverty and discontent, and eating bread in the sweat of their faces increasing with each advance in civilisation, but the sweat on each face is becoming more profuse, as the result of hard labour on the one hand and of the apprehension that the opportunity for such labour may be withheld from them, on the other. The optimism which suggests to Western civilisation the approach of the kingdom of abundance and contentment is a catastrophic emotion that has been steadily leading the civilised races to abysmal ruin. It seems the theory of life discovered by biological science is in need of a drastic emendation, to find the true mission of human life. The entire structure of civilisation built at colossal cost upon the current biological foundation without a careful examination of the latter in its substance, cement and form, has proved to be a wasteful expenditure of the wealth of human energy and intelligence sunk in third class brick and worse mortar. If instead of trying to challenge God's law as a

curse coming from a vindictive enemy, man had tried to penetrate into its inner meaning which warned him against the evil involved in the increasing consumption of bread, he might have been more happy though less showy. Western civilisation is a sacrifice of the inner life for an outer display. It can only lead to bankruptcy both moral and intellectual, and to its inevitable consequences. It has wasted and exhausted the useful metals of the world to pile up the beautiful ones, and to build up a gilded temple to the Devil, accessible to a few, who worship inside, and inaccessible to the untouchable multitudes who are directed to lay themselves prostrate outside the temple. The offerings and sacrifices are tremendous in magnitude presenting a hecatomb, and the feasting is a bacchanalian orgy in which the privilege few take part with heaps of leavings which the multitude scramble for, without satisfying the appetites of their stomach, for the problem of population remains unsolved, though an oceanic quantity of sweat has been poured upon it, and the fascinating terrors of the Dismal Devil's Glare keep mankind chained in mirthful melancholy and stupefying intoxication.

Western civilisation has failed because it is only an aggravated continuation of primitive barbarism, based upon the principle of self-assertion in defiance of the laws and commandments of the Father in Heaven re-interpreted and re-emphasised by the son of man. If man had cheerfully sweated for his neighbour's benefit instead of trying to make them sweat for him Western civilisation might have fulfilled the mission of true civilisation with less show and greater power and longer stability. It is not too late to think of making this new experiment with the sermon on the Mount engraved on the heart.

The discoveries of Columbus and other adventurers of the deep led to the revival of ancient nomadism in a new form and on a gigantic scale. The new nomads left no trail on their way and formed no lengthening chain of population. They flew over thousands of miles of liquid deserts and poured upon land wherever they found it convenient to settle. They went as squatters and settled as colonists. They soon assumed the traits of barbarous tribalism, and set themselves against already existing tribes of the neighbourhood. They asked the latter to bear their portion of the sweat required by the curses of Adam, and when they refused they

fired their guns upon them, for they always kept themselves equipped with gunpowder which the devil had prepared out of the sulphurous gas into which God had hurled headlong, him and his host to roll in visible darkness for nine times the space which covers night and day. Indeed it was a long time to allow to the inventive genius of the devil, who utilised his new environment to prepare the explosive poison which he subsequently, after long patience, extending over four thousand and five hundred years, disclosed to man, when starting the modern epoch of tribalism, racialism, civilized barbarism, and debauching industrialism. Thus continents were depopulated and re-populated; and the old Aryan nomadism which had taken thirty thousand years to thinly expand over the small continent of Europe and a small fragment of Asia, now assumed undreamt of dimensions overcrowding larger continents in the course of three hundred years. The Aryan woman is perhaps the fecundest wife in the world.

A late Governor of Bengal said half in humour and half in seriousness that Lady W.'s gown always kept children concealed within it, and when shaken it poured them out by the dozen. The civilised woman regulates her fecundity by the fertility of the earth where she resides. Women who were all but barren in their European home suddenly developed an undreamt of extravagance in maternity on settling in America. The Canadian of French origin perhaps rears the largest family in the world. He is the true follower of the vicar of Wakefield who half a century before Malthus was unflinchingly of opinion that the man who married and brought up a large family did more service than one who lived single and only talked of population. It appears that in America European settlers had until lately a horror of single life and a feeling of loathing against the Malthusian sect of Christians. In the course of about two hundred years, cultured sentiment in America has veered round to bachelorhood, spinsterhood and small family, because arithmetical progression can never keep pace with geometrical, because mother earth is naturally less fertile than the mother that develops out of the wife; and persistence in reproductive extravagance would lead to social degradation, international degeneration and ultimately to starvation. "Take care of your standard of living" is the motto engraved in every respectable heart in the civilised world.

There is another motto which lies cleverly hidden at its back, *viz.*, "Beware of your neighbour raising the standard of living." "For, when that transcends yours, you have as good as fallen to that extent." In sheer jealousy lies the moral foundation on which Western civilisation is firmly built; and hate is the cement by which jealousy is kept in working order.

The European immigrants who settled in America did not carry with them the old motto, "Thou shalt starve ere I want" for the Red Indians had no accumulated wealth to be robbed of. They did not carry with them the other motto, *viz.*, "The question is, whether thou canst kill me or I can kill thee," for the gun-powder which they possessed and which the Red Indians lacked, rendered such motto too mean to think of. They revived the ancient, pre-historic motto, "Thou must sweat for me or die." It must be said to the credit of the Red Indian that he refused to submit to the sweating, and preferred to die. Poverty of material property did not affect his spiritual wealth of chivalry and freedom. The result was that in the course of a century the old population was decimated, or driven westward, deprived of the means of livelihood on the Atlantic Coast. This Coast now forms the richest tract in the world. On the surface it looks like a paradise of property, prosperity, progress, paramountcy, power, privilege, pre-eminence. But beneath the surface there is a deep undercurrent of morbid morality, misery, melancholy, meanness, miscreance and misdeeds. The scheme of life designed to enable one section of mankind to challenge divine law by compelling the rest of it to submit to it in a more abject manner than was intended by God, is from the religious point of view wicked and unsupportable. From the atheist's point of view, it has invariably proved a failure, and its ruins profusely lie scattered over the pages of history, *viz.*, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman history. The scheme as planned and worked in the present epoch is already ramshackle.

No previous structure has stood erect for more than five hundred years, and the present one has begun to decline in four hundred, because its engineers have been more ambitious and more defiant, apparently more clever, because more regardful of polish than of internal strength. It is the largest and the tallest structure in the history of civilisation and it is

believed that its fall will affect the foundation to a larger extent than that of any of its predecessors. It may be hoped that when a new structure is designed, it will be on a new foundation—the foundation of love and charity as contrasted with the foundation of jealousy and hate. In short it will be built on the mount from which Christ thundered out his sermon, and not the mountain from which he was shown the splendid city, whose kingship he indignantly refused.

I have said that the discovery of the New World led to the revival of tribalism. What we know of primitive tribalism is that it is associated with passionate self-assertion, ferocious rivalry, indiscriminate aggression, war, massacre, slavery and polygamy. The new tribalism is associated with supercilious self-assertion, discriminative aggression, sordid war, one sided massacre and sexual promiscuity. The squatters who went from homes with or without a definitely formed intention of being inhumanly aggressive, but always with the knowledge that such aggression was all but inevitable, formed small settlements or sequestered tribes with a number of muzzle loaders and an adequate quantity of gun-powder for their capital. All that they acquired in their new home for a long time was the interest and profit of this cleverly constructed capital, of which they made excellent effective use. There was no rivalry of tribalism because the Red Americans had no Capital, invested in gun-powder. The self-assertion of the colonists was supercilious, because it neither followed any settled custom nor feared any rivalry. Their aggression was discriminative, because murder and massacre were not their primary object. It was where exploitation met with obstruction that massacre was considered the next best thing. They did not spare the women of the victims, but enjoyed their persons without entering into any encumbering contract. Their wars were invariably sordid, because there was no chivalry, and because their self-assertion of right, natural or artificial, merely affirmed their convenience. Sir Charles Napier has said that the annexation of Sindh was a piece of advantageous rascality. The principle which underlies this terse enigma, forms a continuous undercurrent below the achievements of civilisation in America extending over a couple of centuries, during which the coloured population of that continent was replaced by the white

races of Europe without detriment to the density of population in the old continent. But human nature cannot wholly shake off the idea that a civilisation which is helped by barbarism discloses an incompatible relation between means and end, and leads to the suspicion, if not to the positive conclusion, that it is not an ideal object of human aspiration. The use of wrong means for a right end becomes a target for criticism when failure ensues, either immediately or after a certain measure of success has been obtained. But so long as it is attended with success, partial or complete, it does not receive that contemptuous treatment which it richly deserves. The experiment in America has been eminently successful so far, but it can not be said that the chain of success is complete, and has no chance of showing any breakage.

The growth, decline and end of a civilisation is sometimes compared to the growth, decay and death of a man. But we do not know whether in the life of man decline is the inevitable consequence of growth, or death the uniform effect of decline, or whether the infirmities of old age can be permanently or indefinitely postponed or whether death is an inseparable accident of the phenomenon of birth. We do not know whether senility can be permanently avoided by timely precautions or whether a man possessing a perfect knowledge of physiology, pathology and medicine and a perfect control over his passions can live indefinitely in the full vigour of prime or attain immortality in flesh and blood. We do not know whether a civilisation can exist and grow permanently and indefinitely. So far all men have died either abruptly in full vigour by the sword or the plague or slowly by the enervation of the constitution through the intermediation of disease of some sort. None has survived indefinitely and death may come before birth, or immediately after it, or seventy to one hundred and twenty years later. Does the growth, decline and end of civilisation illustrate a similar law? Historians try to trace the decline of civilisation to certain defects in its constitution and manner of growth, indicating thereby that there is no necessary connection between growth and decline, the underlying idea being that a civilisation can develop indefinitely, nay permanently. Herbert Spencer, like most optimists, considers that immortality is the law of the life of civilisation; and

decline and death represent avoidable pathological conditions. The foundational idea which supports and strengthens Western civilisation is that the latter is not only immortal, but will grow permanently, approaching to perfection quickly, or slowly, generally in a straight line and occasionally in curves, more or less crooked. This foundational idea has replaced the old theological idea of eschatological life without eliminating the idea of happiness and misery, but only changing their form, time and place. One cardinal distinction between the two ideas relating to the future of man being that in the one case man lives in the posterity, while in the other he lives in himself, after death. In the one case the good and evil of the individual descends to his children, and the good and evil in the nature of one generation descends, by the law of heredity to the next generation. In the other case the good and evil in the nature of every man accompanies his spirit after death; which marks a change in life but not a termination of it. In the first case the commonly accepted moral sentiments are for the most part mere figments of imagination or a passing phase in the life of civilisation. In the other case these sentiments are unalterably fixed in the nature of man.

The soundness of Western civilisation and its growth and permanency depend on the correctness of the foundational ideas on which it is consciously or unconsciously based; and if those ideas are correct, *i.e.*, if they represent reality and truth, then it must be said that any criticism of that civilisation, from the stand point of theistic morality, is futile and worthless.

Such criticism is encouraged, however, by the distinction which the civilised races, out of regard for Christ and Christian, make between the morality of the group life and the morality of the individual life. The individual is a Christian, and the group life is the true life of Western civilisation. The individual pretends to follow Christian morality, and to praise it; but in the group life, such as in matters concerning national or communal welfare, the morality practised, and now even boldly professed, is the morality of self-assertion, which antagonises with the morality of self-negation. Civilisation has not yet succeeded in fully separating group life from the summated total of individual lives. Hence confusion prevails in the criticism directed against Western

civilisation. As a rule the old man inclines to the morality of the individual in spite of the fact that he is a member of the society formed on Western principles. The young man on the other hand loudly proclaims the claims of the morality of the group life though he is a Christian. This makes the confusion doubly confounded for consistent criticism.

The vices of the individual life are the virtues of the group life and *vice versa*. Self-assertion is the soul of the latter. It is conceived by the spirit of self-assertion. It is maintained in health and vigour by the same spirit, and often dies by its violence. The individual may be self-assertive, but his inner soul always warns him against the unrighteousness of self-assertion. In his best moments he cheerfully suffers self-negation, and between self-assertion and self-negation he generally preserves the balance which enables him to steer between the devil and deep sea in the voyage of life. The group life loses its vigour with the decline of self-assertion and comes to an end when self-assertion ceases to be effective, either through weakness or through violence. In India nationalism and material civilisation declined because self-assertion became invertebrate by a broader and higher view of the life of the world,—by the discovery of a reality behind appearance, which lessened the value of the latter, and led cultured minds to pursue a new course of life, with a high ideal, as yet too vague and hazy to suggest any definite scheme and methods. They made the natural endeavour to introduce a new course without wholly giving up the old. The fear of destruction was as strong as the desire for construction, and amalgamation produced hybrids which by their own mutual collision as well as by their inherent weakness ultimately led to disaster. While the ideal was Nirvana for all schools of philosophy, the methods were divided between Truth, Love and Activism (জান, ভক্তি, কর্ম). By combination and permutation of these three a number of creeds were formed. The question of emphasis introduced further diversity. Love was divided between the Creator and his Creatures, among the creatures man formed an important species. This species was divided qualitatively for degrees of love. Some philosophers finding positive love too high for man preached the less ambitious principle of No-Hate. The love of God introduced the anthropomorphic idea of

the deity, and eventually to idolatry. Idolatry mixed with idealism produced an interesting combination. The Gita makes the infinite speak from a finite platform, making it difficult for the mass mind to distinguish the finite from the infinite. Hinduism at present stands out as a curious blend, delicious but not very invigorating.

I have said group-life is born of self-assertion and is supported by it. It dies either by the violence of self-assertion or by its growing slackness. Civilisation represents a group-life—it represents the inner meaning of that life. Western civilisation in its present condition of decadence reflects both the destructive forces in its face. The violence of self-assertion is clearly visible in the Great War, which seems to have ended, but which in truth has just begun with military music and industrial pageantry. The self-assertion of Germany has pulled it down, while France is intoxicated by its fumes. But self-assertion is ubiquitous in the West, in the smallest mushroom states as well as in the largest established ones. At the same time signs are not wanting to show that self-assertion has been frightened by the fate of Germany and is getting shy. The 'ape and tiger' in the civilised man walks with guarded footsteps as if his old barbaric courage had failed him, almost giving room for suspecting that cowardice is slowly creeping over him in the march of international relations. The future looks like an unknown deep, and no nation seems willing to take a big jump. On the contrary every nation tries to feel its way in the shallow water near the edge of the cutting bank, taking soundings where the depth requires it. At the same time the growing weakness of the principle of self-assertion is visible in another direction. The philosophy of idealism, creating a reality behind appearance, and crying halt to the bacchanalian activity of civilisation, is slowly percolating (*sic*) from the higher planes of culture down to the middle planes of intellectual life. If America had been discovered in the twentieth century instead of in the sixteenth, it seems doubtful whether the progress of Western civilisation in the new continent would have been as rapid as it has been. Efforts are being made to introduce Western civilisation into the swamps and wilds of Central Africa, but the progress is retarded by factors, which had no play in the civilisation of America. Obstructive forces are

making their appearance from unexpected directions, and however barbarous the squatters and pioneers may be, the Governments at home either do not dare or are sincerely unwilling to follow them to the extent they desire. In Kenya hindrances from India have compelled the European pioneers to recognise, however dimly, the natural rights of the native Africans, who cannot be so easily massacred as the Red Indians in case of unwillingness to sweat for them. Slaves, such as those who were transported in Cargo boats across the Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century cannot now be imported into the new exploitation. Slaves of the present day are indentured and more costly and therefore less profitable. For the moment being Africa appears to be more thinly populated than the pioneers wish, and their endeavours will have to be directed towards the biological growth of population among the Africans of the East Coast, because the growth of population by immigration is not promising. Exploitation is becoming increasingly difficult all over the world, because the spirit of self-assertion is slowly spreading among the weak races. We in India are disappointed by the Kenya decision. But the pioneers know what mischief India has done. Pioneers do not form plantations to feed the natives or wandering foreigners. They want the pure exploitable stuff, not the mixed rubbish of exploitable exploitives. They hate people who come in the passive, and stay on to acquire an active voice in the manipulation of exploitation. I am not justifying their hate. I am not offering any moral criticism, for criticism is futile where the stand point of the critic is different from that of the persons whose activity is criticised. I only say that parasites have an admirable quality, *viz.*, that they hate weaker parasites or sub-parasites springing out of their own creative mis-manipulation carried on in an unexamined, unsterilised atmosphere. The conflict of parasites is favourable to the organism in which they grow. The native Africans of Kenya may probably escape the fate of the Red Indians or that of the Negroes who slaved in America on the extirpation of the latter. But it must be remembered that exploitation is not decreasing in magnitude; only it is changing its methods and making itself invisible. Electricity is not less powerful than steam, but it works with greater subtlety. Fraud is not less effective than force, but it

often challenges detection. In Western civilisation which stands on the bed rock of exploitation, the intellect is a mighty force, that shows itself not merely in the utilisation of the resources of external nature, but in playing upon the weakness of neighbour. Self-consciousness in the exploited neighbour not only means that he has gained positive knowledge of his own rights and capacities, but also acquired the art of detecting the moral weakness of the exploiting agent. When self-consciousness comes to the weak and exploited, there arises a conflict between the two types of morality, morality of the group life and the morality of the individual life, as explained before. In such conflict the practical advocates of group morality weaken their moral position by trying to shift its foundation, which is an impossible task. Such attempt serves to show that group-life itself is losing its vigour—its moral vigour—which has supported it efficiently, in weal and woe, from the beginning of the exploitive process. The world is at this moment in a ferment of self-consciousness and self-assertion brewing in the heart of the world's exploited majority—for ages exploited sexually, economically, politically and theologically. The revolt of women, worker, subject race and the superstitious mass has come simultaneously and has caused a flutter in the dovecots of vested rights. How this universal revolt will end can not be definitely foretold. The exploitation of the minority by the majority may succeed for a time, but it cannot continue for any length of time. The parasitic minority are being taxed heavily and harassed by strikes and otherwise. Capital is disappearing slowly from the field of exploitation, because exploitation is ceasing to be profitable. Hoarded wealth is being sucked away by burdensome taxation for the material welfare of the hitherto exploited masses. But one thing is certain, *viz.*, that if the whole of the hoarded wealth in the chest of the rich parasites were divided equally among the masses, the latter would not find their pockets perceptibly heavier than now, and they would probably find the sweat on their faces and the anxieties in their hearts growing thicker and heavier than before. Humanity would no doubt have the satisfaction of rowing all in the same boat, but that satisfaction can not continue long, for the boat without a helmsman will not steer in the desired direction, and will run the risk of capsizing in the nearest eddy. What

took place before will probably repeat itself and exploitation will begin again on existing lines. Optimism suggests that the conflict of interests which is disturbing the world to-day can only terminate by a drastic change of ideal and a scheme of life in which bread eating and bread earning will cease to be the ultimate end of it, *i.e.*, by a correct allocation of energies between the material and the spiritual interests of man. In Western civilisation and in most of its predecessors the material have engrossed by far the largest part of human activities to the detriment of spiritual interests. The progress science has been making, while it exercises the intellect, is designed mainly to meet the material or physical requirements of human nature. It has first created new physical wants and then tried to gratify them. It is not denied that science has cleared the way to the satisfaction of spiritual wants, but its purpose has been chiefly to find satisfaction for physical wants many of which have the appearance, but generally not the substance, of spiritual wants. What is wanted is a sense of proportion between the value of spiritual satisfaction and physical gratification. There is something inherently evil in Western civilisation which turns man's attention to the gratification of the demands of the flesh even when the intention is to provide means for the satisfaction of spiritual wants. It has a tendency to crush the growth of the latter wants and their satisfaction. Science finds its value in applied science, and knowledge, which does not immediately lead to the gratification of the needs of the flesh, is stigmatized as knowledge for its own sake, *i.e.*, knowledge which provides no satisfaction for human wants, implying either that spiritual wants are not worth the trouble of finding satisfaction for them, or positively deserve to be repressed for their mischievous tendency to withdraw human attention from the needs of the flesh. Philosophy is supposed to be unpragmatic and even positively harmful. A philosopher is spoken of either as a pedantic fool or as a revolutionary miscreant. Of all kinds of philosophy social philosophy is believed to be the most hurtful. It creates new ideas and social sentiments and undermines the existing order of society, the empire of the parasites, the dominion of the minority who eat bread in fine toilet over the majority who eat it in the sweat of their faces, and make it crisp for the former. In spite of all opposition however the

new social philosophy which, under the stigma of socialism, preaches submission to God's curse or law to the effect that every man must eat bread in the sweat of his face, is gaining ground from year to year. The great war by breaking the power and prestige of the parasites has greatly helped the new philosophy or social life. The direct and indirect possibilities of future are immense. But it is not within the scope of this essay to deal with them. Suffice it to say that if socialism succeeds in convincing mankind that submission to God's curse or law is the true nature of man, unsophisticated by the allurements of the devil, every Christian heart should feel grateful.

To return to the new tribalism of America. I have said the old tribalism of the old world was associated among other things with slavery. The new tribalism failed in its effort to establish slavery in America. The squatters offered terms of peace to the natives. The natives considered those terms and refused them. They preferred death to slavery—bleeding to sweating for other's bread. They deserved no mercy, they were so stubborn. The colour of their skin was detestable. It reminded one of the colour of blood. They were bloody people. They were blood-thirsty and monstrous. All these and other bad names were given to the liberty-loving, chivalrous natives in order to justify their extirpation. It was not moral sentiment nor intellectual conviction that influenced the judgment of the squatters. They appealed to might, and gun-powder decided the question. It was not an old type tribal war, in which some men were killed and others enslaved, but it was a war of extermination. Conscience and compunction which probably pricked the old tribes in the massacre of their rivals had been silenced by the difference in the colour of skin, as well as the recalcitrancy of the red Man. Blood is said to be thicker than water, but the red Man's blood was lost in the skin and had no thickness inside, and it was shed like water. From the point of view of Western civilisation the new settlers acted righteously in extirpating the natives and clearing the ground of all obstructive factors. The latter were weeded like tares in a field newly brought under cultivation. Here depopulation was as meritorious as deforestation subsequently was in the hands of the pioneers who expanded American civilisation in the backwoods of the hinter-land in the West of the Atlantic Coast. When out of

sheer exasperation the Red Indians resorted to heroic retribution, the general massacre that followed was regarded as the debrutalization of the neighbourhood; and when the retribution was of an unheroic character the ensuing massacre was carried on as a process of deratization in a cargo boat. Christian forgiveness was lost in a sea of monstrous misdeeds. In the middle of the last century Darwin and a number of other infidels, sanctified these colossal cruelties, by proclaiming the law of the survival of the fittest as the foundation on which western civilisation was built, and in which it was maintained in the erect posture. Herbert Spencer, the Chief apostle of the theory of evolution, was very fond of casting aspersions on Christians, particularly on bishops and on the hierarchy of Christian officialdom, by calling attention to the incitement and support given by them to the cruelties practised in the New World. But he did not see clearly that if the bishops were civilised the evolutionists also were Christians. A sweet but poisonous blend of Natural selection and Christian charity has been causing fermentive indigestion in the heart of every civilised Christian. Western civilisation is now on the parting of ways. It must either firmly adhere to idealistic Christianity or openly declare for the continuity of biological evolution in the progress of civilisation. To believe that this evolution turns cruelty into charity by the magic of slowness attended with steadiness seems too much for the common mind. The evolution of charity out of cruelty, of love out of hate, is more unthinkable than the identification of unity and trinity. Huxley takes a bolder course when he declares civilisation as a force which works by actively and openly opposing the law of Natural selection. The European settlers who have turned Red India into White America were either Christians or evolutionists by anticipation. But I think they were a mixture of both. They had the impulse of the law of the survival of the fittest, while they had on their lips the wisdom of the catechumen. The truth seems to be that they were following the morality of the individual, and the morality of the group life at the same time. The last morality is the morality of the law of evolution, the morality of self-assertion and brutish might, and the morality of the survival of the fittest. As Christian individuals they offered to teach the gospel of love to the heathens, and helped them

in diverse ways to improve their worldly condition. But the natives did not trust them, bluntly refused to sweat for them and gladly accepted the sentence of death without asking for a commutation to slave-life for themselves and posterity. They valued liberty more than life. The first was in their eye permanent and real. The second was shadowy and short-lived. They did not fight for liberty. They simply died for it. The world might have been spared many ugly scenes of prolonged suffering on the one hand and moral monstrosities on the other if the settlers were either pure Christians or pure evolutionists. The settlers consisted of three classes of men, *viz.*, (1) those who had failed at home to live by the sweat of others. (2) those who had failed to live because they refused to sweat for others and (3) those who had failed to obtain a livelihood even by sweating for others. They all consisted of failures. In their new home having failed to compel the natives to sweat for them, and having out of mixed anger and avarice, extirpated the latter, the settlers began to show the real superiority of their character by assuming the courage of despair, and setting their shoulders to tasks of unspeakable and unthinkable difficulty. They got themselves earnestly to make the impossible possible. They cleared the woods, brought them under cultivation, built houses and churches, roads and drains, made gardens and play grounds, while their women accepted maternity freely and profusely, so that in a short space of time jungles were turned into smiling villages. Prosperous villages grew into cities, and civilisation smiled brighter than in the European homes. Population grew fast by new immigration as well as by the natural process. Who can regret the past while living in the light of the present? Who ventures to condemn the depopulation of the Red Indians when he fully realises the achievements of the new population? The only thing that comes uppermost in the unsophisticated mind is that destruction precedes genuine constructive efforts, that it is folly to adhere to the existing order when a brighter order has sprung up in the imaginative consciousness of man, to uphold the defeated past in the name of conservatism, and law and order, when the conquering future is marching with the strength and steadiness of a skilled and disciplined army? The old population of America has been swept away and replaced by a new.

Hunting life has been ended by the introduction of the full blaze of civilisation. If progress is the law of nature, it has been fully illustrated in America. But alas! It was not the Christian pioneers alone who by their unaided effort effected the whole progress. They carried it up to the point where prosperous villages sprang up out of the jungles. Later progress has a different history!

The descendants of the pioneers not contented with their happy village life, lived in fair prosperity, prayer and spiritual promise, listened to the devil that suggested the introduction of Negro slavery. The more well-to-do among the villagers became adventurous. They bought slaves from the Spaniards and the English traders, and started agriculture on a large scale. Cotton and tobacco were the staples produced. These were not food, and were not required for the consumption of the local people, but for export and for exchange for precious metals. The Africans were kidnapped from their homes by ruffians and monsters, transported like cargo across the Atlantic and settled on plantations to eat bread in the sweat of their faces, to sweat for the benefit of their masters, who wanted cakes, not bread, who wanted fine garments not coarse clothes; who wanted palaces not ordinary houses; who wanted stables, horses, equipages and hounds, pleasure yachts and large bank accounts.

Christ said, "a man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." The American adventurers read this as "man shall not live by bread alone, but he shall eat cakes also". He lives by the word of God, but he prospers by the word of the devil. No wonder when the devil took them up into the high mountain of prosperity and showed them the kingdom of the world and the glory of them, they fell at his feet and prayed for his guidance so that they might possess and improve upon them. Negro slavery was whispered into their ears, and American villages were turned into cities. I shall not enter upon a discussion of this new slavery at any length beyond calling attention to two facts, *viz.*, (1) That this slavery did not originate in the design of the master to have bread (or mere necessaries of life) baked by the sweat of the slaves, and (2) that the skill of the slaves had a different pigment. Cruelty

to slaves in the old regime was generally tempered by compassion; in the new regime this compassion was conspicuous by its absence. The new slaves were not treated like men in any sense, except in the sense that they had the form of human beings and could be made to work like them. They were superior to draft-cattle and more useful as instruments for the promotion of civilization. They had no soul, because they were not Christian. Therefore the brotherhood preached by Christ had no application to them. They had an economic value and were worth preserving to the extent of that value, and no more. They were bought and sold at the market, and the price represented their exact value in the currency of the time. They formed part of the capital of business, and their value underwent depreciation with wear and tear. Medical charges were like payments made for repair of machinery. If they received kind treatment, as sometimes they did, they received it as tonic, designed to create a higher value. Food was given on the same principle as fodder; and briefly, in all the relations which the master bore to them he calculated the cost of production and market value as the owner of living mutton, who spends money on grain calculates it. The principles of political economy, of the dismal Science of Carlyle, formed the foundation of the moral relations between masters and slaves. The slaves were often stupid enough to distinguish between morally good and morally bad masters, as some Indians distinguish between one high official and another, but the truth is that the good master was as a rule a better business-man, probably more solvent, and therefore more capable of distinguishing between long run and short run profits. Slavery was ultimately abolished not because Western civilization had turned a new leaf in the principles of morality, but because sound economic calculation showed that slave labour was injurious to the industrial progress of civilization. Bishop Wilberforce and other devoted Christians exulted in the abolition; and statesmen and economists openly applauded them as if they had saved civilisation from the imputation of being Anti-Christian at heart. The devil's creation was fathered upon Christ, for it was the devil that suggested the abolition and accomplished it. Similar camouflage is associated with the solicitude of the British Government for the religion of the Hindus,

who swell the railway revenue by distant pilgrimages, frequently undertaken. Counting by the number of pilgrims who annually travel by railways and by the amount of revenue paid

by them, Hinduism is making rapid strides towards expansion and depth; A glorious unreality!

(To be continued).

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN LITERATURE.

By MR. D. N. GHOSH, M.A.

No historical event has produced such far-flung and comprehensive consequences as the Revolution of France. In politics, in society, in literature and arts, in the religious consciousness of a large portion of mankind, its results have been equally conspicuous. It has given a new orientation to our outlook on life, as a consequence of which, we are confronted with vivid theories about man in his individual aspect, as well as in the aspect of his collective being;—ideals of reconstruction and vision and illusions, regarding the millenium that is to come and transform this world of reality. It has set in motion lines of thought which have not yet been exhausted, but have been responsible for starting mankind to novel experiments in its social and political life; with their inevitable re-action on the life of the soul which finds expression through literature and art.

For ultimately, we must study literature as the articulate interpretation of life, as history is its literal expression. It must be regarded as the subjective reflex of those objective movements whose record is history. M. Arnold was fundamentally very sound when he called it "a criticism of life." Before the French Revolution changed our conception of life, this criticism was mainly unconscious and spontaneous, implicit and implied. In *Hamlet*, for example,—Shakespeare, does not come forward with a thesis to prove, as Ibsen does in his *Doll's House*, or Bernard Shaw in his *Candida*. Shakespeare selects a situation, a story,—brings it in contact with the ordinary current that is in human affairs, and thus humanises it. He rescues it from the chaos of intellectual abstractions. We will not appreciate a Shakespearean

drama apart from the palpitating world of life around us, divorced from its profoundly human appeal. Its aim is not the solution of a vital problem, but the realisation of a vital fact of life. Modern Literature, on the other hand, is concerned primarily with abstract ideals and discussions. The "criticism of life" is more or less explicit and obvious.

The aim of this indirect criticism or *envisagement* of life through literature is to "free, arouse and dilate the human mind." Literature must *absolve* the human mind from the tyranny of isolated facts, inexplicable in their purpose and often meaningless in their implications. It must *arouse* the human mind to a true appreciation of life in its aspect of beauty, of a harmonised synthesis of its constituent parts. It must *dilate* the human mind so as to make it capable of encompassing the multiplicity of life in all its infinite and perplexing details. In the fulfilment of these objects, the modern mind is elaborately self-conscious. Life is so much more strenuous to-day, so much of a science, that we cannot afford to be oblivious to its implications. We do not live the free, unthinking existence of the primitive being, but the highly sophisticated existence of a complex and consciously-evolved civilisation. We must understand life, and not merely live it.

Thus in its criticism of life, literature assumes two distinct aspects,—conscious and unconscious, when life loses its harmony, its subtle and impalpable inner adjustments, when it is deflected from the true orbit of its revolution, where its movements have an inborn ease born of harmony,—in other words, when life becomes abnormal through undue emphasis

being laid on its peculiarities and angularities, it awakes in the human mind a feeling of protest and of revolt. In giving expression to this feeling, or to facts realised through this feeling, literature becomes highly self-conscious in its purpose. It is unconscious when man feels himself at home in this world, when he is able to live "the free and easy life of every day," as M. Roland excellently puts it. The Greek tragedians dealt with the terrible passions of the human mind,—which shriek against the very foundations of life, but to them, these passions, abnormal or violent as they are, did not appear as universal or even dominant in human society, or take Shakuntala, for example;—Shakuntala, standing before Dushyanta in that magnificent last scene:—insulted, humiliated; giving vent to the surging feelings within her breast,—feelings of ineffable contempt, of intense rage, indissolubly mixed,—and yet underneath it all, the mighty passion of love that has been cast out so madly and impiously;—there is a splendid situation, splendidly conceived and interpreted. There is *criticism of life*. But how sublimely simple it is, how unconscious! The divination of a poet's instinct has transfigured that scene and individualised it. Kalidasa or Shakespeare, Aeschylus or Euripides sought only to express the primal and elemental feelings of the human breast, and through them, by an indirect and unconscious process, to *purge* the human mind and fulfil the function of literary criticism. They did not wish to reform a crying social evil, or to demolish the ideals of speculators, or to break up the fabric of a social scheme. Their work is human, not humanitarian. But the modern dramatist deals with passions, scarcely less terrible or intense than those handled by his ancestors, as though they were crying social evils, seeking remedied measure at the hands of the literary artist. He has the spirit of the scientist in him. He loves analysis and abstraction, and generalises his experience.

This attitude of the modern mind is due to the inevitable sophistication of life. Life has lost its harmony,—the harmony that springs from a definite centre towards which the various tendencies merge and converge, and this harmony, this tendency to centralisation,—to the reception of a centre of authority in all things has been lost because man has forgotten the ultimate basis of reality upon which life

and its correlations depend. "Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains,"—was the slogan of revolt started by Rousseau, the prophet of the modern age. But these chains were created by man—through the very exigencies of his existence. What was originally the spontaneous acceptance of binding principles has become in the end the irksome bondage to unpalatable laws. It is because the individual voluntarily abdicates his right "to do as he like" that society and its laws can for a moment exist. But when this constant submission to authority becomes a mechanical habit, when it ceases to have the myriad-sided vitality of a living organism, it prepares the way for a revolution, which is only a re-adjustment of the order under the influence of new dogmas. Man cannot live except in dogmas, for it is through these that he subdues the elemental brutality of his nature, and becomes civilised. The modern man having rejected the dogmas of his forefathers, has not yet re-discovered his own according to which life has to be re-constructed. Hence the atmosphere of intellectual chaos that invests the world of letters in our time. Each individual thinker views the world and represents it through the bias of his own independent opinion. They come to us with a sort of defiant challenge, which we can never placidly enjoy, but must analyse through our intellectual power.

A necessary result of this has been the gradual decay of faith in talismanic dogmas that marks a good deal of contemporary literature. St. Beuve said, "The ideal has ceased, the lyric vein has dried up." The modern mind worships reality without the drapery of ideals.

*We shift and bedeck and
bedrape us ;
Thou art noble, and nude
and antique :—*

sang Swinburne. The tendency to belittle ideals and glorify reality is transparent in the epigrams of Oscar Wilde and the paradoxes of Bernard Shaw, in the grim realism of Hauptmann as well as in the impalpable symbolism of Maeterlinck. Formulas and dogmas, creeds and conventions, customs and traditions have no right to exist; they must be demolished,—says the modern man. For it is as though we are trying to secure the truth by

building about us these walls of falsehood. The self-confidence of the modern man even in his own eccentricities is enormous. He feels not the least compunction for his impotence or ignorance. In fact, he seems rather to take a pride in confessing his limitations and remaining self-satisfied. Do we not know God?—well, we are agnostics. Do we not believe in ideals?—why, we are realists. If we are not sure about the reality of our senses, we call ourselves sceptics. We boldly dismiss under a name volumes of significant facts—if not of the material world; certainly of the mental, which is quite as true. We exalt our ignorance to a lofty eminence, and remain strong in our egoism.

Thus, man has gradually ceased to be a man, and has become instead a problem. Literature has become the laboratory in which men of letters carry on their experiments through impossible combinations. Its appeals have ceased to be to the primal emotions of man, and it has gradually tended towards intellectualism. It does not try to reveal the profound intricacy of a complex human organism but to reduce that complexity to a few comprehensive generalisations after the manner of the scientist.

It would be convenient in this connection to indicate briefly some of the implications involved in the teachings of Rousseau, the prophet of the modern era. Rousseau's philosophy contains the germs of all subsequent ideas, even when those happen to be so obviously opposed as the doctrines of Individualism and Socialism. Much of the positive side of Rousseau's teachings stands condemned—both in their historical and their philosophical assumptions. But he taught men to think boldly and not to be swayed by the subconscious prejudices gathered from our past history. He questioned accepted beliefs and criticised the utility of accepted ideals. The Idea of Humanity, usually associated with the name of Herder, was first indicated by Rousseau, who led Herder to the study of the original constitution of things, and created in him a tendency to interpret history from a political standpoint. Rousseau's influence was most profoundly felt in Germany, from which country it made its way to other countries. It was Rousseau who taught mankind to deal with such ultimate and fundamental problems as those which engaged the attention of the

great synthetic philosophers like Comte and Hegel.

The Ideas of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity which embody the practical side of Rousseau's idealised conception of humanity, are the cardinal ideas in the social-politics of the world throughout the 19th century. The concept of "Liberty" gave rise to the doctrine of Individualism, which became paramount, as Carlyle has brilliantly shown, in the period of the French Revolution, but which was consolidated as a philosophy by Kant in his enunciation of "the categorical imperative"; and persisted down to the times of Mill and Spencer. This doctrine did much to emancipate man from the despotism of society, religion and the state, and although it has now fallen into comparative discredit both in its economic side, as the theory of *laissez-faire*, and in its political side as the theory of non-intervention—yet it is even now paramount in the intellectual life of the people, where free-thought has been carried to its utmost limit. The influence of this on literature can hardly be overestimated. Modern literature is marked by an aggressive individualism, and distils the eccentricity and even the insanity of unbridled megalomanias. The want of all sense of proportion, the all-absorbing intensity of purpose, the obsession with some exclusive cult, preached to the world with the energy and earnestness of a fanatic which is displayed in writers like Strindberg or Nietzsche is the direct consequence of this individualistic philosophy whose origin is in Rousseau's unphilosophical conception of the idea of Liberty.

Similarly, the idea of Equality, which thrilled the consciousness of the human race with the vision of the Millennium was first propounded as a cardinal idea in a new scheme of life by Rousseau. This has been the originating point of a comprehensive revolt against the theory of the individual's freedom from all control, and forms the basis of the Philosophy of Socialism. It was developed by Karl Marx, who was a disciple of such contradictory forces as Hegel and Ricardo and St. Simon. This mongrel origin of a new cult introduced an element of paradox which tantalises us in writers like Bernard Shaw. For while it brought the realisation of the Golden Age within the sphere of practical politics, and thus inspired the idealism of mankind, it rested on a realism which at times was

hardly less obnoxious to disciplined tastes than the realism of Emile Zola. The ideal was the ideal of economic progress and hence it ignored moral problems. How it has insidiously worked into English literature through Ruskin and M. Arnold, till to-day in Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, it is an all-pervasive essence were a fascinating and fruitful study. But there cannot be any doubt that in its economic interpretation of human problems it has given a new direction to our view of the labouring classes which has been reflected in a considerable portion of our literature.

Finally, "Fraternity",—the doctrine of the brotherhood of man based on a realisation of the inherent kinship of the human spirit—the coping-stone to the arch of Rousseau's philosophy—has preserved the element of old-world idealism which such scientific ideas as the "biological conception of life," or the theory of "struggle for existence" and of the "survival of the fittest" have sought to destroy. In the place of the ruthless competition of economic and political warfare, it has brought the idea of co-operation as vital factors in life. Tolstoy and Romain Rolland and Rabindranath Tagore are among the foremost of those creative artists who have enriched their work with the liberalising and ennobling influence of the spirit of Fraternity. They are the idealists who have reminded men of his divinity and of his higher self, which the scientific spirit has done much to discredit and destroy. If literature be regarded as a means of escape from the bondage of reality, then it is in the writings of these apostles of a religion of human brotherhood that its highest fulfilment in modern times must be sought.

I believe it was Mr. Edmund Gosse who once spoke of the Agony of the Victorians. Whoever it was, this phrase brilliantly sums up the characteristics not only of the Victorian, but also of the more modern era. The Renaissance of Wonder passed away. Men ceased to be astonished at the Blessed Dawn which evoked from the external idealism of humanity the enthusiastic ejaculation,—*"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive."* Wonder was followed by a disillusionment which was bitter,—which was *agonising*. Life, which found in the great classical writers,—in Homer or in Shakespeare its eager and earnest worshippers, ceased to be a lyric rapture and to escape from it was the great aim of the poets. They were half in love

with easeful death. Life perplexed them, mystified them;—for the foundation of life, its principle of cohesion, its tendency to seek consummation in the solution of diversity in harmony—the recognition of the essential brotherhood of man, not as an abstract formula but as a concrete fact—broke down under the strain of uncertain idealism vaguely self-conscious, but uncertain about itself. Therefore the great Romantic poets tried to ignore life and to evolve an imaginary Utopia, as we see in a Shelley or a Condorcet. But life can never be thus ignored; it is the last thing that can be safely eliminated from human calculations. If it is not accepted with ease, it becomes rebellious in its demands. Just as, on the one hand, you cannot confine it within a codified system, so, on the other hand, you cannot with safety give it unchartered freedom in a realm of intellectual abstraction. For, in the one case, you attempt to solidify what is by nature mercurial; what is in essence, intangible. And in the other, you ignore the element of fact and thus lead either to intellectual aberration or to emotional hysteria, that is the bane of a Wordsworth or a Keats.

This was precisely the point where the Romantic conception of life broke down. As one of its German philosophers has explained—"The eternal Dionysian element in human nature rebels with irresistible force against the eternal Apollonian element. Not the laurel as the prize of victory, but the fighting for its own sake is its watchword." It is against this disordered and deranged mental atmosphere, which rioted in its own meaningless profusion, and exhausted itself in futile efforts to realise an indefinite goal that the Utilitarian renovators of latter-day literature raised their voice of protest. Life had become full of discords and distresses and provoked problems which puzzled mankind. The Utilitarians—headed by Dickens in England and Ibsen on the continent—could not tolerate the irresponsible idealism with which the Romantic poets had sought to ignore such difficulties. They came to create harmony with the help of science by recognising the problems of the human mind as well as of society as rampant and active forces in life which unless so recognised, carry within themselves all the elements of disruption.

As a corrective against impalpable idealism, it was undoubtedly a necessary movement. It introduced into literature a pitiless and uncom-

promising realism, and focussed the attention of man on the bye-ways of life,—those sequestered corners of existence which nourished in their gloom hideousness and squalor that must eternally put to shame the divine in man. It opened men's eyes to the crimes and the sins that germinate in secret,—to the dehumanised man and the unsexed woman—to the abnormal, to the *unreal real*. In one word, it awoke man not only from his spiritual dreams but also from his moral stupor. It brought into literature a philanthropic ardour, a passionate desire to face reality not in subservience to the exploded dogmas and formulas of bygone age, put in obedience to the call of the future which cries for re-adjustment of the basis of life according to the needs of the time.

But at the same time, this earnest desire to solve problems of life introduced a desire to dissect life scientifically, which seriously interferes with the spontaneity of a creation of art. The anarchy of ideas which such a literature promotes, dependant as they are on contemporary events and atmosphere, cannot fail to affect its permanence as a "thing of beauty" and a "joy for ever." Each literary artist views the world under the influence of his own pre-conceived ideas, which challenge our intellect and do not often appeal to our emotions. Art should never be obtrusive. It should insinuate itself into our minds, "slide into the reader while he is thinking of no such matter," as Lamb observed with reference to Wordsworth. It should deal with elemental and primal feelings of man, whose appeal is universal, and not confined to particular time and meant for a particular audience. It must interpret all problems as they modify and recreate the human mind. It should not display peculiarities and abnormalities for their own sake, but as they affect the universal nature of man. It must judge life not in terms of value but of beauty, which is the criterion of art.

The Aesthetic school of modern literature which originated in Keats' sublimation of the cult of beauty, is a re-action against the school of Ibsen and his disciples. At first indefinable and supremely unconscious, it gradually became pronounced in its tendencies, systematised in its methods, and conscious in its ultimate developments. Its apostle was Keats, the supreme poet of beauty. The hyper-sensitive temperament of Shelley and the hyper-medita-

tive attitude of Wordsworth made them respond too readily to contemporary needs to have the detached outlook of a true artist. Keats, however, had no obsession. His spirit was untouched by philosophy, or any Utopian scheme of political and social reconstruction. He accepted the world with all its imperfection on its head and rarely troubled himself with any desire to solve any problem of life. To him it was a matter of supreme joy that Beauty is imperishable. And to create and worship beauty was to him the supreme mission of the artist.

*"Yes I will be thy priest, and build a fane
In some untrodden region of my mind."*—

he boldly affirmed in one of his magnificent Odes,—that to Psyche. While the Platonic cast of Shelley's mind made him delight in the glory of intellectual beauty to Keats it was the sensuous aspect of Beauty that made the most intense appeal. Psyche, he says, is "fairer than Phoebe's Sapphire regioned star, or Vesper's amorous glow-worm of the sky." Hence it is that she is to be worshipped and not because of her mystic significance, which neither Shelley nor Coleridge could ignore. Similarly, in the Ode to the Grecian Urn, he explicitly stated his conviction of the identity of Truth and Beauty,—whatever is beautiful must be True.

Among the disciples of Keats, Swinburne in England and Baudelaire in France were most responsible in creating a mental atmosphere suited to the reception of the work that they did. Their aim was the creation of beauty and the revolution of beauty,—understanding by beauty not merely those aspects of beauty which appeal to our senses; but rather in that more complex and subjective beauty which Shelley had apostrophised in the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty. And in this, they went as much against the conventional discipline which man imposes upon his mind as their utilitarian contemporaries. "Their most rebellious work," says Mr. Herford, "was a revelation of the beauty lurking in neglected or proscribed forms of art." There was the spirit of Swinburne when he wrote—

*What ailed us, Oh Gods, to
desert you,
For creeds that refuse and
restrain;
Come back and save us from
virtue.
Dolores, our lady of Pain.*

In the works of Oscar Wilde or Ernest Dowson or Arther Symonds, this spirit manifests itself. They protested against the intrusion of the real life in the world of literature. "All art being," according to them, "to a certain extent a mode of acting, an attempt to realise one's own personality on some imaginative plane out of reach of the tramelling accidents and limitations of real life." Thus they came to dally with their own morbid moods and exotic fancies, and transfigured them by the interpenetration of their own subjectivity. Sometimes they nobly succeeded as in Wilde's *Salome*, but often they sank into the paths of uninspired artificialities which militate against balanced aesthetic taste. Their other defect has been so excellently expressed by Rudolf Eucken, that we cannot do better than ponder over his words.

"That which Aesthetic subjectivism offers us," says Eucken, "under the catchwords of New Ethics is in reality a finer form of Epicureanism, a self-indulgence on the part of the individual, who frees himself from every restriction; those who find satisfaction in it should in consistency, reject both ethics and religion—a fundamentally erroneous view and removes them from the sphere of thought." A sound criticism, which has been amply illustrated in the tragedy of Oscar Wilde.

Thus by the very nature of the conditions modern literature promotes in either of its two chief forms of expression a modish self-consciousness, which is alien to literary creation. For when we are too self-conscious in our creative efforts, we lose the background of a complete view of life. "Then in our self-expression," says Rabindranath Tagore, "we try to startle and not to attract; in art we strive for originality, and lose sight of truth,

which is old and yet ever new; in literature, we miss the complete view of man which is simple, yet great. Man appears instead a psychological problem, or as the embodiment of a passion that is intense, being exhibited in the glare of a fiercely emphatic artificial life." (*Sadhana*).

Of course, our modern world is so much more complex than at any other epoch in human history, that we can readily appreciate the reason why artists are oppressed with the heavy weight of this weary and unintelligible world. The tragedy in the life of the modern artist has not only been expressed in Oscar Wilde's *Dorian Grey*, but it finds an almost epic expression in Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe*, and I cannot do better than conclude these random notes with a quotation from that epoch-making book. "The writers of to-day," said M. Rolland, "waste their energy in describing human rarities and cases that are common enough in the abnormal group of men and women living in the fringe of active healthy human being. Since they themselves have shut themselves off from life, leave them, and go where there are men. Show the life of everyday to the men and women of everyday; that life is deeper, more vast than the sea..... write the simple lives of these simple men, with the peaceful epic of the day and the night following,—following one like to another and yet all different; all sons of the same mother from the dawning of the first day in the life of the world." It is because modern artists do not follow this in their creative efforts that M. Rolland calls them strange creatures, "They have given up trying to see life, hardly attempt to understand it; and never by any chance *will* it."

CARLYLE: A STUDY IN THE LIGHT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

By MR. MOHD. HAFIZ SYED, B.A.

The opinions regarding Carlyle's life and philosophy are of the most varied complexion. A writer in *Blackwood* called him a "blatant impostor," the *Quarterly* "did not think he was a deep thinker"; *Frazer's Magazine* summed up its opinion by saying, "He cultivated a contempt of the kindly race of men." Once an Indian scholar remarked that Carlyle was a philosopher run mad. On the other hand John Morley said, Carlyle was "not only one of the foremost literary figures of his own time, which is comparatively small thing, but one of the greatest moral forces for all time". He has influenced the men of influence. His first convert of note was Emerson. There is good reason for believing that Carlyle's Sartorian philosophy aided Tennyson in his great task of completing 'In Memorium.' Ruskin, who came later, is also proud to acknowledge Carlyle as his master in his humanitarian efforts. The attitude of Huxley and Tyndal toward him is not unknown. To the student of Indian Philosophy, however, the sage of Chelsea, has a special and peculiar charm. The fruits of the French revolution, in which men, inflamed with the passion of liberty, flung over-board the old settled ideas of society and faith, had spread over Europe. They cast to the winds many vital principles and eternal interests. The result was the advent into Europe of blank materialism. For them, there was no God. Mind was a manifestation of matter, and life was explained as a system and sequence of mechanical effects from mechanical causes. Carlyle could find no satisfaction in the materialistic explanation of the universe. He searched for salvation—elsewhere than in the dead, soulless void of a mechanical world. He found it in the message of Kant, Fichte and Goethe, especially the last; and Sartar Resartus contains the explanation of the enigma, as it appeared to him. Nature appeared to him a vocal expression of a living and a sentient God. Matter is a manifestation of spirit, "the garment and clothing of the higher celestial invisible, unimaginable, form-

less, and dark with an excess of bright." His interpretation of the universe is illumined by his favourite quotation from Shakespeare "We are such stuff as dreams are made of, and our little life, is rounded with a sleep," corroborated by that utterance of the life-spirit of Goethe:—

*"It is thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the garment thou seest
Him by."*

Everything in life, the little conventions, creeds, and institutions, all seemed to him to have a striking analogy to the garments in which humanity clothes itself. It will not be wrong to assume that Carlyle, so far as we know, was the only writer in the English language, in whom the idea of the philosophy of clothes dawned for the first time. "It might strike the reflective mind", says he in the opening chapter of Sartar Resartus, "with some surprise that hitherto little or nothing of a fundamental character, whether in the way of philosophy or history, has been written on the subject of clothes".

Before elucidating his meaning and entering into the spirit of his wonderful philosophy in the light of Indian Thought it is necessary to quote his own words bearing on this subject. In the fifth chapter, the *World in clothes*, he says, "Clothes gave us individuality, distinctions, social polity; clothes have made men of us; they are threatening to make clothes-screen of us". In the seventh chapter we come across the following:—"Did we behold the German fashionable dress of the fifteenth century, we might smile; as perhaps those by-gone Germans, were they to rise again, and see our haberdashery, would cross themselves, and invoke the Virgin. But happily no by-gone German, or man rises again, thus the present is not needlessly trammelled with the past, and only grows out of it, like a tree, whose roots are not intertangled with its branches, but lie peaceably underground. Nay,

it is very mournful, yet not useless, to see and know, how the greatest and dearest, in a short while, would find his place quite filled up here, and no room for him; the very Napoleon, the very Byron, in some seven years, has become obsolete and were now a foreigner to his Europe. Thus is the law of progress secured; and in clothes, as in all other external things whatsoever, no fashion will continue." In *'The World out of clothes'* we meet the following striking words:—"Teufelsdröckh undertakes no less than to expound the moral, political, even religious influences of clothes; he undertakes to make manifest, in its thousandfold bearings, this grand proposition, that man's earthly interests are all hooked and buttoned together, and held up, by clothes." He says in so many words, "society is founded upon cloth; and again, society sails through the Infinitude on cloth." Further we read the following:—"Pity that all metaphysics had hitherto proved so inexpressibly unproductive! The secret of man's being is still like the Sphinx's secret, a riddle that he cannot read; and for ignorance of which he suffers death, the worst death, a spiritual. What are your axioms, and categories, and systems, and aphorisms? Words. Words. High Air-Castles are cunningly built of words, the words well-bedded also in good Logic-mortar; wherein however no knowledge will come to lodge." In the chapter on *Prospective*, he says, "All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken is not there at all: Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some idea and body it forth. Hence clothes as despicable as we think them, are so unspeakably significant. Clothes, from the king's mantle downwards, are emblematic, not of want only, but of a manifold cunning victory over want. On the other hand, all emblematic things are properly clothes, thought woven and hand woven; must not the imagination weave garments visible bodies,.....". Further we come across the following:—"Men are properly said to be clothed with authority, clothed with beauty, with curses and the like. Nay if you consider it, what is man himself, and his visible terrestrial life, but an emblem; a clothing or visible garment for that Divine Me of his, cast hither, like a light-particle, down from Heaven? Thus is he said also to be clothed with a body. Language is called the garment of thought: however, it should

rather be, Language is the flesh garment, the body, of thought.

"It is written, the Heavens and the earth shall fade away like a vesture; which indeed they are: the time-vesture of the Eternal. Whatsoever sensibly exists, whatsoever represents Spirit to Spirit, is properly a clothing, a suit of raiment, put on for a season, and to be laid off. Thus in this one pregnant subject of clothes, rightly understood, is included all that men have thought, dreamt, done, and been: the whole external universe and what it holds is but clothing; and the essence of all science lies in the philosophy of clothes". Here ends a fairly long quotation, from Carlyle's famous book, *Sartar Resartus*. Now let us turn our attention for a while to the Indian thinkers of yore, and see how much light they throw in understanding the true spirit of Carlyle as embodied in his philosophy of clothes. Whatever may be the final verdict of Western Savants as to his moral and spiritual greatness, the writer of these pages has not the least doubt that Carlyle was an inspired writer; and like many "Seers of the Essence of things" he was endowed with no little spiritual insight. It is no wonder, then, if his utterances and writings bear striking resemblances with, and find ample corroboration in, the teaching of the Indian thinkers of antiquity.

"All this verily (is) Brahman" (III-XIV-i) says Chhandogyaopanishad.

"This" is the technical word for the universe, and the universe is Brahman, because therefrom it is born, thenceinto it is merged and thereby it is maintained. All that we see around us comes forth from that fullness and is as the shadow of that substance.

Brihadarayauka-opanishad (II-iii-1) says, there are two states of Brahman, formful and formless, changing and unchanging, finite and infinite, existent and beyond (existence).

He cannot become manifest save by clothing Himself in This, and this cannot become manifest save as illumined ensouled, by Him: The Supreme Ishvara, by His Maya, creates, preserves, and destroys the innumerable world-systems that form the ocean of Sansara. In one of his commentaries on Aitareyanyaka-opanishad Sayana says: "All objects whatsoever, being of the nature of effects, are Upadhis for this manifestation of the Supreme Self, Sat, Chit, Anand, the cause of the universe". Who does not remember that immortal and well-

known verse in the Bhagvat Gita? (ii-22) "As a man throws away old garments and takes others (that are) new, so the Embodied casts away old bodies and puts on new ones". In the Chhandogyaopanishad once more we read how man creates form or in the Carlylean phraseology the tailor makes his own dress. "He who has the consciousness, 'May I smell', he the Atma, in order to smell, (makes) the organ of smell; he who has the consciousness, 'May I speak', he the Atma, in order to speak (makes) the voice; he who has the consciousness, 'May I hear', he the Atma, in order to hear makes the organ of hearing; he who has the consciousness, 'May I think,' he, the Atma (makes) the mind, his divine eye".

There are three worlds in which the Jivatma circles round on the wheel of births and deaths. These are Bhulokah or Bhurloka, the physical earth; Bhuvarkah, the world next the physical, and closely related to it but of finer matter; Svarlokah or Svaraga, the heavenly world. Beyond these are four other worlds, belonging to the higher evolution of the Jivatma, Maharlokah, Janalokah, Tapolokah and Satyaloka. There are also seven Shariras (bodies)—Sthula, Sukshma, Karana, Budhic, Nirvanic, etc. There are seven other worlds usually called Talas, literally surfaces which have to do with regions within the earth, that are of grosser matter than the earth. They correspond to the Lokas as an image corresponds to an object, and are on a descending scale, as the Lokas are on an ascending.

"All this", says the author of the *Devi Bhagavata*, "is made, one within the other; when that perishes, all perish, O Narada! All this collective universe is like a water-bubble, transient". Why does Carlyle call it philosophy of clothes instead of form or appearance or the changing world, is the next question we have to examine. Some of the characteristics of clothes we wear are (1) that we change our clothes as we grow from infancy to childhood, from boyhood to youth, from youth to manhood or as the clothes are worn out from time to time, (2) Seasonableness:—we vary our clothes according to the changing weather and periodical season; (3) our clothes have variety: they are not of one colour, size, shape and fashion, (4) no clothes are put on for ever. They are changed from time to time; (5) every article of habiliment is not as a rule made by us but by a tailor who is an expert in dress-making.

(6) Our garments are of our own creation and not made by God. All that applies to clothes in their variety, seasonableness, changeability etc. holds good in the case of our thoughts and views, customs and creeds, social and political opinions of every kind and every age. If our views and institutions lack adaptability and flexibility they are sure to become out of date and effect. Everything that has a beginning must have an end, is a fundamental thought of Indian philosophy. The unborn, perpetual, eternal and ancient is the only reality that is free from change. All human institutions, human knowledge, human society, political and religious organisations have their age. They come and go with the changing world. None can retard the slowly moving march of the divine plan of evolution. Whether we like it or not; in exact accordance with the Divine Will, we grow, blossom, wither and die. Those who work in harmony with the Divine plan they succeed in their efforts, prosper and shine, whereas those that oppose it are wrecked and ruined. Not only human institutions and man-made customs and creeds but also the world-systems, planets and mighty civilizations have their 'little day' and pass away, yielding place to new ones. Every outer garment of our thought and life is only a means to an end and not an end in itself. When they once serve their purpose they are no longer required.

In view of the various characteristics of clothes just stated, our thoughts and views, customs and conventions, should be modified and altered to suit the exigency of time. Differences of caste, creed and colour, minor and unessential as they are, should be tolerated and not made much of. Rigidity in thought and custom and dogmatism should be depreciated in the light of these considerations. Open-mindedness and unbiassed attitude of mind will alone help us to view things rightly.

People have been accustomed for a long time to look upon the phenomenal universe as the only reality and therefore they attach great importance to the passing and fleeting things of this world. If they had right discrimination and knew how to differentiate between the real and the unreal, the essential and the unessential side of every object, they would never waste their precious breath and energy in wrangling over so many shifting problems of life. History bears no little evidence to the heart-rending conflicts and feuds, crusades, industrial ex-

plottations and political aggrandisements that have been existing in almost all countries of the world. What an incalculable amount of human life and property has been recklessly destroyed for the mere gratification of national greed, vanity and false idea of prestige! If the leading men in all nations had correct perspective and right discriminative vision, they would have made up their differences, put an end to war and thus minimised human suffering. Human beings generally forget the ephemeral nature of our existence in this world.

Man's clothes are changed as he grows in stature and in size. Why should we, then, feel sorry and blame any body if we have to part with any of our out-of-date views and customs that are no longer useful? We cannot help adoring what we burnt and burning what we adored. "Thou grieveest for those that should not be grieved for,.....the wise grieve neither for the living nor for the dead." (Bhagavad Gita, ii—11).

Robert Briffault in his latest book *'The Making of Humanity'* says, "Our age which is witnessing the dissolution of all the traditional sanctions of ethics, which tears without awe or scruple the veil from every sentiment and convention, which questions with unprecedented temerity the very principle of good and evil, this sceptical iconoclastic age, has not only given more practical effect, more current realization to those ideals of temperance and compassion which previous ages dreamed of and preached; this emancipated sacriligious age is doing more, it is carrying those ideals higher, it is creating new ones, it is witnessing the development of a higher and truer conception of ethics, evolving a loftier morality". The foremost factor in that development is precisely the preception of that human evolution which seems to have close relation with the philosophy of clothes. It is interesting to note that only human beings stand in need of clothes, because they alone are endowed with creative thoughts. Thus it is obvious that men cannot do without clothes or forms which have their temporary value. They are not to be despised and set aside. They should be taken at their right value. Similarly we should treat all human institutions, thoughts and views, customs and creeds. It is futile to grieve over the inevitable.

Freedom of thought (and action) is our birth right. The human soul is essentially free

in its nature. No creed, no dogma, no theory of things, no conception of life, no assumption, no prejudice, must be allowed to dominate the soul.

Carlyle has dwelt on the philosophy of clothes, the outer garment of our existence at great length. It should be noted that he has not neglected to dilate upon the permanent and real side of human nature. In the concluding portion of 'Natural Supernaturalism' Carlyle eloquently declares "Know of a truth that only the time-shadows have perished, or are perishable; that the real being of whatever was, and whatever is, and whatever will be, is ever now and forever".

Compare it with the teaching of Sri Krishna, (in the 2nd Adhya of Bhagvad Gita) who says, "Nor at any time verily was I not, nor thou, nor these princes of men, nor verily shall we ever cease to be hereafter". "Know That to be indestructible by whom all this is pervaded, nor can any work the destruction of that imperishable one".

In the 'Everlasting Yea' his sublime words "Make thy claim of wages a zero, then, thou hast the world under thy feet" have brought peace and solace to many a weary soul. Further in the same chapter he reminds us "It is with renunciation that life, properly speaking, can be said to begin."

At the root of all religions lies the idea that self-sacrifice, leading first to self-loss and then to self-realization, is the supreme law of man's higher life. If man has indeed been made in the image of God, and if the capacity for self-sacrifice is the highest attribute of man, then self-sacrifice—the going out of self in order to find new life—must be of the essence of God. This idea is, I need hardly say, central in the teaching of ancient Rishis. Let life itself then with all its limitless possibilities, become the main object of man's desire,—and material possessions will lose their charm. For the desire for them is, in its essence, a desire for property, for things which a man can claim as his own. This desire which has darkened the world with strife and misery, must give way to the desire for possessions which no man can keep to himself, which each man share with all. Such a possession is life itself—life in all its infinitude, in all its mystery. The whole sea of life is at the service of each of us. For the fully expanded, the fully developed self is the real self. It is not until a man has arrived at the

maturity of his 'true spiritual manhood' that he is free to say 'I am I' or I this not (Aham etat na). To lose the apparent self is to find the genuine self; and to find the genuine self is to become what one really is. Every one is not fit to renounce or make his claim of wages a zero. It is a question of stage of evolution. Indian philosophers recognise the spiritual unity of mankind, but do not consider all eligible at one and the same time to tread the path of spiritual development. So long as a man is attracted by the attractive and is dragged by his desires to enjoy the objects of senses he is going round the descending arc of the circle of evolution. He is treading the path of Privritti or the path of forth going. When he is satiated with the passing phantom of the outer world he turns his back on the mundane existence and enters the Nivritti Marga or the path of return. This is a turning point in the life of every ego. It is here that he waives all his claim of material ownership of every kind of worldly possessions. For, he has realized to the fullest extent the worthlessness of all that this world holds dear and valuable. An insight into the working of spiritual evolution of man, helps us to understand the meaning of temporary void and feeling of nothingness that overcomes an aspirant on the path. At one time in his life Carlyle was dominated with this feeling of emptiness. Everything appeared to him vapid and tasteless. His "Eternal No" is a reflection of this state of his mind, which shortly afterwards is transformed into the 'Eternal yea'; the positive, healthy and hopeful aspect of human life. In Indian philosophy this state of mind is called Vairaga, dispassion which is the outcome of Viveka or discrimination—a tendency of mind that learns to differentiate between the real and unreal, Sat and Asat. This process of evolution is believed by Indian sages as eternal as its author.

Men differ in all ages, but their typical and psychological characteristics hold good in the main for all time. It is to prove this aspect of man's nature that Sri Krishna says, "Flowery speech is uttered by the foolish rejoicing in the letter of the Vedas, O Partha, saying 'There is naught but this,'" that is, to my mind, an explanation of why Carlyle used the word 'Eternal' in connection with the negative and affirmative phases of human mind and experience.

The last point, which is worth studying, is

Carlyle's philosophy of Action and Duty as he understands it. "Do the duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a duty Thy second duty will already have become clearer", is commonly well known. His last advice on the subject is "Produce, Produce. Were it but the pitifullest infinitesimal fraction of a product, produce it in God's name! It is the utmost thou hast in thee: out with it, then up up! Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy whole might. Work while it is called to-day; for the night cometh, wherein no man can work".

He lays great stress on the discharge of duty and urges mankind to be ceaselessly active so long as they live, but he does not say why and how one should perform one's duties.

Man is not a creature of a day, here to-day and gone to-morrow, but an unborn, immortal being, growing into a knowledge of his true nature and powers. Everything is within him, the fulness of divine wisdom and power, but this capacity has to be unfolded and that is the object of living and dying. Such a view of man's nature gives dignity and strength and sobriety to life. In the course of long evolution men began to see that the sacrifice of the lower to the higher was 'right', a duty that was owed in return for the perpetual sacrifice of the higher to the lower, of the life of Isvara for the maintenance of His children; and further that the body also owed a debt to the lower creatures who supported it, that ought to be paid by helping and serving them in turn. Then they were ready for the Divine lesson: "Thy business is with the action only never with its fruits; let not the fruit of action be thy motive, nor do thou to inaction attached. Perform action, O Dhananjaya, dwelling in union with the Divine, for, by performing action without attachment thou shalt attain perfection." Perform thou right action, for action is superior to inaction, and, inactive even the maintenance of thy body would not be possible." "Better one's own duty of another, well-discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty; the duty of another is full of danger." These inspiring words of Sri Krishna lay down in an unequivocal terms the 'Why' and 'How' of performing our duties. Every action is to be done not only without desire for its fruit, but with the object of sacrifice to the Supreme. Man has to become co-worker with the Deity Himself. Once in

the course of his long journey to his destined goal he did action with fruit as motive. Then he learns to do it for mankind ; next he learns to do it for duty's sake ; renouncing every fruit and taking every thing as the same. Lastly he learns to do it with sacrifice as object, and every action becomes an act of worship, an act of homage to the Supreme. This is the path

of a true Karma-Yogin. Enough has been written to prove that Carlyle's teaching and philosophy become more intelligible and clear if they are studied in the light of Indian philosophy which has yet to shed more light in order to solve many of the riddles of life which are engaging the thought of Western students and thinkers.

THE HISTORIANS OF OLD ANGLO-INDIA.

By ROBERT SENCOURT.

In 1791 the Company's Court of Directors was orally examining for a commission a boy of Westerkirk in Eskdale who was not more than twelve years old. "Why, my little man" one of them asked him "what would you do if you were to meet Hyder Ali?"

"I would oot with my sword and cut off his heid." This answer began the Indian career of Sir John Malcolm, the writer whose biography of Clive occasioned Macaulay's essay, whose political judgments show so much acumen in his political history of India, and who finally returned from India Mountstuart Elphinstone's successor as Governor of Bombay.

His father had failed in speculations and was thus forced to send his youngest son out so early into the world. "Noo Jock, my mon, be sure when ye are awa'ye kaim your heid, and keep your face clean ; if ye dunna ye'll just be sent hame agen," the boy's nurse had said as she started him for London. "Tut, woman" he had answered, "ye're aye se feared ; Ye'll see if I fare away among strangers, I'll just do well enough." In a brilliant Indian career he made good his boast. In 1811 he published his political history, a year after in a political mission he had introduced potatoes into Persia. He then wrote a *History of Persia*, which, however, bears no reference to potatoes. After an this he returned to England, Oxford gave him honorary D. C. L. and George III made him a K. C. B. He became acquainted with Sir Walter Scott ; he was already an intimate friend of the Duke of Wellington. In 1816 he again sailed for

India and when arrived conducted a campaign against the Pindaris and received further steps in honours and promotion. He returned to London in 1822 and made a considerable literary acquaintance, being intimate with Madame de Staël, Humboldt, Schlegel, Whewell, Sedgwick and Julius Hare. He wrote his *Sketches in Persia*, published in 1827, and his *Letter to the Duke of Wellington on the State of India*. From 1827 to 1830 he was Governor of Bombay, and ended his career in siding with Wellington against the Reform Bill. He died in 1833. Among his other works are *The Government of India* and *A Memoir of Central India*.

Except Clive and Hastings, no British administrator has displayed colossal energies successfully over so wide a field. As a soldier, as an administrator, as a political envoy, as a scholar and a writer, he was extraordinarily successful. The range of his friendships shows that he did not owe his fame alone to India. He was one of those few Anglo-Indians who never ceased to be at home in England. He lived on the largest, the most generous scale.

The fullness of his life expressed itself in his historical writings. Accurate by vigorous attention to first-hand information, it owes its value to Malcolm's grasp of life as a whole. Malcolm was an admirer of Burke whom he described as "one of the wisest men and greatest orators that England ever boasted" ; and he does not fail himself to attain both richness and elevation of style. Behind his history the intimate knowledge of the living

man is ever present. His work is not only a history : it is a collection of brilliant essays by an informed, active and sympathetic mind.(1)

Mountstuart Elphinstone arrived in Calcutta in 1796, when Sir John Shore was Governor General, and did not produce his famous history until after forty-five years' further study of India. In that time he made an extensive survey of India and the people, and rose as Governor of Bombay to the head of an administration. Books and sport alike fascinated him. He prefaced his reading of Orme's *Indostan* and Tinne's *Memoirs* with Kabir and Hafiz, with Horace and Anacreon. He was for 30 years continuously in India. After two years' travel, mostly on the shores of the Mediterranean, he settled down in London, not however without some returns to Italy to write his history. His aim was not to displace the elaborate work of Mill, but to give a history, not too long to read, which should explain India from the present day point of view. India, as Elphinstone knew it intimately and thoroughly, comes up again in full and pregnant, but never picturesque, description. He was a simple Scot, in no sense a lover of the purple. His work was for long the standard one, especially for those who studied.

* * * *

Colonel Mark Wilks was one of the first British Historians to make researches among local documents for the history of India. But if we think of him as a mere researcher, we shall have very little idea either of the Colonel or his history. His life was passed in diplomatic missions of high importance, and it was he who was Governor of St. Helena when General Bonaparte arrived there, though before long he had to give way to Lowe. The most active and universal genius of the time respected Wilks' attainments. Napoleon and Wilks constantly conversed through the medium of an interpreter, and so stimulating was the historian that on one occasion "Bonaparte became animated to excess, and appeared almost a supernatural being." (2) The dethroned Emperor evidently appreciated his Governor, (3) who was then a tall and handsome man, with white hair and with manners as courtly and impressive as his

appearance. Together they discussed chemistry, education, economics, politics, and naturally not least, India.

Wilks had lived there for thirty years. It was one of the special gifts he enjoyed from fortune that he was intended first to be a clergyman, for he thus received a classical education which chastened and pointed his English style ; he early attracted attention as an officer in the Company's service, and had almost always a staff or a political appointment. Indeed his whole career eminently fitted him for the delicate post at St. Helena which he was not allowed to retain. He was Military Secretary to two Governors and one Commander-in-Chief, and his last appointment in India was as Resident of Mysore. It was in this post that he collected the materials for his famous book, *Historical Sketches of the South India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*. This was described by Sir James Mackintosh, the author of *l'indiciae Gallicae*, who lived some years in India, as 'the first example of a book on Indian history founded on a critical examination of testimony and probability, and from which the absurdities of fable and etymology are banished.' That is one sort of praise and it deserves it, but it might be added that the style is lively and direct, with the eighteenth century dignity in it. It is still in the Johnsonian tradition and is an excellent example of it. It is in every way an admirable work. It traced the history of Mysore from very early times, but the greater part of it is given to the times of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which he surveys as contemporary history with the graphic directness of an eye-witness. The best passage is the comparison of Hyder and Tippu with which he concludes his work. In its vivid contrasts, its detailed exactness, its order and logic, its depth of insight and its sweeping comprehensiveness, it is a masterpiece among the historic characterizations of our language.

* * * *

"All the provinces of Meywar were, for a considerable time after their connection with the British Government, under the administration of Captain Todd, whose name appears to be held in a degree of affection and respect by all the upper and middle classes of society highly honorable to him, and sufficient to rescue these poor people from the often repeated charge of ingratitude. Here and in our subsequent stages, we were continually asked by the

(1) The article on Malcolm by J. A. Hamilton in the Dictionary of National Biography is not, either in accuracy or in selection of matter, up to the standard of the Dictionary.

(2) *Colonel Wilks and Napoleon*, p. 5, Lilian Corbett. No reference in D. N. R.

(3) *Ibid.*

Cutwals, &c., after "Todd Sahib"; whether his health was better since he returned to England, and whether there was any chance of their seeing him again? On being told that it was not likely, they all expressed much regret, saying that the country had never known quiet till he came among them, and that everybody, whether rich or poor, except thieves and Pindaris, loved him."⁽⁴⁾ Such is the great Bishop's account of the author of *Rajasthan*.⁽⁵⁾ Tod's long romantic book is the labour of his love, a record of the highest value. A passionate interest in the stories and the life of Rajputana raises his long researches to an almost poetic standard. Tod's *Rajasthan* is one of the most thorough of all histories dealing with India. Full and exact in detail, erudite, authoritative as it is, it yet reads more like a romance than the sober work of a scholar. Tod's studies were in fact so complete that they renew the whole life of Rajputana.⁽⁶⁾ The characters of his history are introduced as though they were the personal acquaintances of the writer, and there is no change in the vividness of description between those chiefs and princes of whom Tod writes as Political Agent and those whom he knows only as an historian. The book is still true of the Rajputs: their past is as real as the life to-day, and, if it is true now, it was even more conspicuously true a hundred years ago, when the influence of the West had hardly touched them. Tod was content to live among them almost as one of themselves, to adopt the same traditions, to cultivate the same enthusiasms, and gradually by personal inquiry, by the study of local records and the reading of comparative history, to attain to a perfect acquaintance with the whole field of his work. So thorough an intimacy with the Indian world was hardly favoured in those days—(Tod himself says "Englishmen in the East, as everywhere, undervalue everything not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not reverses, though it is only by studying the character of those around them that the latter can be averted.")—not the least fascinating part of his volumes is the personal narrative in which he describes his travels through Rajputana.

He begins the *Annals and Antiquities of*

(4) Heber II, 156.

(5) Dedicated to George IV. Vol. I, 1820; Vol. II, 1822.

(6) Introduction. Page six: "The moral effect of history depends on the sympathy it excites"

Rajasthan with an abstruse genealogy of the Rajput tribes and a short geographical sketch of the country they inhabit. And he completes each of the two portions of his work with an elaborate and suggestive analogy between the life of the Rajputs and that of the Scythians and the tribes of Scandinavia: likewise the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece and Egypt. Memorizing all the remarkable scenes of his travels, he begins his history by writing out a thesis which had long appealed to him: the resemblance between the martial system of Rajput society and the Feudal system of Europe as described in Hallam's *History of the Middle Ages*. That he could develop two such theses as these in the paucity of conclusions and even of investigations of 100 years ago, proves the evidence of his learning as well as the sweep of his originality. It is indeed greatly owing to the breadth of his reading that his book makes such attractive reading. Familiar not only with Herodotus and indeed the classics in general of India, Greece and Rome, but with Montesquieu, Hume, Johnson, Millar and Gibbon, he loved also French and English poetry, and his mind rings with the lines of Racine and Byron, Shakespeare and the Bible, and perhaps most of all of Milton.

As to style he has a certain formality, for Tod's imagination was so active that he never disregarded literary effect, and his narrative moves with the glittering state of an Indian procession, perhaps nowhere more impressive than in his account of the immolation of Krishna Kumari Bai, "the lovely object of the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banner of her suitors Niggut Sing of Jeipoor and Raja Maun of Marwar, not only all the native chivalry but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old involved in destruction her own and rival houses. Sprung from the noblest blood of Hind, she added beauty of face and person to an engaging demeanour, and was justly proclaimed "the Flower of Rajasthan." When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial altar, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of her father's fame to sustain his imagination, and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Krishna."

Mewar (Marwar, or Merwara, now more

generally known as Udaipur), Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Amber (the ancient capital of what is now Jaipur), Bundi and Kotah each in turn occupy Tod as a chronicler, but his history of Mewar was much fuller than the others. He intended it as a general example of the Rajput states, and developed accordingly each matter that attracted his attention, and adds to the annals six chapters on the Festivals and Customs of Mewar. (7)

* * * *

James Grant Duff, author of the *History of the Mahrattas*, was a friend of Eldred Pottinger and a protege of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who describes him as "a man of much ability, and what is more much good sense," and who entrusted him with the administration of Satara. There, among the Mahrattas, he diligently collected from state papers, and by access to temple and family archives, and by personal acquaintance with the chiefs, the materials for his *History*, which came out in 1828. Grant Duff spared neither labour nor expense in amassing his materials. Much of his book was written in India and corrected by the best authorities available. Manuscripts as large as his whole work were translated expressly for it. But thorough, painstaking, accurate as the work was, and on a romantic subject, its style never grips the reader's mind. His treatment does not turn his subject into literature, as that of Tod and Cunningham: he speaks of this with characteristic directness: "I am very sensible," he says in his preface, "that I appear before the public under great disadvantages, as, indeed, everyone must do, who having quitted school at sixteen, has been constantly occupied nearly nine-tenths of the next twenty-one years of his life in the most active duties of the civil or military services of India; for, however well such a life may fit us for acquiring some kinds of information, it is in other respects ill calculated for preparing us for the task of historians"; yet some one, he argued, must make a beginning. And in any case with such intricate and confused materials the most skilful writer must have been embarrassed.

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A writer so brilliant in his style that he falls not far behind Burke and Macaulay is Sir John Kaye. He deserves to rank among the great historians of the last century: but instead he

is almost forgotten. His name never flowered in the garden of literary fame, because his productions were those which literary men never cultivated: he wrote only of India.

Kaye, who had been at Eton and Addiscombe, first went out to India in 1832 at the age of 18, as a cadet in the Bengal Artillery. After nine years in the Army, he devoted himself to literature, and in 1844 started the *Calcutta Review*, which still survives. A year later he returned to England to devote himself to writing episodes in the history of British administration, which, though he succeeded John Stuart Mill in 1858 as Secretary of the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, he continued till within a few years of his death in 1875.

Besides constant contributions to the *Calcutta Review* and other periodicals, he published *A History of the War in Afghanistan*, a history of the *Administration of the East India Company*, a *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, a *Life of Tucker*, a *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, and edited Buckle's *Memoirs of the Bengal Artillery*, Tucker's *Memorials of Indian Government*, and the *Autobiography of Cornelia Knight*, but his best work is his *Christianity in India* and his *History of the Sepoy War*, as he called the Mutiny. It came out in three volumes between 1864 and 1876.

Kaye was a well read man, especially in the Bible, and the elevating influence of his reading is one of the secrets of the distinction of his own style. He understood also the effective management of contrasts. He arranged and balanced his facts till they made not only an accurate, but a graphic story. Undoubtedly he had carefully studied his Macaulay; but his are mellow and less obvious effects. He had learnt the nameless secret of writing literature, not by mere imitation, but by thinking with that rarity of vigour which raises every impress of the writer's mind above commonplace effects. In the intimacy of his character sketches, in the picturesqueness of the scenes he describes, in the nobility and profundity of his personal reflections, Kaye is still worthy of the thoughtful attention of all Englishmen who take an interest in India. There is much that is suggestive in the following passage on the Bengal sepoy. (8)

"It was not to be said that the Sepoy was a

(7) For his friendship with his cousin Waugh and the latter's death see II, p. 613.

(8) Ch. V. p. 326.

ruffian because he had done some ruffianly deeds.

"He was, indeed, altogether a paradox. He was made up of inconsistencies and contradictions. In his character, qualities so adverse as to be irreconcilable with each other, met together and embraced. He was simple and yet designing; credulous and easily deceived by others, and yet obstinately tenacious of his own in-bred convictions; now docile as a child, and now hard and immovable in the stubbornness of his manhood. Abstemious and yet self-indulgent, calm and yet impetuous, gentle and yet cruel; he was indolent even to languor in his daily life, and yet capable of being roused to acts of the most desperate energy. Sometimes sportive and sometimes sullen, he was easily elevated and easily depressed; but he was for the most part of a cheerful nature, and if you came suddenly upon him in the Lines, you were more likely to see him with a broad grin upon his face than with any expression of moroseness or discontent. But, highhearted as was his general temperament, he would sometimes brood over imaginary wrongs, and when a delusion once entered his soul, it clung to it with the subtle malevolence of an ineradicable poison.

"And this, as we now understand the matter, was the most dangerous feature of his character. For his gentler, more genial qualities sparkled upon the surface and were more generally appreciated, whilst all the harsher and more forbidding traits lay dark and disguised, and were not discernible in our ordinary intercourse with him. There was outwardly indeed very much to rivet the confidence of the European officer and very little to disturb it. It is true that if we reasoned about that, it did not seem altogether reasonable to expect from the sepoy any strong affection for the alien officer who had usurped all the high places in the Army and who kept him down in the dead level of the dust. But Englishmen never reason about their position in the midst of a community of strangers; they take their popularity for granted and look for homage as a thing of course. And that homage was yielded to the British officer, not for his own sake, for the sepoy hated his colour and his creed, his unclean ways and his domineering manners; but because he was an embodiment of success. It was one of the many inconsistencies of which I have spoken, that though boastful and vainglorious beyond all example, the native soldier of India inwardly

acknowledged that he owed to the English officer the aliment which fed his passion for glory and sustained his military pride. This, indeed, was the link which bound class to class, and resisted the dissolving power of many adverse influences. It was this that moved the sepoy to light up the tomb of his old commanding officer; it was this that moved the veteran to salute the picture of the general under whom he had fought. But there was a show also of other and gentler feelings, and there were instances of strong personal attachment, of unsurpassed fidelity and devotion manifested in acts of charity and love. You might see the Sepoy of many fights, watchful and tender as a woman, beside the sick bed of the English officer, or playing with the pale faced children beneath the verandah of his Captain's bungalow. There was not an English gentlewoman in the country who did not feel measureless security in the thought that a guard of sepoys watched her house, or who would not have travelled, under such an escort, across the whole length and breadth of the land. What was lurking beneath the fair surface we knew not."

Here then is an example of Kaye's art, for the true historian is an artist. Here is one of the passages which even in a literary history we read with interest. It is only one coin of a great treasury.

Kaye's work was later completed by Colonel Malleon, who retired in 1872 after being guardian to the young Maharajah of Mysore. Before his retirement he had shown considerable literary ability in his *History of the French in India*, though later researches have altered its value as history. His first work to attract attention was the *Red Pamphlet* or *The Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, which accused Lord Dalhousie and his policy for being responsible for the Mutiny. Malleon wrote well; he is always interesting; but he was not sufficiently close to original documents, nor sufficiently free from bias, to make an historian sufficiently authoritative for the standards of the present day.

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Sir Herbert Edwardes, who came late in the century into a more direct relation to English Literature through the admiration of Ruskin, who in *A Knight's Faith* worked up a considerable part of Edwardes' own work originally published in 1851 as *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, is one of those great figures which

under Dalhousie and Canning shine so bright in romance in this period of the history of British India ; Havelock and John Nicholson, John and Henry Lawrence, even if we are to ignore Kavanagh, Skinner and Hodson, are a galaxy of heroes. *The Year* is just a plain story of a man who believed in himself and his work and was full of energy. It is not likely to find many readers nowadays ; Edwardes' connection with Anglo-Indian literature was earlier than this. "Herbert Edwards (sic) made his mark" says an old copy of the *Calcutta Review* "as a (sic) of the *Brahminic Bull Letters* in the *Delhi Gazette*." (9) Edwardes, who was born in 1819, wrote these papers in his early twenties, soon after his arrival in India. Their bold political opinions and clear high-spirited style attracted the attention of Henry Lawrence, then Resident in Nepal, and of Sir Hugh Gough, who made Edwardes his A. D. C. In this post he was present at the Battle of Sobraon so vividly described by W. D. Arnold in his autobiographical novel. And the two young men could hardly have failed to have noticed each other. Indeed when we consider the character not only of Edwardes but of Outram and Havelock, of Nicholson and the Lawrences, and of their contemporary Kaye, all bear so markedly the impress of their religion that it seems most curious that Arnold should have given such an unrelieved picture of British viciousness. It is a more distant exhibition of the struggle which Wesley and then Simeon, and then Newman, Keble and Pusey waged not unsuccessfully against the vile habits and thoughts which we must admit had become so general in England by the ending of the 18th century, among the people who did not leave their direct impress upon literature or history.

* * * *

The great systematic *History of British India* is that of James Mill. This laborious work was written, as is well-known, by the son of a Forfarshire shoemaker, who having scraped together an education and become the father of a large family, looked out to find some means by which he might attract enough attention to provide for them. It is therefore the successful project of an ambitious but dour man, who lengthened the three years he had contemplated to ten rather than sacrifice thoroughness in the accomplishment of an enormous task. Mill was

radical and had no prejudices in favour of the Company. Macaulay said that his lack of sympathy with Clive marred a valuable work. But he did not fail to attract the attention of the Company. He was immediately given a post at £800 a year which in the course of years rose to £2,000. But work done in this way, however thorough, must have some deficiencies. Macaulay said that "Mr. Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement" ; it might be added in these days that it is not short enough to recommend itself to those who read for examinations and not sympathetic enough for real students of India. It lacks the different qualities which recommend the work of Orme or of Wilks or of Tod or of Grant Duff or of Cunningham. And for all its thoroughness, and its clear style, and its comprehensiveness, it is less and less likely ever to be removed from the library shelf. It was a masterpiece of industry, appreciated by an age which was more leisured and more industrious than this : but it has none of the appeal of great literature. The writing of history has changed : we live in days provided for by the photographic nicety of Mr. Henry Dodwell on the one side and the exquisite flippancy of Mr. Lytton Strachey on the other. There is alas no exquisite flippancy in Mill. He has another object ; to be vigorous, straightforward and conscientious. "My whole life" he himself wrote in his introduction "I may without scruple pronounce a laborious one." And he prefixed to his *History* a quotation from the *Advancement of Learning* : *Hoc autem, presse et distincte excutiamus, sermone quodam activo et masculo, nusquam digrediendo, nil amplificando.*

He had had two courses before him which make an easy way to reputation : one was to champion a particular and powerful party, whose applause would carry the general opinion with it : the other to be milk and water : either to bring forward a train of sentimental commonplaces, or by a proper command of plausible language, and by keeping to vague and general phrases, so to compromise between conflicting views as to gain the applause of both. These courses did not recommend themselves to the grim, toiling, patient Benthamite. He tried to be impartial, but to be exact. "I believe there is no point" he wrote "of great importance in the *History of India* which the evidence I have

(9) Quoted in Hobson Jobson.

adduced is not sufficient to determine." Even that was too much to claim. But the work has "great and rare merit" all the same. His work was afterwards carried on in a new edition by Professor Wilson.

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Nowhere in the literature of Anglo-India is a higher level attained than in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*. Cunningham, who was an officer in the Army, was appointed assistant to Colonel Wade, the political agent at Ludhiana in the Punjab in 1837, when Macaulay was still in India, and thus lived among the Sikh people for eight important years of their final transactions with the British Government, and in the succeeding four years which he completed at Bhopal he realized the project of writing their history from the beginning to that time. It was in itself a striking story. At the time when the ferment of Europe was remoulding northern minds along the novel lines of the Reformation, Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, initiated his movement of virile reform among the Hindus and Moslems of the Punjab. It combined a lofty appreciation of the Supreme Being as the One and the Eternal, with the inculcation of a noble moral system for those who would rely on the dispensation of Divine Grace. This system was systematically developed by the successive Gurus, culminating in the work of the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, who was killed in 1708 on the banks of the Godavari river. On Nanak's broad basis of religious and moral purity, his various successors had gradually developed a religion wider than any quietist or ascetic system—a religion which had a written rule of conduct and a civil organization, a military system and a distinct political existence. This virile and carefully organized body gradually rose in power as the Mogul Empire declined, until at the beginning of the 19th century the famous Ranjit Singh, after a movement towards alliance with the English, attained a powerful and extended empire.

In the later years of Ranjit Singh a woman rose to one of those positions of power which the Indian system of female constraint encourages rather than diminishes. This was his mother-in-law Bibi Chandra Kaur. There was no ambition and no intrigue which was beyond the capacities of this extraordinary woman. She so arranged matters that no one knew whether the heirs were the sons of Ranjit Singh or whether they were not imported into the

palace from the hovel of a carpenter. For twenty years after the Rajah's death, the struggles continued and at the end of that time commenced the war with the British which led to the final subjugation of the Sikh power, a war in which Cunningham himself took part and his account of which is the soldier's own contribution to England's epic-prose.

He was a brilliant historian. To an attentive study of original documents, to the skilled observation of a traveller, to the personal impression of the eye-witness, and to an intimate direct knowledge of the Sikh people, he added wide reading and a gift of style borrowed perhaps from Macaulay and at its best not unequal to Macaulay's best. The same skilful use of names, of contrasts, of historic instances, enables him to rise to a more conventional but not a less majestic eloquence. There is the ampler ring of earlier and more stately ages of prose in his sentences. "Govind" he writes, "was killed in 1708 at Nudch on the banks of the Godavary. He was in his forty-eighth year, and if it be thought by any that his obscure end belied the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that

*The hand of man
Is but a tardy servant of the brain,
And follows, with its leaden diligence,
The fiery steps of fancy;*

that when Mahomet was a fugitive from Mecca, the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world; and that the Achilles of poetry, the reflection of truth, left Troy untaken. The lord of the myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met with an end almost as base as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander, and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels: he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. Success is thus not always the measure of greatness."

This is an example of Cunningham's more formal historic style, modelled on the 18th century. Gibbon, whom he quotes, was doubtless in Cunningham's mind when he wrote it. He went back past Macaulay to Macaulay's own models, Gibbon and Johnson,

who had given their stamp to Charles Grant. He rises to a sublime effect in his solemn picture of the battle of Sobraon, elevating and elaborating his impressions to a passage of Milton's vague grandeur: "The English batteries opened at sunrise, and for upwards of three hours an incessant play of artillery was kept up upon the general mass of the enemy. The round shot exploded tumbrils, or dashed heaps of sand into the air; the hollow shells cast their fatal contents fully before them, and the devilish rockets sprang aloft with fury to fall hissing amid a flood of men; but all was in vain, the Sikhs stood unappalled and "flash for flash returned and fire for fire." The field was resplendent with embattled warriors, one moment buried in volumes of sulphurous smoke, and another brightly apparent amid the splendour of burning brass and the piercing rays of polished steel. The roar and loud reverberation of the ponderous ordnance added to the impressive interest of the scene, and fell gratefully upon the ear of the intent and enduring soldier. And then it dawned upon the army that no cannonade can win a battle, and that the decision would depend upon the close movement of the infantry. These charged over the Sikh rampart and captured the cannon.

"The Sikhs however still fought with courage and resolution, and at a furlong's distance rallied and returned to the charge. The battle raged back and forwards, but gradually the Sikh entrenchments were overcome and only single batteries held out. Along the stronger half of the battlements, and for the period of half-an-hour, the conflict raged sublime in all its terrors. The parapets were sprinkled with blood from end to end, the trenches were filled with the dead and dying. Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or from time to time exploding magazines of powder threw bursting shells and beams of wood and banks of earth high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame, which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely fordable river; yet although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot,

no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter."

Not less impressive is the passage which expresses Cunningham's final elucidation of Britain's role in India: it was no flight of patriotic rhetoric. Cunningham's view though enthusiastic was acutely critical. Britain is a power which in its discipline and its unity, in its vastness and intelligence, transcends the ancient dynasties of the orient and "cumulates the magnificent prototype of Rome." But when all is said it is but superficial; it is not founded on the gratitude or predilection of the people: and poor is that dominion which does not benefit the faith and minds of its subjects from generation to generation. It is a fallacy, thought Cunningham, to pretend that Britain has won the heart of India; the Indians acquiesce in, but they chafe at, her rule. Her task is still to seize upon "the essential principles of that element which disturbs her multitudes of Indian subjects and imbue the mental agitation with new qualities of beneficent fertility," which may give an impulse and a direction to a freer and sincerer government, to a life of light and truth.

Whether these sentiments were more than British Government could be expected to tolerate, whether Cunningham's revelations of the British intrigues with the Sikh leaders were considered too damaging, the immediate result of the publication of his book was that he was arbitrarily removed from his appointment at Bhopal, and sent back to regimental duty on about a quarter of his pay. His family connections (for he was the son of Allan Cunningham and a brother became a general), his brilliant youth, his unimpaired successes availed him nothing. He published no complaint, but for him life had lost its sweetness, and a year or two later, though hardly over forty, he died. When this was the fate of one of Britain's great soldier historians, it suggests that the changes which resulted from the Mutiny were worth some cost to bring about.

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Sir William Innis brought out a life of Mahomet in the year of the Mutiny. It is a well-written and scholarly work, carrying on the tradition which in the time of Warren Hastings established a bond of learning between Europe and India. This work, however, was a link with the missionaries through the famous Dr. Pfander, at whose suggestion it was

written Innis has a vivid historic style and made real the holy places of Arabia, the dramatic personality of the Prophet and the History of Islam to the year of the Hejira in a way that they had never been done before. The book was studied by Burton and guided him in his secret pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca. In spite of its Christian bias, it was the first great study of the life of Mahomet since those of Gagnier and Sale. It explains Islam in the terms of Christianity and states the case against Mahomet as it proceeds. It is still a standard work. It was not completed until 1861. In later years Innis further developed his study of Islam.

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Horace Hayman Wilson, the successor of Halhed, Jones, Wilkins and Colebrooke as an orientalist, began his career at Calcutta in 1808 under John Leyden. His inspiration came from "the example and inspiration of Sir William Jones" and he dedicated his first leisure in India to the study of Sanskrit. After his return from India, he became in 1832 Boden Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford, and afterwards succeeded Wilkins as Librarian to the Company. His great work, published in 1826 and 1827, was the *Theatre of the Hindus*.

This work, which gave specimens of the Indian drama, was made very near to Wilson by his own keenness as an actor, and it is more than a coincidence that his wife was a granddaughter of Mrs. Siddons. In later life he published lectures on the *Religious and Philosophical Systems of the Hindus*, and edited and continued Mill's *British India*, and his collection still forms a very important part of the Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian

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Sir Henry Miers Elliot, who had been a scholar of Winchester and who was taken into the East India Company's service as the first of the competition-wallahs to pass an open examination for an immediate post, collected material for two magnificent works which were published by competent scholars after his early death. His *History of India as told by its own Historians*, a magnificent work, carries out the idea suggested by Raymond's *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* and Brigg's *Ferishta*, and establishes a sure foundation for the history of the Mohammedan period. His other great research work was *Memoirs of the History, Folklore, and Distribution of the Races of the North West Provinces* published in two volumes in 1869.

IMPRESSIONS OF TRAVANCORE.

By MR. N. K. VENKATESWARAN, B.A.

1. The Garden City.

Trivandrum, the picturesque capital of pretty Travancore, is a nice city straggling on a gnarled stretch of earth on the west coast not far from the apex of the peninsula. On the sea-shore the wild waves ululate their vain energies in angry impotence. Close by lies the quiet city lolling in dreamy repose.

In one respect Trivandrum has an attraction all its own. It is literally buried in a luxuriance of vegetation. Its piazzas and public offices, its palaces and pagodas are swathed in quilts of cushiony green. Ascend one of its

little hills that rise everywhere about the town, crowned with calm villas and sentinelled by casuarina trees, and the straggling city that rises up and down the undulations is seen embedded amidst a bizzare wealth of plant life fascinatingly foreign to urban districts. Man here lives in friendly neighbourliness with nature and does not seem impelled to rattle his sabre of science to fight and conquer her. This is a happy spot bathed with the sweet suggestion of rest, and nature has laid on it her silken scarf to induce in its inhabitants the unctuous hypnosis of happiness. This is a city of gardens quickened with a touch of

romance and to view it from the hill-top and to see the bounding silver of the sea right away across the green affords a pleasure as rare as it is great. But with jealous obscurity the city guards its attractions against the hungry tourist in search of holiday.

Trivandrum is, moreover, a sacred city and its principal pagoda, the holy abode of Sri Padmanabhaswamy (Maha-Vishnu) attracts the pious pilgrim from far and near. The temple has an interesting legendary origin. It dates back to that blessed time when man and god lived in close commune.

One fine morning in that far away age, the famous Vilvamangalam Swamyar, the favoured of Vishnu and the father of several shrines in Kerala, unwittingly gave umbrage to his deity in a huff and the latter leaving his devotee in the lurch betook himself to the forest of *Ananthankadu*, the present site of the city, in high dudgeon. The distressed saint after months of wearisome wanderings came up with the Lord in the heart of the forest and made amends for his misconduct by fervid propitiations. The spot where the meeting took place in course of time became the Trivandrum shrine within which lies Vishnu with his four arms in all the splendour of his high position. Gradually a city crept into the forest and to-day all the appurtenances of civilization also have wormed themselves in. That is the story of Trivandrum shorn of details.

2 The Country.

Within this beautiful city resides the ruling dynasty of Travancore. No royal house of modern times has pretensions to a heritage as ancient as that of the sovereigns of Travancore. But not only do they come of a line as illustrious as it is old but rules a country the "finest" in India which successfully guarded its independence through the long procession of troublous centuries.

When the rich plains of North India teeming with a prolific people were from time to time submerged under the flood of invasion and conquest by successive swarms of foreign adventurers, the great Parasurama to whose wondrous powers Kerala owes its existence commanded the hoary hills of the Western Ghats to mount guard on the eastern frontier of Travancore, a long array of gaunt sentinels—and the sea on the west keeps howling its unceasing intimidations to intending invaders

from that side. Thus protected by Nature's sleepless guardians, the beautiful backwaters of Travancore that weave into the land with exquisite charm lie quietly smiling, rippling, with never a frown on their faces. The cocoanut trees that line the shores of these tame lagoons in multitudinous groves give a contented people the just needs of life with generous amplitude. Everywhere in this secluded nook so richly inlaid with the ornaments of nature there is a deep suggestion of peace and plenty, of calm and contentment, just enough and no more.

To-day the old sentinels, the hills and the sea, stand as of yore but their glory is gone. To-day they seem to weep bitter tears like superannuated flunkies whose services are not needed in a science-ridden age. Railways pierce the hills and super-planes annihilate the sea and the old order having out-lived their utility stand saying reluctant farewell to the services that they had been rendering since the dawn of creation. Ye, immortal care-takers, your time is up. Science has no use for Ye!

Still Travancore bears the marks of its ancient charms and although rude voices break out occasionally here and there with the epidemic infection of modern restiveness, it even now enjoys the intimations of a happier life than is to be found in many places elsewhere. The charm is fast wearing off but it is still there, thanks to the slow pace of change.

3. The Royal House.

The maker of modern Travancore, which in area is about a fourth of the size of Mysore or an eighth of that of England and Wales, is Maharaja Martanda Varma who takes rank with the foremost of South Indian warrior-statesmen. He was a king of whom any people might be proud, and he packed the 29 years of his reign from 1729—1758 with great achievements and far-seeing policy. His admiring descendant, the talented Visakham Thirunal who ruled the country from 1880—1885 words his tribute to his illustrious ancestor thus. "Raja Martanda Varma succeeded to a heritage as thorny as it was poor. The feeble rule of a series of his predecessors had fostered the greed of the surrounding chieftains and the turbulence of internal malcontents to such an extent that their kingdom was almost a misnomer and their authority little more than a mockery. But Martanda Varma was one of

those whom the world produces but at rare intervals. He was born to command and to conquer. He had the best of schooling—that of hardship. He had the best of teachers—foes. He was served by one of the ablest ministers.”

Truer words have seldom been written. Born in 1700, Martanda Varma grew to boyhood amidst the dark insecurity of a vanishing royal power. The Ettuvittil Pillamars, a sort of feudal baronage were the *de jacto* lords of the land and their truculent tyranny had plunged the kingdom into unspeakable anarchy. They were the same cruel “over-kings” who committed the abominable atrocity of drowning five out of the six children of the unfortunate Umayamma Rani about 30 years earlier. These lawless chieftains were riddling the land with their depredations under the faint authority of a weak sovereign when Martanda Varma their “heaven-born” slayer was fast growing into courageous youth. When a boy of but fourteen, he remonstrated with his uncle against the policy of allowing the proud Pillamars to let loose their lawlessness over the country. “Let me have a finger in the pie” he said “and see if I can’t stay their hands.” The high spirited boy proceeded with precocious policy to check the defiant misdeeds of the dread tyrants and thus made himself the target for their inveterate enmity. Small wonder that the Prince on several occasions had to effect his escape from them by the skin of his teeth and that having been thus constantly exposed to the highest danger, he in later life proved more than a match to his unscrupulous enemies and extirpated them with the cool courage and confident foresight so necessary for such a momentous task.

The name of Martanda Varma is still green in the memory of a grateful people. They love to recall some of the thrilling anecdotes of his adventurous youth and tell it to each other in admiring enthusiasm. Not infrequently had the little Prince to seek refuge on the tops of trees or under the roofs of humble farmers or in the sombre depths of dark forests infested with wild beasts. Not infrequently did the Prince owe his very existence to the rare devotion and heroic self-sacrifice of his faithful subjects. For, be it remembered that the people at large had not failed to realise that the fierce feudal free-lances were no less a menace to themselves than to the Royal House. The late Mr. C. V. Raman Pillai often and not

inaptly called the Scott of Travancore has woven round him an exquisite novel which in point of popularity yields to none of modern contributions to Malayalam literature.

On the death of his uncle in 1728 Prince Martanda Varma assumed the reins of Government at the early age of 22. As heir-apparent he had acquired abundant experience in the dangerous task of stemming the tide of anarchy. He now came to the throne with a steadfast determination to restore order, to push the borders of his kingdom to the utmost limits of possible expansion and to give it the blessings of a firm but benevolent rule. The story of his struggle with the lawless barons and their wretched machinations against their liege lord need not detain us long. Suffice it to say that he extinguished the whole tribe and emancipated his country from the rapacious clutches of reckless bandits. This was Martanda Varma's first great achievement. He then turned his attention to the conquest of the petty principalities that hedged in and harassed his small kingdom on all sides and especially on the North. Among the back waters of Travancore any petty princeling with a little temerity can stand at bay against the disciplined forces of even the most mighty. And Martanda Varma had to contend not only against several such princes, jealous guardians of their independence, who disputed with him every inch of ground with strategy, steadfastness and courage but also against the formidable Dutch who invaded his country with a numerous force at a critical juncture in his career. Nonetheless the great warrior got the better of his adversaries and carried his victorious arms to almost the very borders of Cochin, now a sister State lying contiguous to Travancore on the North. The extent of modern Travancore remains much the same as he left it at the end of his conquests.

But great and rare as were the abilities of Martanda Varma, they were considerably reinforced by the trusty assistance of the famous Brahmin warrior and statesman Rama Iyer Dalawa unequalled for courage and capacity by any who have left their imprint on the annals of Travancore. Rising from the lowest rung of the ladder to the highest, Rama Iyer served his master with a single-minded devotion and fortitude which are rare in the pages of history. He was literally the right-hand man of the King in the battle field as

well as in the Council Chamber. His capacity as an administrator was equalled only by his courage as a warrior and the revenue system that he adumbrated is the backbone about which the revenue administration of to-day has been reared. Truly might Rama Iyer be called the Todar Mall of Travancore.

True greatness is quick to recognize its kind wherever it may be. The discovery of Rama Ayer by Martanda Varma is a case in point. Further true greatness while keeping the powder dry always trusts in God. Indeed the Maharaja's trust in God exceeded all ordinary standards and it was more than justified by his uniform good fortune. Almighty God seemed to help him over the stile in all his adversities. No doubt the Maharaja was himself the architect of his achievements but he always discerned the *hidden hand* offering him help whenever he stood in need of it. It need therefore cause little surprise that he developed an extreme of piety that found ample expression in temple architecture and various institutions of charity, in a life divorced from pomp and a sense of duty rarely approached either before or since by any member of his illustrious house which has given birth to a long and glorious roll of dutiful daughters and sons. Urged by his equally pious minister who by the way remained unmarried lest his services to his sovereign and country be diminished, the Maharaja rebuilt the Travandrum pagoda, one of the oldest and most sacred shrines of India. Within the temple is an imposing stone corridor roofed with large granite slabs (each 25 feet long). It totals a length of about 650 ft.—a truly gigantic work at which were employed 4,000 masons, 6,000 coolies and one hundred elephants for 6 months. To atone for the sins of war the pious King instituted in consultation with the learned Brahmins of the neighbouring kingdoms the famous *Murajapam*, a sexennial purificatory ceremony prescribed by the Vedas. It lasts for 56 days and entails a huge expenditure. On the closing day is an illumination which turns the temple and its precincts into an enormous amphitheatre of lights twinkling with their myriad tongues. This unique and interesting ceremony is not nowadays performed anywhere else in India. The latest *Murajapam* took place a few months ago.

Nor is this all. Martanda Varma's intense piety and profound sense of indebtedness to God found expression in what has often been

called an *act of policy*. This was the famous making over of the kingdom of Travancore to Sri Padmanabhaswamy of the Trivandrum Temple in the presence of a solemn assembly one fine morning in January, 1750. Henceforward the rulers of Travancore have been styled Padmanabha Dasa (servant of Padmanabha) and have been supposed to rule their kingdom in the name of the Lord of the Temple. It seems to be little short of sacrilege to read into this pious dedication the politic purpose of making the kingdom sacrosanct and thus to secure its immunity from internal outrage. Such may, however, have been its result but the Maharaja who so firmly believed that his successes were entirely due to the unfailing benevolence of his family deity did not seem to have an eye on that result when he made a public and solemn avowal of his great gratitude to his God.

This extremely pious Hindu ruler however followed a policy of enlightened tolerance and embraced within his paternal administration all castes and creeds, Christians, Muhammadans and Jews with equal solicitude. He toiled for the good of his people with unremitting energy personally supervising and even taking part in the construction of temples, roads and canals and if in modern times any sovereign set an example of plain living and truceless toiling it is first and foremost this common father of his people whose memory is still treasured alike by the high and low in this "God's Kingdom", the 'Celestial' state of Travancore.

4. A Model Hindu Ruler.

The late occupant of the ancient throne of Travancore, Col. Sir Rama Varma *Sri Mulam Thirunal*, had plainly modelled his rule on the high ideals of his great ancestor. His Highness assumed the reins of Government in 1885 at the comparatively early age of twenty-eight. He had, therefore, to his credit near upon forty years of rule—years of a rich harvest of progress and prosperity, when the sudden and unexpected news of his death a few weeks ago plunged the whole country into the depths of gloom and sorrow. Long experience at the helm had yielded him the secret of successful rule and he used that rare knowledge with wisdom and moderation. His Highness had no attraction for the glamour of spectacular policies or the transient popularity of political booms. With a lively suspicion of leaps in the dark, His

Highness anxiously reconnoitred the outposts of advancement before marching forward and then he hastened but slowly. If his steady and noiseless rule had not boosted his kingdom into the limelight it had rained benefits on it thick and fast and his grateful and loving subjects nurse no deeper regret to-day than that His Highness was not spared to them longer. He had a keen sense of the value of time and the evil of ease and took an active interest in the administration, the details of which he thoroughly knew from A to Z. Constitutional to a fault, he never thrust himself forward into the forefront of politics and he always based his conduct on the high ideal that "The King can do no wrong." Says Dr. K. Pandalai, "He allowed himself from the state revenues which amount to a crore and eighty lakhs of rupees only about five or six lakhs of rupees a year. It is exceedingly doubtful if there was another ruler of an Indian State in this country who took for himself such a small proportion of the revenues of his State." Indeed His Highness was even more the servant of his people than *Padmanabha Dasa*, the servant of *Padmanabha*.

In some respects His Highness was a remarkable personality fragrant with the presence of a hidden greatness. He led a life of saintly simplicity and ascetic abstemiousness. The reward had been the incalculable boons of health and experience and the conscious happiness that one's fruitful efforts always bring.

His Highness knew absolutely no extravagances and, strange as it may seem, lived somewhat in a small way. His Court was unilluminated by the splendour of "Oriental pomp." He was extremely god-fearing and unassuming. Kind and generous by nature, he was not known to have been harsh to any one. He carried the weight of his authority with infinite grace and his deeds of love took a charm from the bashful serenity with which he did them.

His Highness was something of a perpetual pilgrim with an intensely devotional soul. Piety beyond question was an outstanding feature in the fabric of his mind. He rose early, bathed in cold water and worshipped in the temple at all seasons with a punctuality and persistence that put to shame many a healthier and younger person. He had no stomach for the easy luxuries of royalty and ate but two meals a day. He ordered his life

so well that his example always reminded one of the old adage "Punctuality is the courtesy of princes." Every hour of the day had its appointment and he seldom abused any. It is, indeed, but rarely that one born in the purple voluntarily adopts such a rigorous regimen.

This simplicity of life and piety of character gained His Highness the reputation of being a conservative. During his visit to the State in 1900, Lord Curzon said in the course of his Banquet Speech, "I know him to combine the most conservative instincts with the most enlightened views." In 1902 Lord Ampthill echoed the same sentiment when he said, "I think no one will disagree with me when I say that His Highness's character presents a rare and valuable combination of conservative instinct with enlightened and progressive views".

In this age of increasing agnosticism people cannot easily understand the beauty of a soul not floundering in spiritual blindness. That was the reason why some considered His Highness a 'conservative' in not a very complimentary sense. But His Highness had conclusively shown that piety and god-fearingness were not inconsistent with progressive ideas and that conservatism in politics might on occasion be a wholesome restraint on the impulsiveness of impatient spirits. In proof of this there is the eloquent record of his administration.

To give an example or two. Under His Highness's wise and paternal regime the foundations of representative government have been well and truly laid. The Sri Mulam Popular Assembly affords the people an opportunity of expressing direct to Government their wants, and their views on all matters regarding the administration of the country. A large proportion of its members are elected representatives of the people. The Sri Mulam Popular Assembly is a sort of levee of public opinion which by its mere pressure can and does influence the policy of Government to a considerable extent.

There is further the Legislative Council which as its name implies does the work of legislation. First brought into existence in 1888, it was thoroughly reconstituted in 1921. The Council enjoys a non-official majority most of whom are elected. It has been invested with powers of voting on the budget, moving resolutions, asking questions including supplementary questions. The low qualification for

the franchise assures beyond doubt the representative character of the Council. And what is even more noteworthy is the fact that "*Women are placed on a footing of complete equality with men in the matter of both electorship and membership.*" As an example of the large ideals that inspire this Travancore *House of Commons* it may be mentioned that very recently it carried a resolution, almost in the teeth of official hostility, to introduce spinning in Elementary Schools. That resolution is now being implemented.

It is clear from the above that in the matter of Indian's advance towards *Responsible Government*, Col. Sir Rama Varma was in the very vanguard of progressive ideas. So in other matters as well. Progress has left its imprint in every nook and corner of the State. Education has wrought wonderful changes in the age-old outlook of an old-fashioned people.

The depressed classes are emerging to the surface helped on by the willing hand of a benign ruler. The so-called *untouchable* are casting off their 'objectionable slough'. Although some of them have become restive with marking time and want to take the time-worn fence of inequalities by a high jump, there is no doubt that the silent march of events is carrying them, more surely, if less ostentatiously, to the desired goal. His Highness had been sparing no pains to lift the tyranny of ages and to restore the depressed and the down-trodden to their birth-rights.

Like his great ancestor Martanda Varma, His Highness was a protagonist of progress no less than a pious and trusty guardian of the priceless heritage of gone ages. Indeed his personality presented a combination as rare as it was happy.

STUDIES IN INDIAN ARCHITECTURE—ORIGINAL SOURCES.

By DR. K. N. SITARAM, M.A., Ph.D.

I

The study of architecture in India is a very wide field, in which there is scope for the life-time work of more than a dozen scholars of first rate eminence, as well as for the collaboration of an equal number of professional architects, who know their business rather well. The scholarship which aims to tackle this difficult problem of India's contribution to the beautiful structures of the world, should combine within itself, the perfections of both the Western and the Eastern methods of Research, but avoid the imperfections and the pet hobbies of both. It should possess the extensive vision, the breadth and clarity of outlook, the genius for analysis, the freedom from preconceived notions and traditional prejudices, as well as a mind which will pass judgment only on the impeachable evidence of accumulated facts, without the slightest tip from the imagi-

nation, which are the chief characteristics of the European method of Research, whose best exponents now on the Continent are Professors Geldner and Jacobi in Germany, Emilie Senart and Sylvain Levi in France and Doctors Thomas and Barnett in England. With this it should combine the depth, the intensive synthesis, the extremely loving reverence for the work, the religious outlook, the wealth of inherited Culture, and an acquired perfection of a studied and trained intellect, rendered so by sitting and learning at the feet of a Great GURU, which are the chief characteristics of the exponents of the Eastern or the Orthodox School of Indian Research, though this latter variety of scholarship possesses, unfortunately owing to a combination of adverse circumstances, neither the originality, the 'Élan' nor the fecundity of production which are the chief characteristics of the Western or the Occidental type. Thus combining the excellences

of both the schools in the alchemy of his own nature, and colouring the product with a deeply intensive and personal knowledge of his own country's achievement in the field of tectonics, as well as with a good working personal acquaintance of the other great monuments reared by humanity elsewhere in its eight millinea of civilised evolution, the student of Indian Architecture should approach the subject with the sacred feeling in his mind that he is an INDIAN first, and then only a scholar, or a Pundit, or an archæologist or an artist, as well a member of a particular religious denomination, community, sect or sub-sect.

The happy Initiate thus entering upon his Vidwat Diksha of the Sastra, VASTU VIDYA (Architecture) will find spread before him, a vision of glory and a panorama of beauty and variety such as few other branches of Sanskritic study have to offer. For here, instead of the bare, barren, tree-less, jagged peaks of the Vyakarna, white with the bleaching bones of a language, long dead to use in the ordinary life of an average Indian, or instead of the dull, deadly level and contourless features of the Purva Mimamsa, or the dark unending grottoes and caverns of the Uttara Mimamsa, he will find a scene at once gorgeously divine and resplendently beautiful, rendered so by the combined efforts of his ancestor, the ancient Indian man as well by his MAKER.

For the beauty of this divine landscape consisting of structures erected by the æsthetics of man, backed and surrounded by some of the grandest manifestations of Nature, three things have gone to the making. One is the ancient Indian Science of Architectonics, a branch of the larger Veda, called the Ghandharva, of which this, namely, VASTU VIDYA, forms a limb (Anga). The earliest text book of this Upa Anga of the VEDA were the Sulva Sutras, which told the ancient Indians, how to fashion out their Vedis, Sopanas, Kuttimas, Prakaras, Talas, as well as Kutakaras, Gavakshas, and Toranas, adorned or supported by Stambhas, Stunas, Skambhas or Upamits. This Vedic ancestor continued to thrive, flourish and multiply, till its descendants became legion, though most of these have now been washed away by the general lethargy and artistic inaptitude which overtook Hindu India a few decades ago. But still a few

remain out of this general destruction, appealing pitifully to the decadent descendants of the Great Vedic Rishis, if possible to make once more an effort for their resuscitation, fondly dreaming that the India of the Hindus had not yet been shamefully effaced from their memories, the glories of the Empire of the Guptas, of the Empire of Vijayanagar, or of the Maharattas. Since they are only the tiny fragments of a mighty wreck, only the flotsam and the jetsam of a wonderful literature of tectonics, no wonder that the Manuscripts are found only scattered and incomplete. But still with care and diligence, they can be pieced together and restored, and made to show to the world the wonderful technical knowledge the Indians possessed of VASTU VIDYA, or of the Science of Architecture, and which knowledge became not only the property of India proper, and India Greater, but becoming also the common Cultural property of the whole of Asia, exercised an indirect formative influence over the best architectural creations of Europe as well.

Some of its earlier fragments are scattered throughout the vast body of Itihasa Purana literature, known to the Hindus as the Fifth Veda (Panchamam Vedam) and whose redactor was traditionally no less a person than the redactor of the Vedas themselves, namely Veda Vyasa, the son of the sage Parasara. Among the Itihasas, the Great Epic claims the largest share of these fragments, just like the Indian Museum at Calcutta claims the largest share of the inimitable fragments of the Barhut Stupa which have survived man's cupidity, vandalism, and criminal negligence.

The Puranas roughly fall into two categories, namely the major and the more ancient ones, generally called by the name of Maha Puranas, as well as the lesser and not so very important ones, commonly styled as the Upa Puranas. The Mahatmyas attach themselves equally affectionately to either a Maha Purana or an Upa Purana and so they need no separate mention here. The printed literature of this Maha Purana group alone issued by a single printing Press of Bombay, namely, The Sri Venkateswar, exceeds very easily more than five lakhs of Slokas, without the commentaries which shed further light upon some of the more widely known of the group, like, the Vishnu, the Srimad Bhagavata, the Devi Bhagavata, and the Lainga. Besides the ones that have

been just mentioned as those adorned with commentaries, the group consists also of other Maha Puranas like the Agni, the Garuda, the Matsya, the Bhavishya, the Padma, the Brahma, the Siva, the Narada, the Markandeya, the Varaha, the Vamana, the Skanda, the Vayu, the Kurma, the Brahmanda and the Brahma Vaivarta. Among these several like the Agni, the Matsya, and the Garuda contain valuable information concerning the science of architecture, although this branch of Sanskritic studies have been grossly neglected by those interested in the conservation of ancient Indian learning. Besides the Maha Puranas whose traditional number is eighteen, of the Upa Puranas also which too are traditionally supposed to be that number, although on a scholarly investigation they turn out at least to be twice, if not thrice that number, contain valuable information concerning the Science of VASTU VIDYA. Fairly contemporaneous with the later group of Puranas are works in Sanskrit known as the Agamas, which also in several cases cover that part of the field of the science of architecture, traversed by the Puranas. Of these twenty eight are now known to scholars, namely, Kamikagama, Suprabhedagama, Yogijagama, Chintyagama, Karanagama, Ajitagama, Diptagama, Sukshmagama, Sahasragama, Anusumanagama, Vijayagama, Niswasagama, Svabhuvagama, Asitagama, Viragama, Rauravagama, Makutagama, Bimatagama, Chandra Jnanagama, Bimbagama, Prodigitagama, Lalitagama, Siddhagama. (Vaikhanasagama), Santanagama, Sarvoktagama, Parameswaragama, Kirnagama and Vakutagama. Among these the best to my knowledge that treat about Vastu Vidya are the Kamikagamas and the Suprabhedagamas, although several if not a large majority of the others among them also contain valuable data concerning this ancient science of Indian Architecture.

As equally important for the proper study of the Sastra of VASTU VIDYA, as the Agamas, are the Tantras, whose literature also is as equally copious as the catalogued literature of the Puranas, though these are more difficult to be handled without proper help of the right sort, namely, from initiated persons of the Tantric Ritualistic symbolism, of which there are only very few in the South and even those few are mainly confined to the Nambudri community of Malabar. Still however a

thorough scholarship in Sanskrit which combines in itself the analytical precision of the West with the intensive depth and Culture of the East, and born to a civilisation of whose sacred learning these but form a part, and accustomed to a sight of the rites and ceremonies inculcated in these sacred books from his very birth, and born bred and brought up too in the very shadow of India's Temple Gopuras and Sikharas, can accomplish a lot, which the simple Pundit by himself or the great Western Savant unaided by competent Indian assistance, can not even dream of achieving. Among these, besides those familiar to us from the labours of the great Scholars of Bengal, in which honoured list we can also include the great name of the Ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court, namely, Sir John Woodroffe, a few are known also well in the South thanks to the great and self-sacrificing labours of that monument of South Indian Sanskritic Learning and Scholarship, namely, Mahamahopadhyaya, Brahmasri Ganapati Sastri, the well-known Editor of the Travancore Sanskrit series. In this series, he has already brought out three, and proposes to bring two more works treating about architecture, if only the powers that be, and rule over the destinies of Travancore now, permit him to continue in his labour of love and scholarship for the conservation of the Sanskritic learning of the South. Of these the most important from the point of view of the Science of Indian Architectonics, are the three parts, and also the fourth that promises also to be out very soon, of a work on Tantra, called, Isanasivagurudeva paddhati. In this work, Part III, which forms the serial number, seventy-seven of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series, the last sections or Patalas, amounting to nearly a third of the work are devoted to a description and construction of the various kinds of Vimanas and palaces, as well as the erection of the various kinds of pillars, etc., preceded by some of the earlier chapters which take up and deal with the problems concerning the nature of the selection of grounds for building sites, the materials required, their characteristics and strength, the qualifications required of the four great chiefs without whose collaboration no Indian building can be complete or constructed, namely, the Chief Architect and Designer (Sthapati), the Surveyor and Overseer (Sutragrahi), the Chief Building Engineer and Mason

(Vardhaki) and the Chief Worker in wood, stone and other building materials, as well as the chief Joiner (Takshaka). Another book of this same valuable series, which forms number sixty-five of the same serial is called Mayamata, from which the work mentioned before, namely, Isanasivagurudevapaddhati, borrows rather very generously. For the study of Indian Architecture this book is indeed very valuable, as probably this and Manasara, were the chief books which were indented upon not only by the Sthapatis and Silpis of the South of India, but were also largely used by those who have given to us the glories of Borobudur, Parambanam, Mendoet, the Chandis, Sewa, Arjuna, Bhima, Srikanti, Vihara Sari, and Singa Sari and many other fanes of the Dwipa (Island) known as Yavadwipa (Java) to Sanskrit writers, and as Savakkam to the Tamils. If one studies the plan, the structure, and the genius of the thousand and one fanes that strew the ancient lands of Cambodia, Khemer and Laos, he will find that the chief inspiration of the great 'Ensemble' of temples dedicated to the worship of the Brahmanical gods, came from these two works, whose importance for the study of Indian Architectonics cannot be lightly passed over. Their influence is traceable in several of the edifices which adorned Anuradhapura and Polanurawa, before these capitals of Ceylon, became what they are now, jungle covered ruins, and the utmost limit of their direct influence in India Proper are the temples of Devi Bhawani at Bhatgon, and the temples of Mahadeva and Krishna at Patan, besides a few others also in that secluded valley of the Himalayas, (Nepal) which seems to possess a strange fascination for the building traditions of Malabar, which fact will be easily understood by those who are conversant with the life history of the greatest medieval reformer of the South, namely, Sri Sankara-Charya. Besides this work on Indian Architectonics, namely Mayamata, forming part of the serial mentioned before, and the invaluable alternative readings it embodies, several more writings on the subject of architecture are attributed to Mayamini, namely, Mayamata Vastu Sastra, Silpa Sastra Vidhana, Maya Silpa (Two Mss., one with Tika also) and Maya Vastu. On this same subject of Maya's contribution to the science of architecture, two books appeared a few years ago in Madras, one from the well known Telugu publishers of this Metropolis, namely,

V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, and another given out by a private editor, or publisher, one Mr. K. Lakshmana. There are also a few pages of an English translation from a work called Mayamata in the Mackenzie collection of the India Office Library, which unfortunately was not examined by me during my Researches there in London. Besides these works attributed to Maya, which are already known, a good combing of the great European Mss. collections as those located at Oxford, London, and Cambridge and some other collections both private and public, as well as a diligent search among the private and public collections of other European nations as those of France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia and Czecho Slovakia, is bound to lead to a discovery of many more Mss. on the subject of architecture (Indian) and particularly of the writings attributed to Maya, or which claim him as their Grantha Karta. Better results are likely to follow if one applies the same spirit of research to various Indian collections, both private and public, and possesses the pluck, the go, and the tact of a Pundit like Mr. R. A. Sastru.

Besides the Sanskrit texts of the works attributed to Maya Muni, South India a fairly large number of Manuscripts in Tamil which profess to be translations or adaptations from the writings of that great author of the Indian Science of Architectonics, though unfortunately the world of Indian and European Scholarship know precious little about this undreamt of world of possibilities. This literature is very important to us and to all those who are interested in the resuscitation of ancient Indian building craft, for not only that means, that some of the recent buildings or additions to such temples of the south, as the Parakaras of the Rameswara Ramanatha Swami, the Chidambaram Nataraja, or such Pucca new erections like the parts of the Subramania shore temple at Tirchandur (Tinnevely District), or the Sarada temple at Sringeri (Mysore) or the Sankara temple at Kaladi (Travancore) are merely the *Plastic or Tectonic Embodiments* of the art canons contained in these books, but also that still in the south at least there is the hopeful sign of hoping against hope, that the descendants of the ancient masters of the Building Craft are not entirely dead, and wiped out by the activities of the Public Works Department or the criminal apathy and the unbecoming negli-

gence of the English Educated South. In addition to the two works treating about the ancient science of Indian architecture, issued by the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Travancore, and already discussed in the body of the paper, that Department has also brought out two more books on the same subject, which though not as important from the tectonic point of view as the *Mayamata*, still have their own value for a proper and scholarly study of the subject. One of these is a book of sixteen chapters and seventy-seven pages, called, *VASTU VIDYA*, which concerns itself mainly with the nature of the building sites, the necessary qualifications they should possess before houses are erected on them, as well as with the building materials, like mud, stone, bricks, wood, etc., used in the construction, and also lays down rules and religious rites for the preliminaries of construction, like *Bhupariksha*, *Sankusthapana*, *Vedika Nirmana* (Laying the Foundation etc., occasionally also going out of the way to describe a little concerning the position of doors in a newly built house, as well as about the way in which the *Lupa* (probably the beginning of the dome just above the *Griva* of a *Vimana*, or an ordinary domed structure), ought to be erected and joined to the main body of the structure. The other book of the series is the one called *MANUSHYALAYA CHANDRIKA*, which strictly confines itself as its very name implies to the domestic architecture of the Hindus, and especially so, to the various forms of houses in vogue south of the *Vindhya* mountains.

II

It is a fact well-known to students of Sanskrit literature as well as to architects interested in the study of Indian buildings, that the ancient Hindus were as great a building race as the ancient Egyptians were, not only because of the grandeur, sublimity, and majesty with which they reared their huge religious fanes, but also because these fanes showed them to be a race of born architects—architects who knew what they were doing, and whose efforts at perpetuating the eternal principles of their religion in tectonic forms have survived even to-day. India is indeed a glorious land for the true lover of buildings, as it is a happy hunting ground not only for the student of sculpture and compara-

tive religions, but also for the student of anthropology and ethnology. Still in no other country with such vast potentialities for research, and with such ample materials lying uncared for at one's feet, is the study of these subjects so shamefully and criminally neglected as in this Land of the Sons of Bharata, whose artistic degradation, makes one despair of her future political regeneration, inspite of what day dreamers may dream, and lotus eaters and arm chair politicians voice forth in their speeches. For the progress of a country whether it be situated in the Eastern or the Western Hemisphere, depends first and foremost upon the mentality and the real patriotism of the masses, and this to a large extent depends upon their education and culture, whether it be of the home, the school, or the University. Now, of home culture, the modern south Indian has precious little, and of school and university culture, the less said about it, the better it is for our National *Izzet*; for its ideal has hitherto been and even now is only to make us fourth rate Brummagem Englishmen, and to wash and scrub clean out of our natures, even the little Indianness that might have survived the corroding poison of a system of intensive cramming for clerkships, familiarly now known under the grandiloquent name of 'English Education,' and which has hitherto been successful only in teaching us *Words, Words and Words only*. In this universal neglect of national culture, engineered in the interests of a paternal Government and acquiesced in by a lethargic people, it is a great consolation if not a real occasion for rejoicing, that still so many books and manuscripts should survive for a proper study of the national art and that so many buildings still should be left above the level of the ground, inspite of all the attentions of the early Musalmans, the dense Indian vegetation, the lethargy of the Hindu, as well as the meddling interference of the foreign sightseer, the Tommy and the utilitarian members of the Public Works Department.

This vast literature treating about the national arts, goes under the name of *VASTU VIDYA*, if it emphasises the tectonic or the architectural side of things, and is known under the appellation of *SILPA* if it emphasises the plastic or the sculptural, stucco, or bronze work variety of the same. So treatises on *Vastu Vidya* contain a large amount of information concerning the *Silpa*, and treatises on *Silpa* in-

tell us a lot about *Vastu Vidya*. Besides these two kinds of literatures which are in their proper provenance, architecture, other branches of Sanskrit literature, like the literature of the Puranas, the Tantras, and the Agamas also contain much information concerning architecture, supplemented also in this direction by books which only treat about *Dharma, Artha and Kama Sastras*. The technical information thus supplied by these books, as well by others which though they may contain only very little concerning architecture, like the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahamihira, the *Nitisara* of Sukra, the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata, the *Sangita Ratnakara* of Sri Nissanka Saragadeva, are also very useful to us because of their cumulative value. Other vernaculars of India like Tamil, Malayalam and Hindi contain books on architecture, which are either adaptations, or translations of the Sanskritic ones, although in some cases, the Sanskritic work of which they profess to be a translation, or an adaptation, is now lost to us, or has not yet been located in the present existing public collections of books and manuscripts in India. Thus we see that there is indeed a formidable literature to tackle if one takes to heart keenly to a study of the subject and the powers that govern the destinies of scholarship in India, could do nothing more useful than to revive this ancient branch of Sanskritic study, so that by a knowledge of the past, the present generation of the land could render a better and more patriotic account of themselves in handling the rudder of their own country's destiny in the proper spirit of guidance through the dark mists of national quarrel, and national inaptitude. The technic embodiments of the sacred rules and religious art canons contained in these text books of ancient Indian Architecture (*Vastu Vidya*), are the fanes and shrines dedicated to the worship of Hinduistic divinities, whether those divinities are revered by the Hindu, the Buddhist, or the Jain. For so far as *Vastu Vidya* text books are concerned they lay down rules equally dispassionately for the followers of all the three Hinduistic faiths, and sectarian rancour, and bigotry, are things unknown to their writers or expounders, in the same way as these two vices particularly noxious in India are unknown to the Indian Silpis and Sthapatis. So one will see when he pursues the study of Indian architecture, and especially so of the south Indian Hindu types of it, how indispensable a study of *Vastu Vidya* books and

manuscripts is for a proper understanding and appreciation of the fanes that shed beauty and glory on India south of the Vindhya. Equally helpful in the above studies will be a thorough acquaintance with the lighter and more humanistic phases of Sanskrit and vernacular literatures, namely those which sing about the glories of heroes, human and semi divine, and which form the subject matter of *Natakas, Kavyas* and *Champus*. For these also contain copious information concerning buildings, though in some cases, it is difficult for the ordinary reader to extract architecture from their poetry or ornamental prose. Thus if we take the immortal classic of the sage Valmiki, or the huge miscellany of a lakh and twenty thousand slokas, attributed to the authorship of the Rishi Krishna Dwaipayana or Vyasa, how many will realise that these two Epics (*Itihasas*) are veritable treasure houses of ancient Indian Architectural forms. The Puranas also, both the major and the minor ones contain a lot of description about ancient Indian buildings, and tell us a lot about the Sabhas or the audience halls of the Dik Palas and other deities, which are after all only celestial editions of their earthly prototypes, in the same way as the descriptions of similar structure in the Vedic literature are only sublimated editions of those with which the Vedic Rishis were familiar from their daily experience. Thus if we take the *Ramayana*, we find that the immortal classic gives us a very good idea concerning the architecture of the Hindus of that period, their ideas concerning town planning, garden laying, the training of watercourses, both natural and artificial, of the erection of artificial hillocks and joy mountains for recreation, of the position occupied by the various component structures of a first rate palace, namely, of the *Chaitra Grihas*, the *Krita Grihas*, the *Diva Grihas*, the *Kama Grihas*, the *Chitrasalas*, the drinking saloons, the harem, the Throne room, the guard room, the armoury, the elephant and the horse stables, etc. It also tells us a lot about the system of fortifications, then in vogue, of the deep and broad ditch grown over the lotuses and infested by crocodiles that surrounded a city like Lanka, and about its turrets and bastions of defence, duly mounted also with both the weapons of offence and defence, several of which were concealed in such a way that their use will not be known to any except to the very few who enjoyed the confidence of the

king. The houses were built on a definite and scientific plan, generally close to one another without much interspace between one another, as was the case with Ayodhya which besides was erected on a perfectly level ground. The king's road, the Raja Vithi, *i.e.*, the broad street and road combined that led to the palace of the king was lined with flowering and other umbrageous trees and the description of it in the Ramayana very forcibly reminds one of *Unter Den Linden* in the month of May, flanked and fronted as it is by triumphal arches, lined with trees, and adorned by majestic buildings, and lighted by brilliant moons. Besides the entrance gateways (Gopuras?), the triumphal arches, and the majestic rows of shops that gave a charm and dignity to the Imperial city, it also contained as an integral part of its population, sculptors, architects, fresco painters, as well as masters of the arts of dance and music. Its turrets were gay with flags and buntings fluttering gaily in the breeze, and the town was full of parks, where the chief trees consisted of such very shady varieties of the Indian tree world as the Mango and the Sala. Its streets were full of foreigners and merchants, as well as of palaces, which were embellished with precious building stones, even as the Taj was on the banks of the Jumna. Most of these palaces were also ornamented with turrets and domes, some of which were either frescoed upon or gilded or adorned with sculpture in low relief. A typical ancient Aryan capital city like Ayodhya was a long rectangle stretching along the course of the river Sarayu, and was twelve Yojanas long, by three broad, and was intersected by streets and roads, geometrically planned according to the ancient Science of Vastu Vidya, and built by no less an architect than the first king of that city itself, namely, Manu, whose name strange to say figures even today in the architectural literature of India. A book on Vastu Vidya is attributed to his authorship, which we are sure to discover one day, when a thorough search is made of the various private and public collections of Manuscripts both out here and on the continent of Europe. Besides the parts of the city where dwelt the four orders of the ancient Indian community, namely, the Brahmanas, who were conversant with the Vedas and its six limbs, the Maha Rishis and the ordinary Rishis, as well as the other members of the Hindu community like the Kshatriyas, the

Vaishyas and the Sudras, there was a separate suburb of the city which contained the palace of the reigning monarch, namely, king Dasaratha. This lay just beyond the twelve Yojana by three limit of the city of Ayodhya, and formed a separate part of the Janapada ruled over by king Dasaratha. It was called Satyanama and contained also besides the usual fortifications and other things lending dignity and security to the king's quarters, triumphal arches and spacious mansions, and formed as it were the headquarters, from which the king carried on his Government of Ayodhya, and indirectly also played a considerable part in the contemporary politics of India. Besides Ayodhya, other ancient Indian towns like the Mithila of the Janakas, and the town of Sankissa on the banks of the river Ikshumati where dwelt the brother of king Janaka, namely, Kusadwaja, in a city which was probably erected on piles driven into the river, or had as a part of its defensive fortification a circumvallation of iron pikes driven into the river, we find also in the Kishkinda Kanda, chapter 33, a description of the rock fortress or the cavern which was the capital of the king of Vanaras, namely, of king Sugriva and his tribe. This capital was situated in the rocky womb of the Rishyanuka hill and was entered in by and through a big cavern. Inside this cavern was a single street, which formed the main street of the capital as well as formed the Raja Vithi or the road that led directly to the citadel or the residence of the king. This Raja Vithi was lined on both its sides by the palaces and the residential mansions of the chiefs of the Vanara host like those of Angada, the heir apparent (Yuva Raja), Kumuda, Mainda, Dwivida etc. They were constructed in a single file, consisting of Harayas, and Prasasas, as well as the shops that lent a grace and adornment to the whole place, surrounded by clumps and groves of trees which satisfied every desire and taste, and bore flowers in profusion. The houses presented an appearance of whiteness similar to the clouds of autumn, and so were probably built, or washed over with Chunam (Sudha). At the further end of the King's Road lay the palace of king Sugriva, surrounded by a battlement coloured white, whose brightness was intensified and heightened by the tops of the domes of his palace, which shone in splendour like the peaks of Mount Kailasa, surrounded by trees which by means of the green of their foliage

heightened still further their spotless appearance. This battlement led on to a gateway adorned with festoons and garlands and surmounted by a Torana of beaten gold. Inside this gate surmounted by the Torana of gold, lay the inner apartments of Sugriva's palace, and there inside the seventh Prakara was situated the private room of the monarch, adorned with furniture, in the shape of cots and other seats, made with true barbaric splendour out of gold and silver and covered over with soft and costly cushions. Here, were his favourite lady folk who at the time that Lakshmana entered the Royal palace were tipsy with wine. The example in drunkenness and indecency was set by the king himself, who had with a truly bibing taste lined even the

chief Road and Street of his capital city itself with wine booths, where the thirsty Vanaras could slake their thirst any moment by having a go at the Mairayi and other liquors that were sold there day and night. So to the pure Aryan hero, the exponent of a higher culture, these midday royal drinking bouts wherein the king lost all sense drowned in liquor and lust were disgusting in the extreme and his answer to the senseless amorous bestiality of the court was a mighty twang of his powerful bow, the chief weapon of the conquering Aryan. This brought Sugriva to his senses and we see that once aroused to action, he never returns back to his uncivilised ways again forgetful of the duty he owed to him who was so to say 'The Giver of his Throne and his wife.'

THE LEAGUE AFTER A QUINQUENNIAL

By MR. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A.

The assembly of the League has finished its fifth sitting under the presidency of M. Motta (Switzerland) who was elected amidst "prolonged applause" by 45 out of 47 states which voted, and this serves well as an occasion to take stock of the achievements of the League.

The continued dissociation of the U. S. A. from the League and the exclusion of Russia and Germany impair very much the value of the League as a power in international transactions. Some progress has been made with regard to the admission of Germany and her claims for a seat in the Council, though the raking up of the Question of War-guilt is no small obstacle in the way. M. Chicherin (of Russia) complained that Imperialistic countries were conducting a general offensive against the Soviet and that the League was used for that purpose.

China's Resentment.

The Chinese Delegation which protested in 1923 itself against its being not re-elected to the

Council, withdrew in a body from the hall after the results of the election were announced. China secured only 14 votes and Uruguay, Brazil, Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Belgium, and Sweden were elected non-permanent members of the Council. How far the principle of geographical distribution has been respected these two years is not intelligible to the well-wishers of the League.

The Naval Sub-Committee's Report.

After the routine business of the election of six Vice-Presidents and that of the Chairmen of six Committees, the topic of the Year's Discussions centers about the historic disarmament protocol. Before passing to an examination of the draft protocol, it is essential to remember that the League Naval Sub-Committee on Disarmament which met at Geneva in January, 1924, made little progress. Though the report of this Committee has been submitted to the Council of the League and the Governments concerned, it was reliably reported that "Spain has withdrawn from the Conference and

Argentina, China, and Turkey have declined to accept limitations, Brazil, Chile, Greece, and Sweden have made offers conditional on similar undertakings by Argentina, Turkey and the Baltic Powers." The general impression left behind at the time was that nobody was pledged to definite disarmament. As Mr. Grijger, the Premier of Sweden, put it, "the League of Nations can never dispose of the political power needful to ensure the liberty of disarmed nations. The gloom of the situation is intensified by the lack of responsible European statesmen capable of creating an understanding between the Great Powers."

The Disarmament Protocol.

It was amidst such gloomy surroundings that the reassurances of M. Hymans (Belgium) on the problem of security and the well-timed vindications of M. Herriot (France) were received by the assembled delegates. Perhaps, the man of this year is the far-sighted "Ramsay" who felt most keenly on the tremendous importance of the League. There was the usual ring of sincerity about the speeches of the British Premier, which was responded to by erstwhile indifferent France whose spokesman declared that "arbitration, security, and disarmament were inseparable from each other." Readers should recollect that during the third meeting (1922) Lord Robert Cecil's proposal for a mutual guarantee treaty coupled with reduction of armaments was passed unanimously. During 1923, the assembly recorded "with satisfaction" the report on the reduction of expenditure.

The first Labour Premier of Britain moved this year the Disarmament Resolution which was supported in a speech, "acclaimed for its clearness," by M. Herriot. This historic resolution is divided into two parts. There is an unambiguous statement of "divergencies of certain view points among states" and the third Committee is requested to "consider the material for dealing with security and reduction of armaments," particularly the observations of Governments on the Draft Treaty of mutual assistance in pursuance of Lord Robert Cecil's Resolution of the third assembly, "in order to enable the convocation at the earliest possible moment of an *International Armaments Conference* by the League."

The second part of the Resolution is intended to strengthen the "solidarity and security of

the nations;" so the first Committee is requested to

- (i) consider possible amendments of the article of the covenant relating to settlement of disputes, and
- (ii) to examine within what limits the terms of the statute establishing the International Court might be rendered more precise and thereby facilitate more general acceptance of the clause.

Such an elaborate resolution which depends for its success at each stage on a series of subtle transactions in Committees, was *launched formally*. 37 states voted and there were no abstentions.

Considerable stir was caused by Japan's frank anxiety on the judicial points. Small nations criticised the protocol as "an Anglo-French show." Dominions were not found supporting the pact. Further there is always force in the following remarks of the "Servant" of Calcutta:—"Science will be marshalled to the savage task of building engines of destruction and discovering deadly poison gases, while cotton, iron, and oil will keep civilization tethered to the dismal trio of howitzers, dread-noughts and Zeppelins."

Other minor points.

The question of Irak boundary dispute was referred to the assembly by the British Government; and the Turkish Representative at Geneva was officially appraised of the fact by the League; the latest news on the point was the authorised version that if the commission fails to settle the dispute, it will be referred to the International Court of Justice. The British objection to a plebiscite in Mosul as to its forming part of Turkey or Irak, was not quite convincing.

The scheme of opium control contains the two following points regarded as essential by American experts:—

- (i) The statement by each country of its medicinal and scientific requirements of opium.
- (ii) The restriction of production within the limits of these medicinal and scientific requirements and the establishment of a Central Board to apply the principle throughout opium-producing and consuming

countries. The World Conference on drug control is just concluding its session.

Is the League not progressing?

To decry the League too early enough is not the part of wisdom; the U. S. A. still stands aloof, will the presidential election get it once again into the vortex of world-politics:

Britain *certainly* has treated the League with better courtesy this year, and the policy of the Labour Premier towards the League—barring his Russian policy—is the nation's attitude; France cannot now be accused of defiant indifference; Germany is well on the way to become an important member; Russia is not so near; but ancient China is openly discontented within the League. Is not the League making a steady progress?

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES.

By MR. BENQY KUMAR SARKAR.

Map-making.

One of the most profound vital urges in human life has ever consisted in the effort to make boundaries. The making and remarking of the frontiers is perhaps the greatest single item that has been pushing the world's history on monumental scale since mankind began to live in groups. The landmarks in this cosmic evolution are constituted by wars and treaties and the manufacture of maps. Map-making is an order of creation in which the soul of men has had a continuous source of inspiration and delight since the Pharaohs lived and fought.

The nineteenth century phase of this creative endeavour in the field of frontiers has enriched the vocabulary of the world with a new term embodying, as it seems to do, a new ideology. Since Kosciuszko, Kossuth, Mazzini and Bismarck, the boundary-makers and creators of "historical geography"—i.e. the manufacturers of maps, have learned to use the word "nation." The "nationality" principle, whatever it may mean, has become current coin in the human phraseology.

The European Frontiers of 1918.

The war of 1914-1918 was fought not only over the question of dominion in Asia and Africa, but so far as Europe is concerned, also over the problem of "nationalities". The map-makers of Versailles are credited with having

manufactured "nationality-states":—Tcheccho-Slovakia, Poland and so forth in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Nor has Eastern Europe remained an exception to the sway of this great *élan de la vie*. The Russian revolution with its Bolshevistic creed of self-determination (November, 1917) has given a fillip to the play of centrifugal forces among the Fins, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians on the Baltic and the Little Russians (Ruthenians) or Ukrainians of the Dnieper Valley that had been held together like a house of cards in a promiscuous medley by the Czar of all the Russias.

Boundary-making in Asia.

The nationality-problem in boundary-making represents no longer a mere European phase of the world-development. The events and movements that have been taking place on the Chinese theatre of human operations raise issues more fundamental than seem to have been consciously grasped and formulated in the political creed of Young China. These are none other than considerations as to the attributes of a sovereign state, or from a slightly different angle of vision, the essentials of a nationality.

What are the territorial (geographico-economic) limits of a nation? What is the human (demographic or anthropographic) basis of the state? These are the problems that are being

unconsciously attacked by the leaders of the Chinese revolutions, counter-revolutions, and civil wars.

The same questions are abroad all over Asia. The nationality-problem or map-making remains the moot-problem for the brain of entire Young-Asia. It has been called up by the partition of Asian-Turkey accomplished by the Great War consisting, as it did, in the alleged liberations of Arabia and Mesopotamia. The problem is still perhaps dormant in Persia and Afghanistan. But longstanding discontents in Egypt, India and South-Eastern Asia constitute so many different sparks from the same fire.

Nationality in Theory and Practice.

Nationality is a very young phenomenon both as a concept and as a fact. Consequently a good deal of vague thinking is still associated with it not only in the East but also in the West.

Nationality as interpreted by the political philosophers of the nineteenth century is not the same as the nationalities actually realized in modern times. The theoretical ideal embodies itself in such formulae as "One language, one state," or "One race, one state," or, more vaguely, "One culture, one state." As a matter of fact, however, neither in the nineteenth century nor even on earth since the days of Memphis and Nineveh has this metaphysical concept been realized in practice.

History knows only "states." Diplomats and politicians also know only states. But patriots, philosophers and poets talk of nations.

Much of the present-day muddle in political thinking is due to the ignoring of this great discrepancy between the speculation of modern theorists and the practice evolved in actual history. The political mind of the whole world is consciously or unconsciously "sicklied o'er" with the abstract idealism of Fichte, Hegel, Mazzini and John Stuart Mill. It has fought shy of the effort to square the theory with the facts of concrete political experience. Rather, the old dogma of the race-state or the language-state has acquired a fresh lease of life under the Reconstruction of Versailles.

And yet the so-called "nation-states" that one sees on the new map of Europe are not nation-states at all in the sense in which one is taught to understand the term nation. Jugoslavia, Tchecho-Slovakia, Poland, each of these

states is poly-glot and multi-racial, in other words, an old Austria Hungary in miniature.

Whether these "nations" serve in the long run to "Balkanize" Europe at every nook and corner or turn out to be so many nuclei of "Helvetization" remains yet to be seen. Not the least disturbing factor in the political *milieu* is furnished by the fact that twenty million German men and women, about a third of the entire German-speaking population, has been distributed right and left among a dozen or so old and new states of Europe to give birth to a "German irredenta" in every so-called nation-state.

Culture not the Basis of Nationality.

The great need of the hour is the emancipation of the theory of nationality, on the one hand from the mystical associations forced upon it by the ardour of patriots and idealists and, on the other, from the cleancut logicity or comprehensiveness injected into it by political thinkers and philosophers. A realistic philosophy of the state is to be sought, first, in order to counteract the "romantic" conception of nationalism *as a cult*, with which the world is familiar through Young Germany and Young Italy; and, secondly, to explain the territorial boundaries and demographic extent of the states that have been and are. Such a philosophy is in high request for the solution of problems that have appeared both in the East and in the West.

In the first place, the attempt to associate "culture," "culture ideals" and so forth with nationality can only make "confusion worse confounded." By the objective test and statistically considered, life's "ideals" have been the same the world over and almost all the ages through. In spite of the diversities of manifestation these ideals can be grouped under a single slogan, *viz.*, the advancement of the happiness of human beings.

Moreover, with the progress of exact sciences and technology the physical barriers are being daily set at naught. The tunnels, canals and bridges, understood both literally and metaphorically, are compelling the cultural institutions of the world to tend towards a closer and closer uniformity in the different quarters of the globe. The boundaries of nationality, *i.e.*, the physical and racial limits of the state have therefore to be determined and interpreted on altogether new foundations.

In the second place, there has hardly ever been nor is there to-day an ethnic or cultural unit that can function as a self-sufficient economic entity. The ever-increasing commercial intercourse of nations (the "*Weltwirtschaft*" or "world-economics") has been rendering such a system of self-sufficient units less and less probable.

Then there are the considerations of military, naval and aerial defence which belong to the problem of the so-called "scientific frontiers." The formation of composite or heterogenous political organisms has thereby become almost a practical necessity. The more or less simple, *i.e.*, homogeneous character of insular states, *e.g.* Great Britain, is but an exception that proves the rule. It is mainly from the standpoint of military and strategic necessity that one can understand why millions of Germans have been given away in subjection to neighbours on all sides.

Nation and State.

The problem of nationality remains then up till to-day a problem of the state. While ascertaining the foundations of nations one should therefore have to grapple with the question, "what is the basis of the state?"

This question, apparently simple, has to be looked in the face and the modern mind has to proceed to answer it in an absolutely secular spirit, *i.e.*, unburdened of the traditional sanctity attached to the dignity of political phenomena. Are there no characteristics that are, pragmatically speaking, common to the Pharaonic nationalities, the empires of the Assurs, the Maurya, Gupta, Tang, Mogul and Manchu imperial systems and the states of Europe from the epochs of "insolent Greece and haughty Rome" down to the Sovietic manufacture of maps and the Versailles reconstruction of frontiers as well as the colonial empires among the subject races of the world? There *are*, and these constitute the soul of the state, or for that matter, the nation, denuded of its multifarious trappings.

The Nature of the State.

In the first place, the state is not a "natural" organism as has been taught in the school rooms for nearly a whole century. It is a voluntary association, an artificial corporation, an institution consciously created or "manufactured"

like, say, the Standard Oil Company of New York or the University of Oxford.

The state is one of the many products of man's creative will and intelligence. Metaphorically speaking, its genesis, expansion, contraction and dissolution may represent indeed the different reactions of the mystical *clan vital* of a social group to the stimuli of its *milieu*. But still one can make it as well as unmake it. It is a mechanical conglomeration of domestic units, clan-communities, socio-economic trusts, *groupements professionnels*, partnerships, etc.

No innate motive force impels a race, language, religion or *Kultur* to embody itself in a statal organization such as would be its own characteristic expression. The disappearance of the state is therefore not tantamount to the disappearance of the people. The state may come and the state may go but the people go on for ever, and may live on to create new partnerships or states according to the needs of the hour. The same culture may flourish under different states, while the same state may be associated with different culture-systems.

Secondly, once this elementary fact is grasped we are inevitably led to the corollary that the sole origin and *rationale* of the state or the nation have to be sought in the will of the people to agree to its formation. The agreement, however, may be tacit or express. It may be self-determined as in a free corporation, or forced as in a subject race or *irredenta*.

But as in the relations between capital and labour the agreement between the employer and the employed is supposed by "legal fiction" to be free and voluntary on both sides whereas in actuality the economic conditions of the labour inevitably prevent him from functioning as a free person, so by a sort of legal fiction one has to regard the subject races of the world or the "minorities" or *irredentas* as voluntarily agreeing to accept the powers that be.

In any case an idea of contract or compact is psychologically involved in every state or nation although it may not always happen to be present as a historical fact, and although it may often be difficult to trace contractual relations in the crude anthropological beginnings of states.

Thirdly, the state may be formally run in the name of the One, or it may be so camouflaged as to seem to be the institution of the Many. But in the last analysis it is the Few that make

and boss the state even in "communist" republics.

Fourthly, the might of the sword is the only guarantee of the existence of the nation or state. A people may create the state with borrowed culture like the ancient Romans, the Turks and the modern Japanese, but the sword must be its own.

The sword-less state or nation is a contradiction in terms. An unarmed region is a buffer like Siam or Afghanistan, a "sphere of influence" like China, a "mandated" territory, a protectorate, a dependency, and what not. It can figure on the map only as the land of dehumanized slaves not to be counted in the category of human beings.

Finally, the boundaries, extent and human compositions of states depend, therefore, on blood and iron, *i.e.*, on wars and on the deliberate treaties of peace, *Zollvereins*, traffic-walls, etc. Every treaty is, from the nature of the case, provisional, and so are the boundaries of nations. Not until challenged by some neighbour the frontiers remain what they are.

These are in almost every instance but temporary arrangements brought about by "seraps of paper", and each state or nation has to be on the look out to keeping its own gunpowder dry. The boundaries of states or nations have in any event no natural and necessary connection with the frontiers of culture, language, religion or race.

Even the more powerful geographical barriers may be overruled by mechanical inventions, should the collective will of the people care to do so. There is thus no mystical absoluteness or inalienability to the limits of the state. The "scientific frontier" may advance or recede with every generation according to the dynamics of inter-social existence. The only architect of the world's historical geography from epoch to epoch is the *shakti-yoga* or energism of man.

The Birth of Nations.

From an inductive study of the nationalities old and new, oriental and occidental, one is then in a position to define the objective foundations of the state. The first formative force is the will or consent of the people, the plebiscite, silent or declared. The second agency that operates in the birth of nations is the force of arms, the power of offence and defence in open war.

The state comes into existence, first, because

certain men and women are determined to create it, and secondly because they are in a position to maintain it against all odds. In regard to offence and defence the nation-makers or manufacturers of states have to see to it that not only the military-naval-aerial equipments are adequate but also that financially, industrially and economically the staying-power of the people during war is up to the mark.

Historically speaking, nations are born in wars and wars only. Genetically, therefore, nationality is in essence a militaristic concept. If there be any spirituality associated with nationalism it is the spirituality of war or the categorical imperative of *Kshatryaism*.

Nationality thus postulates, as a matter of course, the *milieu* of a conflict of rivals to browbeat one another as in a Kautilyan *mandala* (circle or sphere of states). The being of the nation depends on a condition of the *matsyanyaya* (logic of the fish) and on a thorough-going "preparedness" of the *vijigisu* (the aspirant) against thousand and one eventualities.

The Positive Theory of Nation-Making.

If the state be a voluntary partnership as the historic experience of mankind proves it to be, considerations of race, language, religion, etc., are robbed of any special significance. For, the sole consideration would be the deliberate and conscious agreement of the members of the group, corporation, etc., whatever be the colour, creed or tongue. A state, conceived according to this non-mystical and positive theory, is postulated to be complex or heterogeneous and does not necessarily have to be intolerant of the rights and interests of the "minorities" since these might be safeguarded in the compact or agreement itself.

Nor is the question of the minimum human strength of a nation, *i.e.*, the smallest amount of population necessary to create a state, a very weighty one according to the theory of the state as an artificial manufacture. The chief question is the preparedness or capacity of the state to meet in an effective manner the aggression of enemies. It may be three millions, thirteen millions, thirty millions or even three hundred millions. Nay, it may be so small as a band of pirates organized for robbery on the high seas or for carrying on guerrilla warfare on land.

There is a state *in pesse*, an embryonic nation whenever and wherever the *status quo* of the powers that be is challenged by a group of armed human beings. To be extreme, the positive theory of nation-making would assert that even a single revolutionary militant, by his sheer existence, happens to be the nucleus of a new state or nation.

The Case of Tchecho-Slovakia.

A verification of this aspect of the theory has been met with during the Great War in certain actions of the allies prompted as they were by considerations of military necessity. In August-September 1918 the twelve million Tchechs and Slovaks of Bohemia were recognized by Great Britain, France and the United States as an independent unit, although during that period the territory of these races existed solely in the hearts of the people and in the visions of about 100,000 "exiled" soldiers and the Volga and in Siberia.

As soon as rebels, no matter who or what they be, can create the interest of some powerful neighbour or neighbours the manufacture of a new state may be said to be already on the anvil. The traditional, mystical theory of nationalism would fail to account for such a phenomenon.

It would be impossible to maintain that Tchechoslovakia, as constituted to-day, the "land of seven languages" and half a dozen minorities, is a nation-state in the idealistic Mazzinian sense. Tchechoslovakia has been manufactured not because the Tchechs and the Slovaks, the two "senior partners" of the new political complex, have much in common with one another in "soul" affairs or with the German and other minorities but because the Central Powers had somehow—by hook or by crook—to be crushed by their sworn enemies and because certain states had to be created against mutilated Germany and Austria.

The birth of Tchechoslovakia agrees, therefore, quite well with the new theory of nationalism and nation-making that is adumbrated here. This as well as the other new states of Europe embody fresh illustrations of the principle that it is only through foreign intrigue and diplomatic assistance that subject races, whether united in language, race, religion, etc., or not, can throw off the yoke of hated aliens. Unity or no unity, a nation can be born, should it suit the "conjuncture of circumstances."

Not Unity but Independence.

Nationality, then, is not the concrete expression of a cult or culture or race or language, or of the Hegelian "spirit" or "genius" of a people. It is the physical (territorial and human) embodiment of political freedom, maintained by military and economic strength. The problem of nation making is nothing but the problem of establishing a sovereign will in territorial terms, *i.e.*, giving sovereignty "a local habitation and a name."

Not unity, but independence is the distinctive feature of a national existence. The nation may thus represent one race or many. It may speak one language or it may be polyglot. It may be a uni-cultural or a multicultural organism. To an artificial corporation brought into being by the fiat of human creativeness, homogeneity of racial or linguistic interests is not necessarily a source of strength, nor is heterogeneity a special weakness.

Political Engineering.

The problems of "applied nationalism" are therefore clear. The practical statesman or the manufacturer of nations need not reflect too much on the historic traditions or the sentimental unities. The positive theory of the state would advise him to study principally, first, such of the lands and waters, mines and forests, *i.e.*, the economic resources as can be conveniently made into a unit, and secondly, such of the men and women, families and communities as choose to bring a free and independent organism into existence. The fundamental logic of nation-manufacture is that implied in prudence and expediency.

The will to create a state and the ability to protect and develop it are the sole items in the methodology of statesmanship. As much of the earth's area and of the human mass as can be organized effectively in a separate entity along the lines of least resistance should be regarded as the basis of the state. The sole guidance is furnished by the safe principle, familiar in economics, namely, "as much as the market will bear."

The state may consist of the heterogeneous elements, should they desire to be so organized. Or, the nation may have to renounce a section of the dearer and nearer relationships if that were necessary for the preservation of independence.

That is why Great Britain had to swallow the separation of the U.S. That is why not even the most pronounced chauvinists of France dare attempt annexing the French-speaking provinces of Belgium and Switzerland. That is why Italy would think hundred times before waging war against Switzerland on account of the Swiss-Italian Canton Tessin.

In political engineering even a tiny nucleus

of sturdy independence is infinitely superior to a mammoth hotchpotch of golden servility. "Safety first" is a more reasonable rule in politics than romantic enthusiasm for one's "nationals," linguistic affiliations and cultural colonies. In nation-making and sovereignty the Hesiodic paradox still holds goods, which says that the "part is greater than the whole."

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY.

The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire. By Professor L. C. A. Knowles. (Geo. Routledge, London, 1924) 10s. 6d.

This interesting volume comes as an answer to a necessity. The Economic Development of the Empire has been made a compulsory subject for the Bachelor of Commerce degree of the London University. The author was appointed to lecture thereon. The then bibliography of the subject spread itself over seventy-odd books, articles and reports. There was no text book, so she made one.

The subject should not have been neglected so long. It is interesting when properly lectured. To the man in the street economics suggests high-brow professors who explain one day that German trade flourishes through the depreciation of the mark and the next that the U.S.A. is bound to be prosperous on account of the high value of the dollar. But on economics depend all Empires. Treaties, landings, wars, form the superficial but less important part of a nation's history. The mass effect of the inhabitant's needs, their reaction to the sway of world trade, their use of the power of Nature are the things that count, because they operate on every day of the year.

Professor Knowles has done her work well. In her first books she gives a panoramic view of

the development of the Empire from the earliest stage of a series of outposts.

Then follows a review of the divisions of the Empire into three groups according to their method of administration, and a consideration of their state of development from an economic point of view. And the first book ends with a comprehensive account of the passing of the old Colonial Empire founded on desire for profits and mannered by religious and political discontents to the later form of expansion after the stress of the Napoleonic wars, which owed its success to the over-population of a war-tired country.

The second book, which forms four-fifths of the present volume, deals in detail with the whole of the British tropics and sub-tropics, *e.g.*, those regions where British guidance has infringed on native races, and does but modify their development.

The Dominions, which have carried into their realms their European traditions and belong to the twentieth century, are left for a future volume.

The account of the British effort is inspiring.

At a time when so many of our political leaders are suffering from an "inferiority complex" it is refreshing for Britishers to meet with one who is convinced of the value of British rule to native populations.

The sacrifices made in freeing slaves, establishing colonies and producing for the

wants in these dependencies may seem trivial to those who read of them in terms of modern currency. But Professor Knowles points out the comparative poverty of the Motherland who was making these efforts. The results are apparent to her and those who read her.

During the recent war, the reviewer campaigned in the Malakand region of the North West Frontier of India. Military enthusiasts pointed out the scene of brilliant attacks, the fort that withstood fierce sieges. But this was history. The tribal dispute has passed into oblivion. To-day the interesting fact is, that through the interference of those British who watered the slopes with their blood, the stream from the valley behind is taken through a tunnel into the plain which stretches in front of the spectator.

And there as far as the eye can see, the dusty plain is divided by a broad belt of green. These irrigated fields are the memorial of the coming of the British, not the sun-baked brick forts. The exploits of the Civil side of Empire builders are as interesting, if less spectacular, than those of the Army.

They have been less brilliantly written up but this book goes far to redress the balance.

The comprehensive index and two excellent maps complete this volume.

H. E. H. T.

A METAPHYSIQUE OF MYSTICISM.

A Metaphysique of Mysticism. (Vedically viewed)—“Doval. T. Suklatwalla Memorial Series” No. 5—by A. Govindacharya Svamin, M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., C.E., F.T.S., etc. Veda Griham, Mysore.

A Review.

By DR. GANGANATHA JHA, M.A.

A work like the one under examination eludes the critic and the reviewer alike. Mysticism is from beginning to end based upon feeling, pure and simple. Every man has the right to give expression to what he *feels* and also to draw conclusions therefrom. You cannot object to it. If you do not agree with him the reason is that you do not feel as he feels;—Your mind does not work on the same plane as his;—You are too earthly in your concep-

tions and hence cannot transcend to that height where these super-physical truths are felt and realised. On the other hand, the author also should not object to the critic who fails to grasp his point of view, and takes up a sceptical attitude. The writer himself confesses that the subject-matter of his book is “supernormal experience.”

When the author however asserts that in his work this supernormal experience is supported by “metaphysical reasons” he descends to a more discernible, though still a somewhat ethereal and elusive plane, and when we come to examine the reasons that he adduces, we find that he is unable to do justice to his subject. There is in his treatment of his subject, very little, if any, of “reason”, metaphysical or otherwise. In fact the tenor of the whole book is pitched in a different key,—the key of hyper-sensitive feeling. One cannot help feeling that in laying down the purpose of his book the author has done a distinct disservice to the real subject-matter of the book. As we have already remarked, mysticism is beyond the pale of reason, and once you descend to the plane of reason, the whole fabric of mysticism glides away from your purview.

With the above reservations, we have nothing but admiration for the writer's attempt. The book is divided into twelve sections preceded by an introduction which explains the purpose of the book. Section I deals with fundamental data, where we are taught that “the basis of all mysticism is, God, Soul and immortality, that immortality is the union of God and Soul, and the striving for it constitutes the pilgrimage of the mystic.” Section II deals with “divine relation” which is meant to supply “that most efficient incentive to all actions, an object on which the affections could be placed and the energies concentrated” and this “object” is none other than “God” idealised as the ‘Absolute Person’ union with whom of this Soul can “be expressed only in the language of lovers”;—‘Soul and God’ being regarded as ‘bride and bridegroom.’ Section III deals with “God and Love,” where the same idea is further developed with special reference to Shri Krishna;—whose teachings in the Bhagavad-gita are dealt with in detail in Section IV (mystic factors in the Bhagavadgita) and VIII (Krishna and World-appreciation);—Section V deals with ‘Values for mysticism,’ wherein Upanisadic teachings have been pressed into

service. In Section VI we have an account of 'Mystic sense and experience' where Upanisadic lore is enriched by Dravidian and Christian mysticism. In Section VII we read of 'God and Bliss', and of "Buddhist" and "Chinese" Mysticism in the two parts of Section IX. Section X (Art of Divine Love) seeks to reconcile Hinduism and Buddhism. Section XI is devoted exclusively to "Dravidian Mysticism" which is by far the most interesting section, as indicating that mysticism is still a living factor in the country. The last Section XII provides a very readable account of "Vedanta and Persian Mysticism", where the practical aspect

of Vedanta has been expanded in an appealing manner; and its affinity to Persian Mysticism lends proof—if proof were needed—in support of the eternal unity of all religions.

The author deserves to be congratulated on the courage of conviction that he has evinced in writing and publishing the work in the present day of stress and strife. It is refreshing to find that such high-souled exponents of Transcendent Mysticism are still alive in the flesh in the world to keep its balance and to prove the mainstay of its salvation. These men verily are the very "salt of the earth".

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

A CHRISTMAS SELECTION.

Modern civilisation has reduced life—at any rate, the bread-earning portion of it—to a mechanical routine and every step-forward in the line of advance or progress connotes a speeding-up of this routine, a more "economic" outlay of time, a systematising of human efforts and interests according to rigid plans. Reviewers of books are no exception to this mad mania for speed and although the writer lays no claim to being a professional critic, he pleads guilty to the charge of being an incorrigible bookworm. A holiday, a Christmas interlude is impatiently looked forward to with zest and enthusiasm and programmes and resolutions are the prominent lines of the day dreams when there will be no books and no editors to worry you for 'copy'. What miserable end such resolutions have was the sad experience of at least one of these journalistic hacks. Days before the holidays were within measurable approach the writer had resolved not to pack a single page of print in his suitcase; he meant to take a real vacation, lazy and idle and leisureful. How he ended is another story, but panic overtook him on the eve of the holidays and an assortment of volumes was considered a justifiable relaxation of the firm resolution he had framed. What was found in his bag is the subject matter of this sketchy note. The jottings do not aim to appraise the several volumes mentioned; detailed notices will possibly appear in subsequent issue but the writer was very pleased with his assortment, and

anxious to commend his haphazard selection to readers has sought the hospitality of a separate column.

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The Book of the Beloved. By J. C. Johnston. (Lund Humphries & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 31s.

A monumental work embodying years of thought and industry. Mr. Johnston characterises his beautiful book as a "modern epic poem" and this sub-title indicates but modestly the scope and the vision of the poet's work. The author is primarily a philosopher, inclined toward the metaphysical mysticism of the religion of God, the One Supreme Being. He has attempted here an epic of the Soul, that is Eternal, but he is a modern and his forms of expression, unlike what you would anticipate in an epic poem, are boldly original and typical of the tendencies in modern technique. In *The Book of the Beloved* the author has successfully completed a very ambitious programme; the subject matter needs a detailed notice. But one can without hesitation welcome this erudite work which will carry the strongest appeal to Indian readers. Indeed Mr. Johnston in a personal letter to the Editor, who kindly gave the writer permission to see it, says that if after perusal the readers of the *Book of the Beloved* choose "to regard him as rather a *Vaishnavi* than what is more ordinarily associated with the word *Christian* they will not materially be erring." And it will be worth investing in the *Book of the Beloved* to read not

merely a philosophic British poet who is spiritually in affinity with the Inidan Vaishnavites, but is also a writer of considerable charm and instruction.

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The Chapbook: A Miscellany 1924. (The Poetry Bookshop, London) 3s. 6d.

Readers interested in modern English poetry learnt with regret last year the discontinuance of the excellent monthly miscellany. *The Chapbook*. It is with pleasure, therefore, that this revival, although it is in the form of an annual issue, is to be welcomed. *The Chapbook of 1924* epitomises the youth of modern English poetry. Poets of distinct charm and grace, writers of beautiful fancy sketches, elegant versifiers, neat and clever sceptics of technique and form—every one of them has a room in this Miscellany. *The Chapbook* may not form an ideal survey, but it gives a very good graphic idea of the tendencies in modern English poetry. The 1924 volume maintains the excellences of the previous volumes.

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Chinese Painters. A critical study by Raphael Petrucci (Breutano's, London) 1924.

This excellent monograph on Chinese painting has been admirably translated from the French edition by Frances Seaver. Mr. L. Binyon writes a short biographical note of the author who died early in 1917. The volume provides a comprehensive critical survey of the art of painting in China and the interpretation touched with sympathy and affection is lucid and clear although terse and brief. The author introduces us here to a fascinating study which deserves more exploration and industrious research. We commend this book to lovers of painting and art in general.

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Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc., Part IV. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1924).

We noticed with appreciation Part I of this excellent piece of catalogue work by the famous Indian art-critic who is the curator of the Indian Section of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. In Part IV, which is now issued, he presents an elucidative survey of Jain Cosmology, Literature and Painting. The essay is learned as well as informative and the reproduction of plates enhances the value of the letterpress. The surprising thing is that an American Museum possesses such excellent example of our old Jain art. The catalogue is printed in excellent style on fine art

paper and sets the example to other cataloguers. We congratulate Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on his excellent work.

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Marvels of Plant Life. By E. Fitch Daglish, F.Z.S. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924) 6s.

A volume of absorbing interest for laymen who wish to see in the green life around them the romance and the poetry of the marvellous. Nature has provided her pets with skilful contrivances which astonish and evoke admiration. A book for the holidays—informative and instructive, it is very lucidly written and should enjoy wide popularity.

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Peeps into Fairyland. By Horace J. Knowles (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924) 15s.

Who doesn't wish to be a boy again? Yet there is some consolation for us who have bidden farewell to that delicious stage of life to pretend to youth again and books like "*Peeps into Fairyland*" help us in maintaining the atmosphere of the dreamland that seems so far away. Mr. Knowles' drawings are superbly drawn and the letter press happily chosen. An excellent tonic for idle worries and anxious vexations.

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The Binks Book. By Ruth Dorrien Knight (The Chelsea Publishing Co., London) 1924.

Miss Knight takes us here to the adventure lands of our boyhood.

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SELECTED READINGS.

Holiday feeling is again responsible for the omission to notice at length various important publications. We give below the prominent books of the Season :

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

D. R. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay :

C. N. Vakil—*Financial Developments in Modern India 1860—1924*. Rs. 10/-.

K. T. Shah and K. J. Khambata—*Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*.

These volumes provide excellent pointers for the Taxation Enquiry Committees.

Pollak Foundation for Economic Research :

W. M. Persons, W. T. Foster and A. J. Hettinger
—*Problem of Business Forecasting*. \$4.0.

P. S. King & Son, Ltd. :

Joseph L. Cohen—*Social Insurance Unified*. 5s.

Georg G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. :

Lewis Mumford—*The Story of Utopias*. 10s. 6d.

G. S. Dow—*Society and its Problems*. 10s. 6d.

George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. :

A. J. Penty—*Towards a Christian Sociology*. 6s.

Constructive suggestions for a better world form a feature of these excellent books on ideals of economic order.

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POETRY.

Cambridge University Press :

Sir Richard Temple—*The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*. 16s.

A Kashmir idyll and song rendered into beautiful English Verse.

George Sampson—*Cambridge book of Prose and Verse*. 10s. 6d.

Grant Richards, Ltd. :

Edward Glyn-Jones—*The Death of Itylus*. 5s.

Eloquent and well sustained.

Ernest Benn, Ltd. :

Humbert Wolfe—*Kensington Gardens*. 6s.

Charming verses fragrant with the roses of the garden.

J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. :

Hugh L'Anson Fausset—*Before the Dawn*. 5s.

Basil Blackwell :

Alexander Gray—*Any Man's Life*. 5s.

F. O. Mann—*Poems*. 3s. 6d.

Francis J. Bowen—*Poems*. 3s. 6d.

Susan Miles—*Little Mirrors*. 2s. 6d.

H. G. Dixey—*Darien*. 2s. 6d.

F. H. Shepherd—*Crown or Nothing*. 2s. 6d.

Malcolm Taylor—*Poems Part II*. 1s. 6d.

A charming sheaf gathered from the garden of Modern English Verse.

FICTION.

Macmillan & Co., Ltd. :

Padraic Colum—*Castle Conquer*. 7s. 6d.

Wilfranc Hubbard—*Compromise*. 7s. 6d.

Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. :

W. B. Maxwell—*Elaine at the Gates*. 7s. 6d.

Carl Ewald—*The Twelve Sisters and other Stories*. 6s.

Basil Blackwell :

Michael Lewis—*Beg O' the Upland*. 6s.

George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. :

Margaret W. Nevinston—*Fragments of Life*. 5s.

Brentano's, Ltd. :

Adriana Spadoni—*The Noise of the World*. 7s. 6d.

Stanley Paul & Co. :

V. Torlesse Murray—*Surplus Goods*.

William Le Queux—*Fine Feathers*.

Barton Shaw—*A Strong Man Armed*.

Thea St. John—*Bride of the Revolution*.

G. Bronson-Howard—*The Devil's Chaplain*.

Engene Süe—*The Mysteries of Paris*. 2s. 6d.

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LAW

The American Constitution as It Protects Private Rights. By F. J. Stimson, LL.D. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, U.S.A.) 1923.

In his *American Constitution as It Protects Private Rights*, the author (Dr. Stimson) has successfully broken new ground in the domain of constitutional law. His excellent book is a popular exposition, simple in its treatment, and devoted to what may be called the human aspect of the American constitution. That is, it is not a discussion of the frame of government and its past history, but a presentation of the principles rooted in human experience which give the constitution its vitality, and of the way in which they apply to the problems of a rapidly changing society. We are not familiar with any other work of a similar character dealing with either the British or American constitution in untechnical language which may be understood by the average citizen. As such Dr. Stimson's *American Constitution* has a value of its own, as a text-book not so much of the constitutional law of the United States as a lucid statement of those aspects of it which concern the ordinary citizen in his every-day life.

The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India. By (the late) P. D. Aiyangar. Second edition. (P. Chakrapani Aiyangar, B.L., Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras) 1924.

The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India by the late Mr. P. Duraiswami Aiyangar—who is

favourably known in the Indian legal world as the best commentator on the Indian Income Tax Act—is practically rather a new work than a new edition of his previous work issued, in three volumes, in 1914. The very large number of judicial decisions delivered since then have been incorporated in the text, the references to the provisions of the municipal acts enacted during the last ten years have been given, the chapter dealing with elections has been rewritten and fully brought up to date, the chapter on municipal meetings has been appreciably enlarged. Several other chapters have been thoroughly recast. Thus the author successfully attempted to make the book useful to Municipalities in the daily administration of their affairs and also to laymen who, as ordinary citizens taking an intelligent interest in civic affairs, desire to acquaint themselves with their rights and obligations and have to do something or other with municipal affairs, and also to lawyers as a work of reference where they can find stated the result or state of the law upon any particular point they wish to refer to. Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar's *Law of Municipal Corporations in British India*, in its present form, will hold the field as the standard work on the subject. The learned author died suddenly in April last before he could see the book through the press. We are glad that his son has—as an act of pious duty in memory of his father—seen to the publication of this volume which is admittedly an authoritative work on the subject it deals with. The book is well got-up and deserves appreciation.

The All-India Criminal Digest 1911-1923. By P. Hari Rao. 1924.

The Negotiable Instruments Act By A. K. Nanniah. Third edition. 1924.

The Supplement (1920-1924) to the All-India Criminal Court Manual. 2 Vols. 1924.

(All three issued by the Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras).

We welcome after a cessation of some years the revived activities of the Law Printing House of Madras, which is intimately associated in the public mind with the prodigious activities of the late Mr. Sanjiva Row, who founded the business and who was unequalled both as a businessman and as a compiler, commentator, annotator and condenser of our Statutes. Those carrying on the business have done well to bring out a consolidated digest of criminal cases for the years 1911 to 1923, in continuation of the *All-India Criminal Digest*, which was first issued in 1911. It is a comprehensive and systematic digest and will be found highly useful. Mr. A. K. Nanniah's third

edition of his well-known text-book dealing with the Negotiable Instruments Act will justly find a large circulation amongst businessmen. The firm's *All-India Criminal Court Manual* was published in 1919-1920. Since then a large number of Minor Acts (Criminal) has been enacted by the Indian Legislature and the Criminal Procedure Code has undergone such considerable changes as to make it almost a new Code. Similarly, the Penal Code has been amended by various amending Acts during the same period. To bring, therefore, both the volumes of the *All-India Criminal Court Manual* up-to-date, this supplement is issued, in two separate parts, so that the first part may be bound with Vol. I, and the second part with the Vol. II, of the Manual. To facilitate reference, the full text of the Criminal Procedure Code, as amended up-to-date has been printed in the supplement to Vol. II. Thus all the three books recently issued by the Law Printing House, Madras, will be highly useful and very serviceable to the profession.

Political Crime. By W. G. Carlton Hall (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C. 1) 1921.

Mr. Carlton Hall in his *Political Crime* offers a critical essay on English law and its administration in cases of certain type as a sequel to experiences in Ireland since 1919. The author here attempts to explain the failure of the British Government in recent times to deal effectively with the growing tendency to use violence in the pursuit of political or revolutionary aims. The first part consists of a statement, in text-book form, of the existing law in relation to this class of crime, and among the other subjects dealt with are the willingness of the Legislature to weaken that law from time to time; the contrasting practice of both Legislature and Executive in resorting to emergency measures in time of war or civil disturbance (including therein the proclamation and exercise of martial law); and the common habit of the Executive to mitigate or remit sentences passed by the Courts in respect of "political" offences. Altogether a thoughtful book.

The Indian Succession Act. By (the late) M. C. Majumdar. Edited by M. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L., Ph.D. (R. Cambray & Co., 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

The late Mr. M. C. Majumdar's work on Hindu Wills is justly regarded as an authoritative treatise on the subject. The Commentaries on the Indian Succession Act were designed by the deceased author

on the same lines. But while he lived to see his earlier work cited as a standard authority in our courts, the latter has had to appear posthumously. In the hands of a very capable editor—Dr. Krishnamachariar—Mr. Majumdar's work has suffered in no way, but rather gained a great deal. The editor, while carefully preserving the substance of the author's text—written in 1916—has brought the case-law fully abreast of the times and made useful improvements; with the result that the work under notice may now justly claim to be as authoritative on the subject it deals with as is the earlier work on Hindu Wills.

The Law of Apostasy in Islam. By S. M. Zwemer (Marshall Brothers, Ltd., London) 1924.

Dr. Samuel Zwemer is a Christian propagandist who has made a special study of Islam and its various ramifications. He has written largely on the subject—generally in a controversial spirit, which naturally detracts to some extent from the value of his work. But making allowance for his perhaps unconscious bias against Islam, there is much in his writings that is useful and helpful to students of Islamic institutions. His latest book called *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, though not infrequently polemical, is nonetheless a fairly accurate and compendious sketch of the interesting subject, on which it is to our knowledge, in English, a pioneer work, and it will be of great utility alike to the student of Jurisprudence as of Theology.

MEDICINE.

An Interpretation of Ancient Hindu Medicine. A Comparative Hindu Materia Medica. Endocrine Glands. Malaria. Infant Feeding and Hygiene. By (Dr.?) Chandra Chakrabarty. (Susrata Sangha, 177 Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta) 1924.

Dr. Chakrabarty—as his name betokens—is a native of Bengal, living in New York. He has published during the last few years a number of books in English on medical and other subjects—two of which called *Food and Health* and *Dyspepsia and Diabetes* have already been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The other five enumerated above are equally instructive. The first of the group is, in a sense, the most important. In it the author has successfully attempted a systematic digest of materials for a comparative study of ancient Indian and Greek systems of medicine in the light of the latest

researches in medical science. He contends with great force that the later system was indebted to the former and the contention deserves careful consideration. Original Sanskrit texts are quoted freely and these add materially to the value and utility of the book. He has also convincingly shown that many of the recent developments of surgery were known to ancient Indians. By writing this book the author has rendered a notable service to the renaissance of Indian culture and civilization. His *Comparative Hindu Materia Medica* is also a learned work containing botanical descriptions of nearly a thousand medicinal plants, with their Indian and English names, chemical analyses and therapeutic uses. It will be highly useful to botanists and medical practitioners in India, especially those amongst the latter who may be interested in treatment by means of indigenous herbs. The other three works in our list are excellent text-books of the subjects they deal with—embodying as they do the results of the latest researches. Each of them will be found invaluable by members of the medical profession as compendious sketches of their subjects. Dr. Chakrabarty's works deserve a large circulation.

The Doctor's Oath. By W. H. S. Jones. (University Press, Cambridge) 1924.

In his *Doctor's Oath* Mr. Jones offers a survey of an interesting episode in the history of the medical science in Europe. He presents in it the earliest forms of the famous Hippocratic oath, together with their translations and an elucidative essay. Medical men are now in a position to possess both the Christian and pagan forms of this medical oath, on which the ethics of their profession is founded.

Rejuvenation. By Norman Haire. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) 1924.

Rejuvenation is the latest development of the Science of Medicine and its literature—as chronicled in Dr. Norman Haire's book—is already extensive. Nevertheless a popular exposition of the subject was a desideratum, such as is now offered in the book under notice. The work of Dr. Norman Haire deserves welcome. Perhaps no subject, within the last few years, has aroused more interest and more actively appealed to the popular imagination than has the fascinating theme of Rejuvenation, and certainly on no subject have more exaggerated and misleading statements been made. Dr. Norman Haire's book, which is written in language comprehensible to the educated layman as well as to the medical practitioner,

summarizes the work done by the pioneers who aim at producing improvement in the mental, physical and sexual health, by one or other method of surgical stimulation of the patient's glands. Dr. Haire, who in addition to a wide knowledge of the work of others has personal experience of cases extending over some years, maintains a critical attitude, weighing the evidence for and against the claims put forward by the protagonists of this treatment, and expresses a moderate and balanced opinion. The book thus deserves appreciation for its accuracy and fairness.

Cancer. By J. Ellis Barker. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1924.

Mr. Ellis Barker has been hitherto known as a political writer—his books on modern Germany being very well known. He has now written a work on Cancer, in which he discusses how the disease is caused and how it can be prevented. For a layman to have written such a book is extraordinary, but we are assured by an eminent doctor—Sir Arbuthnot Lane—that “Mr. Barker's book is easily the most important practical work on cancer existing in English or any other language,” who hopes that “this book will mark a new era in the fight against cancer,” and that it “will bring a new hope and a new happiness to humanity.” Mr. Barker holds that cancer is the disease of civilization and the growth of luxury and that the way to conquer cancer is to return to simple living and plain diet. The book is thought-provoking and deserves attention.

Cancer: Its Causation, Prevention and Cure. By John Harger, M.Sc., Ph.D. (C. Tinling & Co., Ltd., 53 Victoria Street, Liverpool).

Yet another book on Cancer, showing unmistakably the great interest which the increasing prevalence of this scourge has roused in the West. Dr. Harger, the author of the book under notice is a medical man and not like Mr. Ellis Barker a layman. He therefore writes with authority. It is noticeable, however, that though differing from Mr. Barker's views in certain respects, he agrees, in the main, with his conclusions while holding that his “reasoning..... is poor.” The long and short of the matter seems to be that the latest researches, on the subject of cancer, indicate the correctness of Mr. Barker's view that the fell disease is one of the products of western civilization, the result of unnatural diet and modes of living and that the best way to avoid it is a return to plain and simple diet. This view is well expounded and urged by Dr. Harger in his *Cancer: Its Causation,*

Prevention and Cure, and the book merits attention both at the hands of doctors and laymen.

Alcohol: Its Action on the Human Organism Second enlarged edition. (H. M. Stationery Office, London) 1924.

The Action of Alcohol on Man. By E. H. Starling (Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, London) 1924.

The literature of Alcohol and its effect on the human system is very large. But the two books enumerated above present in a short compass the results of the latest researches on the subject. Dr. Starling's book covers the entire field. It is learned and scientific but scarcely popular. On the contrary the official publication—which stands first in the list—is an almost ideal work on the subject for popular reading. While fully scientific in its reasonings and conclusions, it imparts information in a way that may be understood of the man in the street. On the whole, it is (in its second, enlarged and judiciously revised edition) the best short study of a great subject and deserves extensive circulation.

How to Prolong Life. By Jean Finot. (John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 83—91 Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street London, W. 1.) 1924.

M. Jean Finot—the author of *The Philosophy of Old Age*—has now published another work in French, which has appeared in an authorized English translation as *How to Prolong Life*. While not competing with Professor Lacassagne's well-known *Green Old Age*—already noticed in terms of appreciation by the *Hindustan Review*—M. Finot's book is highly instructive. While accepting the view of Auguste Comte that “death dominates every living being,” M. Finot lays down sound and wholesome rules for the guidance of human health and shows how the life of man may reasonably be extended by conforming to habits conducive to longevity. The book deserves careful consideration and serious attention.

Curative Food. By P. R. Gordons (Arthur Stockwell, 29 Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4).

Mr. Gordon's *Curative Food* is an excellent, little guide to the science of dietetics. Its great and outstanding merit is that (unlike most of the works on the subject) it is absolutely untechnical and severally practical. It strictly eschews not only technical but even semi-technical terms, and also argumentative

exposition. The result is a handy manual which offers within 35 pages a great deal of sound and useful information which would be found helpful by all interested—and who is not?—in the preservation of health.

NEW EDITIONS OF STANDARD SCIENTIFIC WORKS.

Moving Pictures: How They are Made and Worked. By F. A. Talbot. Illustrated and Entirely Re-written (William Heinemann, Ltd., Publishers, London) 1924.

Mr. Frederick Talbot's *Moving Pictures* was originally issued in 1912 as a volume of "Conquests of Science" Series. It now appears entirely re-written—rather a new book than a new edition. It is a work which fulfils in a pre-eminent degree the ideal associated with a popular treatise on a scientific subject and should command popularity. Although the "pictures," spreading like wild-fire, have gripped the country, every city, having its picture palace, the eternal question, "How is it done?" is still on the lips of the audience, the man behind the camera manifesting a keen delight in the bewilderment and mystification of the millions drawn to the silver screen. The author of this book offers a complete answer to the riddle, and thus interests his readers. With the assistance of the pioneers and inventors, he has been able to present a fascinating romance "behind the scenes," as alluring as the actual performance. Mr. Talbot traces the history of the invention and its progress from the day when photographs in animation were first produced. He describes simply and fully the mechanism of the cameras, printing machines, and projectors, explains to us how the millions of miles of celluloid ribbon are made, exposed, developed, printed, coloured and thrown upon the screen. Then he takes us to the largest studios in the world to reveal how the mammoth productions, costing thousands of pounds, are staged, and the artifices of the directors and players to produce thrilling and exciting incidents. He tells how cities, cathedrals and castles are constructed of wood and plaster to have but a fleeting if crowded life; how the seemingly impossible is achieved in the air and beneath the sea, which staggers imagination. He describes fully the trick picture, and the ceaseless struggle by ingenious artifices to baffle the public more completely than is possible by any conjurer, as well as the wonderful attachments devised for employment with the camera to produce mystifying and artistic effects. He describes in detail Dr. Comand-n's apparatus for taking moving pictures of microbes; and Mr. Bull's

machine for taking 25,000 pictures per second, enabling us to catch the shell fired by the cannon in flight, and the beat of a bee's wing. But he tells us even more wonderful things. We read of the "double" and his work; how railway collisions, shipwrecks, flood and fire, sensational aeroplane, performances and wonderful submarine voyages and thrill, are staged, and of the adventures befalling those who labour long and hard by "playing" to amuse the world; of the wanderings of the man with the camera to bring before us the life, customs and scenic beauties of other lands. We learn about the combination of X-rays and the moving picture camera, and the various colour processes which are used to enhance the attractiveness and charm of the pictures. Every aspect of what is now one of the largest and most important industries in the world receives attention. So much that is new appears as we read, so wonderful are the powers of the invention and the application of human imagination, that we have a whole new world opened up before us, with possibilities the like of which the most of us have never even dreamed. It is a work of perennial interest. The book is lavishly illustrated with arresting explanatory pictures; while numerous diagrams in the text elucidate what seem to be the most abstruse features of the craft.

Lectures on the History of Physiology during the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries. By Sir Michael Foster. (The University Press, Cambridge) 1924.

Sir Michael Foster's *Lectures on the History of Physiology* was published so far back as 1901, and though some works on the subject have appeared since, it has not lost its value and its reprint is doubly welcome, it having been out of print for several years. On its first appearance the book—coming as it did from the pen of a master of the subject—was deservedly hailed as a classic by those most competent to judge. And even after nearly a quarter of a century, it is entitled to respectful consideration as a vivid delineation of the growth of knowledge as to the working and moving of the complicated mechanism of the living body—enlivened with graphic, personal details with regard to the lives of the eminent scientists who worked during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the field of physiological research. It is thus not merely a textbook—there are several such which can not be mentioned in the same breath with Sir Michael's book. The latter is remarkable for the lucidity of style—so rare in a scientific work—for its subtle analysis of a mass of details, for erudition and the

skill with which that erudition is systematized and displayed to advantage. It is thus of the highest value not only to students of the development of the science of physiology or to medical men in general, but to all men of culture who may be willing to understand and appreciate the important problems connected with the gradual growth of knowledge of the physical basis of man's life. We commend it as a work which has already taken its place in general literature as unfolding history of ideas.

Human Life and How It May be Prolonged. By Lt.-Col. F. F. MacCabe, M.B. (Grant Richards, Ltd., Publishers, London) Second Edition, 1924.

Lt.-Col. MacCabe's *Human Life and How It May Be Prolonged* first saw the light in 1919 and its success is evinced by a second edition being called for. Advocating that a sure means of enjoying continued good health is to indulge all natural appetites in a moderate way, and showing that there is no need for actions that would in any way reduce the natural enjoyments of life, the author easily carries out his promise to his readers that, "I shall never be dull." The author is by no means a faddist. He is commendably clear in the views he expresses and his instructions are practicable and can be easily followed. He discourses on the secrets of good health both in the light of knowledge and experience and his advice is, therefore, sane and wholesome. It should have a large circulation.

The Races of Man. By A. C. Haddon, F.R.S. New Edition (The University Press, Cambridge) 1924.

The first edition of Dr. Haddon's *Races of Man and their Distribution* appeared so far back as 1909. There has been during the last fifteen years so much advance in Ethnology that the new edition under notice has had to be entirely rewritten and it is a new book to all intents and purposes. In its present form it is fully abreast of the latest advances on the subject and as a compendious sketch of Ethnology it stands unrivalled. It deals with the physical characters employed in racial discrimination and classification, the various stocks and their distribution, probable racial history of the various areas, the problem of heredity and the effects of environment on the formation of races. The subject is treated in a masterly way and the book is a notable acquisition to scientific literature.

POPULAR SCIENCE.

Go to the Ant. By E. Step. (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London) 1924.

Mr. Edward Step is well-known as an expositor of Science for popular reading. His two earlier works called *Insect Artizans* and *Marvels of Insect Life* are fine examples of the art of expounding scientific data for popular purposes. His latest work—called *Go to the Ant*—is even better. It is at once the most interesting, readable and comprehensive account yet written of the many-sided activities of the ant. Few are as highly qualified as is the author to deal with such a fascinating subject. The reader cannot fail to be absorbed in this story of insect life in relation to human activities. The author helps us to appreciate the personality of the ant, her intelligence and cleverness domestically, socially, as engineer, agriculturist, soldier, hostess, kidnapper, and as a terror to man and beast. There is also an account of all British ants. The illustrations are numerous and entirely appropriate. One can not place a better book in the hands of the youth than Mr. Step's fascinating work under review.

Astronomy for Young Folks. By J. B. Lewis (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London) 1924.

It is a capital book for young people desirous of learning the oldest of the sciences that is presented in *Astronomy for Young Folks*. The author's aim has been not to write a text-book, but to tell in words easily understood by the average fourteen-year-old child something of the nature of the heavenly bodies. In Part I an effort is made to make the child familiar with the stars by indicating when and where they can be found in the early evening hours. Later chapters deal with the Milky Way, the Stars of the Southern Hemisphere, the Solar System, the Earth, Moon and Comets. There are numerous illustrations and diagrams. Thus presented, the study of "the oldest and the noblest of the sciences" cannot fail to become a fascinating pastime to the youthful reader, who will find his (or her) interest firmly held right up to the last page of the book. We commend this book to all beginning the study of the Science of Astronomy.

Life: How It Comes. By Mrs. Parsons, M.D. (Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford).

Mrs. Parson's book discourses, for the behoof of the child, on the principles of elementary biology. At a time like the present when there is a great demand

for clear statements meant for children explaining facts about sex relations, a book like *Life: How It Comes* is very welcome. It is written by one who is fully qualified to deal with the subject and who has handled it in a masterly manner. The result is a sketch which is at once reverent and scientific, yet sufficiently popular and instructive. In discussing matters which in less competent hands might provoke criticism, Mrs. Parsons displays great tact and good taste and has set an example which may be followed with advantage by others dealing with delicate subjects.

Rats and How to Destroy them. By M. Hovell. (John Bale Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., S3-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, London) 1924.

Here is a big book on rats and the various methods of their extermination! It deals with rat-hunting in all sorts of places—houses, shops, warehouses, out-houses, yards, stables, cowsheds, fowl-houses, pigsties, gardens, greenhouses, vineyards, farms, sewers, ships, shooting-estates, and even ornamental waters and rivers. There are many books on rat destruction, but Mr. Hovell's treatise is about the most systematic and comprehensive digest of the subject we know of. Its great merit is that while thoroughly scientific, it is at the same time fully popular. It should be read and utilized wherever there is rat menace—and where is it not?

Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Science Arranged by W. C. D. Whetham and Miss Whetham. (University Press, Cambridge) 1924.

This anthology of scientific extracts compiled by Mr. Whetham and his daughter is a very valuable companion for not only the student of science, but the general reader as well. It includes a large number of judiciously selected pieces brought together from the writings of eminent men of science which are calculated to illustrate the development of scientific thought. The selections cover a very wide range—dealing as they do with cosmogony, atomic theory and the principles of evolution. The writers brought under requisition range from Aristotle to Einstein. This book should be able to command wide appreciation and large circulation.

An Introduction to Mythology. By Lewis Spence (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 2 & 3, Portsmouth Street, Kingsway, W.C., London).

Mr. Lewis Spence's *Introduction to Mythology* is an excellent elementary text-book of the mythic

science. The author is an admitted expert on the subject he deals with and his work deserves commendation alike for scientific value and interest. The purpose of this book is to provide the general reader with a review of mythic science from its beginnings down to the latest guesses of contemporary authorities. Of recent years readers of all sorts have been attracted by the excellent collections of myths of primitive and early civilized peoples, and there should be many, therefore, to whom an elementary study of the nature and significance of myth in relation to modern research and conclusions should be welcome. There could not be a better text-book for the purpose than that furnished by Mr. Spence in his *Introduction to Mythology*.

Primitive Society. By R. H. Lowie (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, E.C.).

Mr. R. H. Lowie's *Primitive Society* is without doubt the most important book on its subject since Morgan's *Ancient Society*. It supplies the insistent demand for a work of the kind, which shall take account of the new facts that have been accumulating for many years. The author, who is Assistant Curator of Anthropology at the Museum of Natural History, New York, has compiled a very comprehensive treatise, discussing in non-technical language all that is now known about the Sex-Life, Marriage-Usages, Polygamy, Family Organisations, the Sib, Primitive Mutual Benefit-Societies and Clubs, Secret Fraternities and Initiations, Governmental Institutions, Status of Women, Primitive Notions of Property and Law. It may be added that the book is thoroughly suitable as a text-book for sociological classes, and as a work of reference for sociologists, economists, historians, psychologists, and comparative jurists; and the cultured reader will find it of great general interest. Its value and usefulness are increased by the inclusion in it of a Bibliography. Altogether it is a work of great importance and interest.

The Evolution of Love. By Emil Lucka. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London) 1924.

The Evolution of Love breaks almost new ground in modern scientific literature and we welcome the English translation of Lucka's work, which is fully deserving of this honour. The author is one of the finest and deepest Italian poets and his book under notice has aroused extraordinary interest on the Continent and in America. Nor is it to be at all wondered

at, for in it the writer assails the general view that Human Love is ultimately based on sex attraction, maintaining, on the contrary, that love is entirely independent of sex. His view is that love in its noblest sense is a thing of modern evolution; unknown to the ancients, it only became possible when European civilization had developed to a certain point of psychological refinement. He also lays down some highly original discoveries regarding the difference of outlook in the sexes. He claims that this evolutionary process has only taken place in Man, and that Woman has remained unchanged through all the ages, uninfluenced by the forces which have moulded Man. Apart from its theories, the book is conspicuous for the purity and nobility of the theories enunciated and the poetic and learned quality of its exposition.

The Sexual Life of Man. By Dr. Placzek. (John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, London) 1924.

Dr. Placzek is a neurologist in Berlin. His book called the *Sexual Life of Man* deserved being rendered into English, by reason of its scientific importance; there being no other work in that language—either original or translated—which covers the same ground. Perhaps the reason is—as stated by Mr. Arnold Bennett in his well-known work called *The Author's Craft*:—"No first-class English novelist or dramatist would dream of allowing to his pen the freedom in treating sexual phenomena which continental writers enjoy as a matter of course. The British public is admittedly wrong on this important point—hypocritical, illogical and absurd." That is so and we, therefore, all the more gladly commend the publishers' enterprise in placing an English translation before readers of an authoritative work which is equally comprehensive, scientific and outspoken.

The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice and Crime. By B. Hollander, M.D. (George Allen & Unwin, 40, Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1924.

Dr. Hollander's work is a notable contribution to the new science of Character, as it contains the observations and reflections of a well-known mental specialist, based on twenty-five years' experience in the treatment of mental and moral defects and the various forms of misconduct, including drink, drug and abnormal sex habits, morbid aggressiveness, kleptomania and other criminal tendencies. It would thus be seen that the *Psychology of Misconduct, Vice and Crime* is a scientific work of first-rate importance and as dealing with a new science it is doubly welcome

as a comprehensive and up-to-date manual for the student for whom it primarily caters.

The Properties of Matter. By B. C. McEwen. (Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, London) 1924.

Mr. McEwen's *Properties of Matter* is an excellent Text-Book based upon a course of lectures delivered to students working for the B.A. Degree Examination of the University of Madras. The noteworthy thing about it is that the order followed is the reverse of that adopted in most Text-Books dealing with the subject. Commencing with the first Law of Thermodynamics, an extension is made to the more general principle of the Conservation of Energy, and hence to the metaphysical conception of the Identity of Energy. Then follows a study of the Kinetic Theory of Matter. The Properties of Gases are next investigated from the standpoint of the Kinetic Theory, and the continuity of the gaseous and liquid states supplies the natural transition to a detailed study of liquids. The Properties of Solids are dealt with last. The book offers an interesting and compendious sketch of the subject and deserves appreciation.

An Outline of Relativity. By L. Southern. (The Epworth Press, London) 1924.

Mr. Southern's *Outline of Relativity* is meant to be an elementary introduction in non-technical language, illustrated by diagrams. At a time like the present when the true relations between time and space are being keenly sought after, Mr. Southern's book, by reason of its lucidity and accuracy, ought to command a large circulation.

Vitality and Diet. By Haydn Brown. (Andrew Melrose, Ltd., Publishers, London).

What is the Root Cause of Cancer? By F. F. Marwood (John Bale, Sons Danielson, Ltd., London) 1924.

Mr. Haydn Brown's *Vitality and Diet* is a small book which will teach the public what foods they should eat with advantage. The author exhibits regard for works on diet hitherto written, and civilly salutes all existing investigators whether extremists, faddists, specialists or amateur experimentalists. He has spent many years in finding scientific facts and in sifting interesting arguments. He very broadly examines

human requirements, and cancels down to clear principles that are convincing. The work thus constitutes a dependable guide concerning the chief factor making for good health and long life, and deserves attention. Mr. Marwood in his little work on cancer attributes that disease solely to excessive consumption of salted foods and salt compounds. His theory merits examination.

A History of Dreams. By A. J. J. Ratcliff, M.A. (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

Mr. Ratcliff's *History of Dreams* is a work of great interest alike to the scientist and the layman. The author who has made a special study of the subject presents in the first place a succinct account of the evolution of dream theories, followed by a sketch of the dream in literature. While the treatment of the earlier part of the subject is of interest to the students of science, that of the latter part should appeal to a larger circle of readers, including all men of letters. Chapter X which deals with "Literature as Dreams" and Chapter XI headed "Dreams in Literature" are of special interest to literary men, and are likely to appeal to students of English poetry in particular. Thus Mr. Ratcliff's book deserves acknowledgment at the hands of the man of science and the man of letters alike

The Evolution of Civilization. By Joseph McCabe. Second (revised) edition. (Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Mr. Joseph McCabe is one of the most qualified popularizers of modern science. Having in his *A. B. C. of Evolution* told in the simplest possible language what evolution means and how its application leads in every department of life to the best interests of humanity, he followed it up with the *Evolution of Civilization*, the second edition of which, carefully revised, is now before us. It is a capital, little Introduction to the subject it deals with. It explains in lucid language understandable by even children the elements of civilization and its development through the ages, with especial reference to its bearings on human life. The author emphasises its meaning, laws and even destiny. The work is an excellent text-book of social evolution and clearly expounds by what laws it slowly prevails over the older impulses which are so deeply implanted in human nature. It should attain a large popularity.

GUIDEBOOKS AND TOURIST LITERATURE.

Beadeker's Paris and its Environs. 19th Edition. (Karl Beadeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany) 1924.

In noticing in terms of appreciation the eighteenth edition of Baedeker's *London and its Environs*—the first post-war issue of 1923—we referred to the fame and fortunes of the famous German publishing house of Karl Baedeker, which in its surname had given to English a word synonymous with super-excellence in guide-book making. Since the cessation of the war, the Leipzig firm have brought out new and thoroughly revised issues of their *Switzerland and the Italian Lakes* (26th edition, 1922), *The Dominion of Canada* (4th edition, 1922), *Berlin and its Environs* (6th edition, 1923), *London and its Environs* (18th edition, 1923) and have just added the nineteenth editions of *Paris and its Environs*. The work under consideration—like the others in the revised series—represents perfection in the guide book-maker's art. Conciseness, accuracy, up-to-dateness and usefulness are the striking features of Beadeker's guides, which in their own sphere stand unsurpassed and unrivalled. The new guide to Paris ought to command a large circulation. It is the first post-war guide to Paris which contains a description of the air-route from London to Paris.

A Satchel Guide to Europe. By W. J. Rolfe. 44th edition. Revised and enlarged by W. D. Crockett. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, U.S.A.) 1924.

The Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. By E. C. Stedman. Edited by T. L. and N. P. Stedman. (Robert M. McBride & Co., New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

These two American guides to Europe are well-known and have passed through many issues. But the issues under notice are the first post-war editions and have been carefully revised by their respective editors and brought abreast of present conditions. Rolfe's book is a very useful travelling companion for the rapid or leisurely tourist. Clear, complete and comprehensive, it gives in its revised and enlarged edition the latest information on all matters relating to European travel, including motor and aeroplane. Its competitor, compiled by Stedman, is also a meritorious work in its sphere. Its convenient size for the pocket—which is its distinctive feature—its lucid arrangement and compactness of information render it inestimable to travellers in Europe. The present edition has been scrupulously overhauled and new

maps especially prepared for the purpose have been added. Though covering much the same ground, the two guides supplement each other and both should be kept handy by the wise traveller in Europe.

The South American Tour. Fourth Edition. By Annie S. Peck. (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., Paternoster Row, London E. C.) 1924.

Miss Peck, the author of the *South American Tour*—which is now in its fourth edition and is a useful, descriptive guide to the scenes and sights of South America—is a well-known authority on the subject she deals with. She is a noted expert on South America, having traversed that continent no less than eight times. Coming from the pen of a specialist her book, under notice, is an almost ideal handbook for the traveller in South America. Concise, up-to-date, accurate, well-written, profusely illustrated, and excellently got-up, Miss Peck's *South American Tour* gives very full information—practical, descriptive and historical—necessary for those desiring to undertake an independent tour in the countries of South America, and is an indispensable book alike for reference and study.

Chosen, Manchuria and Siberia. Second, revised edition. **China,** Second, revised edition. (Japanese Government Railways, Tokyo, Japan) 1924.

Some years back the Japanese Government Railways, issued in five handy volumes official guide-books to Japan (two vols.) and to the East Indies, to Chosen, Manchuria and Siberia and to China, in one volume each. These highly meritorious works formed the subject of a highly appreciative but critical and comprehensive survey in the *Hindustan Review*. Since then there have been many changes in the conditions of travel in China, Japan and the Far East and the Japanese Railway authorities have done well to inaugurate a series of revised issues of their guide-books. The first two volumes to appear in revised editions are those enumerated above. They have both been rewritten to a large extent and every chapter has been carefully revised and judiciously enlarged and brought up-to-date fully. They are in their present form admittedly the best work in English of their class and kind and deserve appreciation and circulation.

Guide to Jamaica. (Jamaica Tourist Association Imperial Association Buildings, Kingston, Jamaica) 1924.

The Jamaica Tourist Association deserve to be complimented on their efforts to popularize their country

by means of an excellent and fully illustrated guide, which is a repertory of useful information and deserves acknowledgment. It supplies not only practical information likely to be of advantage to tourists in Jamaica but also reliable data about the history and productions of that country. The descriptive sketches of the scenes and sights are all that could be desired. Altogether this *Guide to Jamaica* is a most commendable effort at popularizing that famous island of the new world.

Automobile Guide of Malaya. Compiled by Broughton Richmond (Fraser and Neave, Ltd., Singapore) 1924.

A big book it is—the first issue of an *Automobile Guide of Malaya*—and clearly proves that motoring is highly popular in that country. The book is divided into three parts—the general section bringing together a mass of useful information for motorists, a special section containing descriptions of fourteen main routes and a final section giving an alphabetical lists of all car owners in British Malaya, classification of types of cars with regard to each area and to the whole territory and a summary of motor vehicles. This carefully-edited volume is thus not only systematic and comprehensive but also informative and interesting and is bound to be found invaluable by motorists in Malaya.

Venice: An Illustrated Guide. By Lt. Colonel H. A. Newell. (Antonio Vidotti, Calle Lunga S. Maria Formoso 6240, Venezia, Italy) 1924.

Lt.-Colonel Newell is an accomplished traveller, and a born guide-book compiler—being the author of two good books of travel and no less than eighteen useful guide-books to the cities and scenic sites of India. Almost all of these have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. But not content with resting on his laurels, Lt.-Colonel Newell has now ventured upon a more ambitious guide-book—one dealing with the world-famous Italian City of Venice. As expected of the author, the book is exceedingly well put together, the text is embellished with numerous excellent illustrations and is furnished with useful plans and map. Though it has many formidable competitors to face, Lt.-Colonel Newell's *Venice* is likely to hold its own as perhaps the best practical guide to "one of the strangest and most interesting cities in the world"—as the author justly characterizes "the city of a hundred isles."

Living London: Topical, Literary and Historical, (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Messrs. George Philip—the well-known cartographers—have just issued, as the first of a series of their map-guides, *Living London*—the size of which is 40 by 30 and which is printed in colours. This map has been compiled and produced on entirely novel lines and constitutes what is practically a map and guide-book in one. It differs from the usual map of London in being much more than a street plan of the Metropolis, since it brings out all the usual points of interest, the so-called "lions," prominently in red, but in addition, as its name suggests, other aspects of the appeal which London makes to the Londoner and the stranger within her gates are also dealt with. For instance, the Haunts of London's bygone Celebrities, their birthplaces and residences (with dates) are located upon the map, so that the London of Shakespeare, Dickens, Dr. Johnson and of Lamb may be said to live again. Out-of-the-way and curious information about presentday London is also shown in position, and all insertions are listed down the side, so that by a system of numbered squares they can be readily located upon the map. Special insets are provided of the most crowded areas dealing with the following:—(1) Theatres and Music Halls. (2) Clubs and Notable Houses. (3) Hotels and Restaurants. (4) Places of Literary and Antiquarian interest. (5) Government Offices, etc. Plans of the British Empire Exhibition and of the Train and Tram Routes to Wembley are also included. The map is, in addition, a thoroughly up-to-date Road and Tube map of London, and extends from Shepherds Bush in the west to the Tower Bridge in the east, and from Primrose Hill in the north to Stockwell in the south. It would thus be seen that this ingenious map-guide to the metropolis of the British Commonwealth amply justifies its claim to offer at a glance all points of interest—topical, literary and historical—in living London. We congratulate the publishers on their enterprise.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

The Concise Dictionary of National Biography. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta) 1924.

The Dictionary of National Biography is a truly monumental work of reference in the range of biographical literature, but extending as it does over a large number of volumes, it is both expensive and an unwieldy collection for purposes of ready reference. We, therefore, welcome *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography*, now reissued at the remarkably

low price of 21s. net. This is actually below the pre-war price of 28s. The publishers have been led to take this step by their conviction that the great storehouse of British Biography deserves, in this compendious form, to enjoy a very wide circulation. A large and growing number of people who cannot be in daily enjoyment of the great *Dictionary of National Biography* are yet in daily need of a handy but authoritative dictionary of British biography. This need is amply supplied by the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography* which in a single volume of 1,598 pages contains 31,500 Lives and an incalculable number of facts and dates. It is, in its own sphere, the ideal book of reference; and there is no other such book. The handy encyclopaedias cannot, from the nature of the case, give more than a fraction of the information which can be found—and found more quickly—in the *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*. Such a book ought to be in every public reference library; on the shelves of every journalist, and of men of business; in every school library, and in private houses in every country where English is read and British Worthies remembered. We congratulate the publishers on their spirit of enterprise, which deserves wide appreciation and commend the book which should command a large circulation.

The Outlook in South Africa. (South African National Association, Johannesburg, South Africa) 1924.

The Outlook in South Africa is a collection of twenty signed contributions by well-known authorities reviewing the activities and resources of the Union of South Africa. It was compiled in view of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley last year, but it has a permanent value as a compendium of useful, general information about things South African. While the data on which the articles are based are mainly statistical—thus bringing the book within the category of works of reference—there is enough in them to interest the reader intent on business, pleasure, or settlement in South Africa. The many maps and illustrations add materially to the usefulness of the letterpress and render the book more attractive. Written by experts, covering a vast range of interesting topics, enriched with excellent sketch maps and illustrations, the *Outlook in South Africa* should appeal to all interested in the fortunes of that great dominion.

New Hand-Map of Europe. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., 32 Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

The New Hand-map of Europe, edited by Mr. George Philip is an excellent production, illustrating

all the territorial changes since 1914. It provides in a convenient form, for general use, a valuable key map to the ten most momentous years in European—if not the world's—history. Its size is 48 by 37 inches and the scale on which it is drawn is 48 miles to an inch. It clearly shows the boundaries of the post-war territories of Sovereign States as constituted to-day, the pre-war international boundaries, names of States deprived of territory, large or small territorial changes as the result of treaties, besides railways, frontier customs stations, canals, and steamship lines. A careful examination has satisfied us that the many useful features embodied in the new map under review—but a few of which we have enumerated above—render it, both as regards its wealth of information and the clear and graphic manner in which the information is conveyed, of the greatest benefit and utility to persons interested in the solution of the many problems resulting from the Great War. It should be found invaluable by teachers, and lecturers and equally so by students of public affairs, journalists and publicists.

Handbuck Der Islam-Literature. By Prof. D. G. Pfannmüller. (Verlag Von Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, Germany) 1924.

Professor Pfannmüller's *Hand-book of Islamic Literature*—which is so far available only in German—deserves a rendering of its contents into English. It is a most useful and comprehensive bibliography of Islam in the widest sense—not only of the religion, but of the lands, the peoples, the cultures, literatures, and the philosophies, which owe their origin, or present position to the influence or traditions of the creed promulgated by the Arabian prophet. Though German books naturally predominate, books in English and other European languages also are recorded and the work is one which no student of Islam can do without, as it is a systematic and fairly exhaustive bibliographical compendium.

Pocket Oxford Dictionary. (Oxford University Press, Calcutta; also Box 31, Bombay) 1924.

The *Concise Oxford Dictionary*—issued some years back—successfully abridged and condensed, into one handy volume, the contents of the monumental ten-volumed *Oxford Dictionary*, which will soon be completed. There is now rendered available a yet smaller abridgment called *Pocket Oxford Dictionary* than which nothing better as a triumph in condensation can be conceived for the purposes of daily use. It is a marvellous compendium in English lexicography—scientific, handy, neatly got-up and withal available

at two and a half rupees. It fully deserves a very wide circulation in the English-knowing world.

A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English. By Ernest Weekly, M.A. (John Murray Albemarle Street, London W.) 1924.

Mr. Ernest Weekly—well-known as the author of *The Romance of Words*, *The Romance of Names* and *Surnames* published in 1921 an *Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. This has now been abridged into the *Concise Etymological Dictionary* which is handier and altogether better adapted to purposes of reference. In its present form it comprises the whole of the literary and colloquial vocabulary of English, together with sufficient indications as to the origin of current scientific terms, and will be found exceedingly useful. It should find a place in every well-equipped library.

Guide to Current Official Statistics. Vol. 2 for 1923 (H. M. Stationery Office, Princes Street, Westminster, London) 1924.

We noticed in terms of appreciation the first volume (for 1922) of the *Guide to Current Official Statistics of the United Kingdom*. The second issue for 1923 is in continuation of the first number, with an appendix relating to selected statistical publications issued prior to 1923. The book is a systematic survey of official statistics published mainly in 1923, and will be found highly useful in looking for authoritative and accurate data and figures which are available in official publications alone.

Canada To-day 1924. Edited by R. J. Arnott, M.A. Eighth issue. (The Canada Newspaper Company, Ltd., 26-27 Cockspur Street, London, S.W. 1.)

We wish we had an annual dealing with the Indian Empire on the lines of *Canada To-day*—as well got up, as well informative, and as well illustrated. The current edition, edited by Mr. R. J. Arnott, is a graphic delineation of Canada and Newfoundland at the present day in well-written letter-press and excellent pictures. Whether regarded as a work of reference or a book of interest to the general reader, it may be relied upon to offer both useful and trustworthy information relating to the Dominions. The size has been made handy—facilitating ready reference—a large number of full-page illustrations embellish it

and it includes accurate and up-to-date information on a vast range of subjects appertaining to Canada and Newfoundland. Almost every phase of Canadian life is vividly depicted and it is, within a small compass, an encyclopædic volume, brimful of facts, figures and statistics, bearing on the progress and prosperity of the American Dominions. No one interested in the fortunes of Canada can do without this standard work of reference, which in point of usefulness, attractiveness and convenience is the most up-to-date book on the subject. It deserves a more substantial binding. It is cheaply priced at half a crown.

The Canada Year-Book 1922-23. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada) 1924.

The latest edition of the *Canada Year-Book* is a marvellous compendium of general information and statistical data about the great North American Dominion of King George V. The vast mass of accurate and well-tested matter brought together within its covers, containing over one thousand pages, is concerned with the physiography, history, constitution, institutions, population, production, industry, trade, commerce, transportation, finance, labour, local administration, and social, economic, political and civic conditions of Canada. The statistical data is based on the latest information rendered available by census reports and other official publications. The *Canada Year-Book* is very similar to the official annual issued by the Government of South Africa and it were much to be wished that the Government of India embarked upon a reference annual modelled on the same lines. At present we have neither an official publication similar to the Canadian and South African Year-books, nor a non-official one similar to *Canada To-day*. Unlucky India!

Ferguson's Ceylon Directory, 1924-25. (The Ceylon Observers Press, Colombo) 1924.

Fergusson's Ceylon Directory is an institution in the famous Crown Colony. It is one of the oldest publications of its class and kind in Asia and justly enjoys a pre-eminently high position amongst annual works of reference. It deals comprehensively with almost every phase of civic, political and industrial activity in Ceylon and is replete with statistical and general information such as one looks for in a work of this kind. The latest edition has been completely over-hauled and all the sections have been carefully revised and fully brought up-to-date. The result is

that its contents are far more accurate than is usually the case with the average directory. *Fergusson's Directory* is the one indispensable reference annual dealing with Ceylon on a most comprehensive scale.

The Handy Hotel Guide 1924-25. Eighteenth edition. (The Hotel and General Advertising Company, Ltd. Temple House, Tallis Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

Not only hoteliers but also tourists all the world over will welcome the new, eighteenth, edition of the *Handy Hotel Guide*, which is a well-known work of reference, alike for the correctness of its information and its general utility to the travelling public. The data it furnishes is authentic and reliable and its size, format and mechanical execution are all that need be in a work of its class.

Statistical Abstract for British India. Second issue for 1924. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

For years past the Government of India used to issue (revised from time to time) a series of five volumes called *Statistics of British India*. The India Office in London also used to publish every year—based on the Government of India's publication mentioned above—a work of reference in one volume called *Statistical Abstract Relating to British India*. The last number issued of the latter—which was in 1922—was the fifty-fifth. The two publications were amalgamated in 1923 and replaced by the work called the *Statistical Abstract for British India*. It appeared in 1923 in India, the London publication being permanently suspended. The new series is practically a reproduction (in one large but compact volume) of the contents of the five parts in foolscap size of the *Statistics of British India*, and is, so far, an improvement on the old series for purposes of reference and carrying about. But it comprises statistics and statistics alone—one prodigious mass of figures grouped under various headings. As you open the book columns after columns of figures stare you in the face with no saving grace or redeeming feature about them of any analytical statements bringing out their significance, such as you find so helpful in the *South African Year-Book* or the *Canada Year-Book*. Nevertheless the *Statistical Abstract for British India* is an indispensable reference book for the worker in India, though its value would be appreciably enhanced if it were modelled upon the official year-book issued by the Government of South Africa or of Canada. The second issue for 1924, which has just appeared, is

completely revised and judiciously overhauled, and it should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist and official, as also on that of every businessman.

Government of India Directory 1924. Delhi edition (Government of India Press, Simla) 1924.

Yet another directory—this time an official one, to be published twice a year, one in December at Delhi and the other in May at Simla. For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May what was called the *Government of India List* containing the names and addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of local Governments and administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May last. The December issue from Delhi has appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with India and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla.

A NEW COMMERCIAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

"**The Resources of the Empire**" series. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4.) 1921. Twelve Volumes.

The Resources of the Empire is an encyclopædic survey for the business man of the resources of the British Commonwealth, and has been prepared by the Federation of British Industries. The various volumes deal with food supplies, timber products, textile fibres and yarns, fuel, rubber, tea and cocoa, coffee, spices and tobacco, leather, chemicals, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, oils, fats, waxes, resins, and communications. This brief summary of the contents would indicate the comprehensive scope of the book. Each volume is a self-contained business man's guide to a different group of British, Dominion and Colonial products, giving particulars of quantities and qualities available and required in the different Empire markets, with details as to transport facilities, and undeveloped resources, foreign competition and prospective variation in supply and demand. The series as a whole constitutes an up-to-date, commercial reference library as containing a compendious guide to the products of the many countries in the old world and the new owing allegiance to the British Crown. Written by experts and specialists, the information embodied in these timely volumes is remarkably accurate and strictly practical and would be invaluable to all men of business, merchants, tradesmen, importers and

exporters. Great credit is due to the Federation of British Industries which has conceived and carried out the scope and design of this monumental survey with a wonderful completeness. These volumes are likely to retain their place as the standard work on the subject. The whole set forms an indispensable work of reference of commercial information and should find a place in every well-equipped library. It should have a large circulation in commercial circles in India, where a work of this character was badly needed. We congratulate all concerned in the production of this series on their very commendable enterprise.

ORIENTAL BOOKS.

Khayaban-i-Irphan. Edited by Syed Muhammad Hasan Bilgrami, Accountant-General H. F. H. The Nizam's Government. (Hyderabad, Deccan).

Marasi Anees. Vol. II; **Quamoos-ul-Masha'eer**, Vol. I; **Khatoot Sir Syed**; and **Dewan Jan Saheb** (Nizami Press, Budaon).

Japan and Sarguzasht-i-Hayat. (Nos. 35 and 36 of the publications of the Anjuman-i-Taraqui-e-Urdo, Aurangabad, Deccan).

The books enumerated above are the topmost one in Persian and the rest in Hindustani, of the variety more popularly known as Urdu. The Persian book is a compilation—an anthology of quatrains, but it is none the less remarkable as a golden treasury of Persian poetry of the particular type it deals with. The talented editor, whose daily avocation is to compile tabular statements of figures and to check accounts of the various departments of the Hyderabad State, must be endowed with genuine love for Persian poetry to have been able to retain it amidst the daily grind of his normal work. His work is scholarly and betrays literary ability and taste of a high order. The work is marvellously comprehensive and the selections range from Sanayee, Rumi and Omar, (Khayyam) the Persians, to Ghalib and Iqbal, the Indians. These are all masters of quatrains, the composing of which can be attempted by none but a consummate poet, as it is—so to say—a quintessence or tabloid of poetical thought comprising the concentrated essence of both idea and sentiment in but four lines of verse in a particular metre. It is much more difficult than composing sonnets in English or some other European languages. Mr. Bilgrami's anthology of Persian quatrains shows how well and effectively have Persian and Indian poets succeeded in this form of poetical expression. We can unhesitatingly commend this excellent selection from the quatrains in Persian to the notice of the various university authorities—especially those concerned

with the prescribing of courses in the Dacca, Patna, Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh and Lahore universities—for including Mr. Bilgrami's work as a text-book in the B.A. or M.A. course in Persian. It would also be found pre-eminently suitable for libraries and as a prize-book, since its get-up is exceedingly good.

We have on previous occasions brought to the notice of the readers of the *Hindustan Review* the exceedingly useful work which is being done by the Nizami Press, Budaon (in the United Provinces) by their publications of reprints of Urdu classics and also original works of scholarship. Of the four books in our list recently issued by the Nizami Press, three are reprints and one an original work. Of the former we especially welcome the second volume of the elegies of Meer Babbar Ali, better known by his poetical pen-name of Anees, who is justly regarded as perhaps the greatest master of elegiac poetry in Urdu. *Dewan Jan Saheb* is a handy edition of the poetical works of Meer Yar Ali, whose verses enjoy high reputation for being composed in every-day colloquialisms. The third volume is a collection of the letters of the late Sir Syed Ahmad K.C.S.I. It has been carefully edited by Mr. Ross Masood, the grandson of Sir Syed, who himself is a great scholar and has made notable contributions to the popularization of Urdu literature. The original work of which the first volume is out is a biographical dictionary of the world's celebrities. It is the first work of its kind in the language and deserves appreciation. We shall review it at some length when it is completed.

It is a curious commentary on the interest taken in the development and popularization of Urdu literature that the only society professing these objects should have had to find a habitation outside British India, at a comparatively unknown place in the Nizam's Dominions, namely the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-Urdu at Aurangabad. Whatever the reason of it, that society is doing highly useful work which deserves acknowledgment and encouragement at the hands of all interested in the progress of Urdu literature. The two books enumerated above are Nos. 35 and 36 of the series of publications (of reprints, original works and translations) issued by the society either in Persian or Urdu. We have noticed in terms of appreciation several of the earlier publications of the society. The two under notice are equally welcome. One is a translation of Mr. Masood's excellent work in English called *Japan and its Educational System* and the other a compilation expounding the principles of biology. Both these books are useful additions to scientific and pedagogic literature in Urdu.

REPRINTS, SELECTIONS, ANTHOLOGIES AND TRANSLATIONS.

Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. (London) have recently issued a beautifully illustrated edition, in two volumes, of the famous classic—*The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Besides offering the full text, it contains many interesting photogravure portraits of Pepys' contemporaries and a number of original line drawings, by Major Bentou Fletcher, of buildings and landscapes referred to in the text. Printing, mechanical execution and format are alike pleasing and this edition of the *Diary* is the best and cheapest. * * * * The same firm have added a fourth concluding volume to Professor Saintsbury's *Collected Essays*—the first three of which we have already noticed in terms of appreciation. All the essays collected in the volume under notice are concerned with French literature of which subject the author is an acknowledged master. The essays selected for publication have been brought together with the object of giving the essence of the author's reflections on the subject. Altogether it is a reprint of valuable essays which deserved permanent existence.

Three of the reprints brought out by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (London) are notable. The first is the complete edition in one volume of the three parts of Mr. Thomas Hardy's *Dynasts*—his famous epic drama of the war with Napoleon which contains nineteen acts and one hundred and thirty scenes, the time covered by the action being about ten years. This one volume edition ought to receive wide appreciation. * * * * *Selected Essays of Mathew Arnold*, edited with an Introduction and critical annotations by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, ought to interest a large circle of readers. The editor's Introduction dealing with Mathew Arnold as a critic and a stylist is luminous, while the essays printed have been judiciously chosen. The notes are likely to be useful. * * * * Mr. Laurence Binyon—himself a notable critic and poet—has selected, arranged and edited the *Golden Treasury of Modern Poetry*, which successfully complements the original selection of that name by Professor Palgrave, of the poetry of the Victorian age down to the present day and in effect covers nearly a century. Though this is an age of anthologies, Mr. Binyon's is one of the most notable.

The Oxford University Press (26 Chiswick, Calcutta) have added two notable volumes to their famous series of reprints—"The World's Classics." These are Hazlitt's *Lectures on the English Poets*

and Anthony Trollope's well-known novel **The Vicar of Bulihampton**. The new series of the World's Classics which are being issued are all that we associate with ideal books—classics and standard works in handy size, neat get-up, excellent format and pleasing get-up. They fully deserve their popularity and wide circulation. The whole set makes an excellent library.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons (London) have just issued a new edition of Mr. C. T. Atkinson's **Life of Marlborough** in their well-known "Heroes of Nations" series, which is justly acknowledged by competent and qualified critics as perhaps the best collection of biographical studies, written by specialists and experts dealing with the lives of heroes of international reputation. As the original edition was published in 1921, the reprint under consideration has scarcely undergone any changes in the text. It is the best critical study of the career of the famous Duke of Marlborough and merits attention.

The fourth edition of Dr. Sell's **Historical Development of the Quran**—issued by the Diocesan Press, Madras for Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., Ltd., the London publishers—should be welcomed by students of Islam. The book has been carefully revised and judiciously enlarged and a large amount of new matter has been incorporated both in the text and in the notes. A useful index has also been supplied and a bibliographical note on the authorities appended. In its present form this standard work will continue to serve a most useful purpose.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras have done well to bring together a collection of the **Speeches and Writings of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri**. These are admittedly of permanent value to students of current Indian problems and will be found highly useful by Indian publicists. We also welcome the second volume of **Bishan Narain Dar's Speeches and Writings** edited by Mr. H. L. Chatterji of 18 Hewett Road, Lucknow. Bishan Narain Dar was one of the ablest and most cultured Indian publicists and his speeches and writings deserved resuscitation from the files of newspapers and periodicals.

The Columbia University Press of New York (U.S.A.) have just issued in their Indo-Iranian Series an English rendering of the famous Sanskrit drama by Harsha—the distinguished Indian Emperor who ruled in the seventh century after Christ—called **Priyadarsika**. The translation, which is excellent—

has been made by Mr. G. K. Nariman of Bombay, Professor Williams Jackson of the Columbia University and Dr. Ogden of the American Oriental Society. The result is a scholarly piece of work—critical and scientific, bearing on the book under notice the impress of research. It is a valuable addition to Anglo-Oriental literature. The translation is excellent.

Other two notable translations are three **Plays of Aeschylus** rendered into English verse by Mr. G. M. Cookson and published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, Ltd. of London. The translation while faithful is so well done as to read almost like an original. The other is **Readings from the Literature of Ancient Greece in English Translations** compiled by Miss Dora Pym—whose previous equally useful and instructive compilation called *Readings from the Literature of Ancient Rome in English Translations* we have already commended in terms of appreciation. The new *Readings* are exceedingly well calculated to interest readers in the literature of Ancient Greece, to which they form a capital Introduction.

Mr. Stanley Rice's **Tales from the Mahabharata**—with illustrations by Mr. Frank Pape—make interesting reading and a capital gift-book at this time of the year. Mr. Rice is a well-known indologist. He has enriched the value of his translations in verse of the stories selected from the *Mahabharata* by prefixing to them an instructive introduction. The choice of the tales translated is judicious, the English renderings in verse are very well done and the book redounds as much to the scholarship of Mr. Rice as it does to the enterprise of the publishers—Messrs. Selwyn and Blount, Ltd., of 21 York Buildings, Adelphi, London.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

In his **Rogues and Scoundrels** Mr. Philip Sergeant has produced a work of considerable interest and the publishers (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London) have given it a suitable format. The author is a well-known biographer, having made his mark as the narrator of the lives of three famous queens—Cleopatra, Anne Boleyn and Josephine. But in his *Rogues and Scoundrels* he successfully breaks new ground. Wide in scope and of almost infinite variety are the villainies which Mr. Sergeant depicts in this well-written volume. He has selected types of men—and alas! women—who transgressed the social or moral laws of their various periods, yet who will

exercise, whether he will or not, a distinct fascination upon the readers' mind. Philip Stanhope, 2nd, and a far more entertaining character than the 4th, Earl of Chesterfield; "Butcher" Cumberland; Colonel Blood, who burgled the Crown jewels; the first Duke of Grafton; old "O"; Philip, Duke of Wharton; Mary Manley, the first woman editor; Moll Davis; the famous Countess of Shrewsbury, are chief among the wrongdoers whom Mr. Sergeant has found just the right subject for his vivid and entertaining powers of narration. On finishing this highly interesting volume one feels convinced of the truth embodied in the Greek motto on the title page, which lays down that "there is one way of being good, but all kinds of ways of being bad." Very true, indeed!

Mr. Stanley Savill's **Police Service of England and Wales** (issued by the "Police Review" Publishing Company, Ltd., of 8 Red Lion Square, London) is an instructive and comprehensive treatise dealing with the English and Welsh police force—its organization, disposition, governance, finance, powers and duties, rules and practice, and conditions of service. Alterations and developments in the organization of the force have been so great since the outbreak of the world war in 1914, that the work under notice is practically a new compilation, instead of being but a revised edition of the old text. It has many fresh features which are of considerable importance. The book in its present form presents a detailed account of the working and organization of the police force in England and Wales and ought to find appreciation in such educated Indian circles as are desirous of improving the morale of the police in this country.

Dr. Ernest Baker's **The Public Library** is justly regarded as a standard work on the subject. We welcome its cheap reissue, published by Grafton and Company of Coptic House, 51 Great Russell Street, London. Presenting an historical sketch of the subject and dealing with library service, library extension, rural libraries, national library service and training in librarianship, this work by an acknowledged master of the subject is both authoritative and comprehensive and it is admittedly the best text-book on the organization and administration of public libraries.

How to write Advertisements (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London) is a capital work by Miss Constance Miller. In it the talented writer clearly explains her subject. In the author's belief, advertisement writing is possibly the most highly specialised

field in the art of writing. To-day, if ever, is it necessary to know how to produce saleable copy—how to produce something which possesses that subtle power to attract and influence. In *How to Write Advertisements* this money-making subject is fully dealt with; in fact, the copy-aspirant is literally taught "How . . ." Miss Miller, who is an undoubted authority, is recognised as being one of the most brilliant copy-writers in America. We commend her book to all interested in the subject of advertisements and how to write them.

Helen Jerome's **Sweet-Making for All** (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London) and Mrs. Kean's **Well-Tried Dishes** (The Chelsea Publishing Company, 16 Royal Hospital Road, London, S. W.) are both interesting additions to the literature of the culinary art. The former is the work of a teacher of cookery who is fully qualified by her experience to write on the subject and she deals comprehensively with all kinds of sweet-making. Mrs. Kean's treatise covers a much larger ground, dealing as it does with the preparation of all kinds of food—from soup to sweets. The recipes are those which have been well tested and the wholesomeness of which is warranted by experience. It should appeal to lovers of good cooking.

There is no place in this country, which has got more enterprising publishers than Madras and one of the most so there is the firm of Messrs. Ganesh & Co. The catalogue of their publications includes many useful, interesting and instructive works dealing with the various phases and activities of Indian nationalism. Of these the two latest are **Gandhism in Theory and Practice** and **Great Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi**. The former is a reprint of papers written by Mr. N. C. Bandhopadhyaya and printed in the *Servant* of Calcutta expounding the teachings of Mr. Gandhi as understood by the writer. The book is interesting and will appeal to a large circle of readers in India. The other is an anthology containing choice passages from the writings and speeches of Mr. Gandhi. They have been judiciously chosen and grouped under suitable heads. Thus the book presents in a compact form the quintessence of Mr. Gandhi's doctrines and should command popularity.

Two other publications of Messrs. Ganesh & Co. deserve appreciation. One is a collection of essays dealing mostly with Indian nationalism by Dr. J. T. Sutherland, a well-known American who has made a special study of Indian problems. The book is issued under the title of **India, America and World Brother-**

hood, because it contains three essays on Abraham Lincoln, Lloyd Garrison and Mrs. Howe and one on world-wide brotherhood. To readers in India it is part two, which deals with the problems of Indian nationalism, which will be mainly interesting, for howsoever much one may differ from Dr. Sutherland, one can not afford to ignore his views on Indian questions. The other is the **The Story of Swami Ram Tirath** by Mr. Puran Singh—a well-known scholar. The book is a sympathetic and an appreciative study of the career of a great Indian thinker and saint, who—be it said to his credit—never dabbled in politics as have done some latter-day saints. The book deserves a wide circulation.

Messrs. Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd. (of Parker Street Kingsway, London) are already responsible for two text-books on journalism,—Mr. Alfred Kingston's *Popular Guide to Journalism* and Mr. Alfred Barker's *Practical Journalism*. They have now placed before the public yet one more book on the subject, called **Authorship and Journalism** written by Mr. Albert Bull, author of *How to Write for the Papers*. The new book is intended as a companion volume to his earlier work "presenting the case from a different angle". It is intended to be used as a regular text-book of journalism and is systematic and comprehensive. It will amply fulfil the object which Mr. Bull has had in view. As a practical illustration of what can be achieved by journalistic enterprise we commend the **Romance of the Daily Mirror** (23—9 Bouverie Street, London) which is an illustrated and well-written record of the phenomenal rise, development and success of that London paper during the twenty-one years of its eventful career. May it have a long life!

Those interested in the growth and development of English literature in the Australian Commonwealth would do well to study Nettie Palmer's **Modern Australian Literature**, issued by the Lothian Book Publishing Company, Ltd., of Melbourne. It is a critical survey of the subject and deals with Australian literary work from 1900 to 1923. It has been written

in response to the prize of £25 offered by the publishing firm with a view to encourage a more discriminating attitude towards modern Australian literature and to stimulate interest in it. We commend the book under notice to students of the development of English literature in the British colonies.

THE LATEST VOLUMES OF "EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY."

Of the scores of cheap reprints of classics now flooding the markets in the English-knowing world, no series is better known or deserves wider appreciation than the Everyman's Library issued for many years by the well-known publishing house of Messrs. Dent & Sons, Ltd., of London. For one thing it is the most comprehensive collection of reprints of standard works in all branches of literature—Art, Science, and Belles-Letters—in the widest sense of that term. Any one possessing a complete collection of this series—now numbering nearly eight hundred volumes—would have a library of ancient and modern literature which would suffice for purposes of study and recreation. The volumes are handy, carefully edited, well introduced to the reader, neatly printed, well got-up and cheaply priced. Surely, there can be no higher praise of reprints of classics than our characterization of *Everyman's Library* in the terms we have written above. The latest twelve volumes are: Locke's two treatises of Civil Government. The Paston Letters. Two Vols. The Journal of George Fox. Livy's History of Rome. Vols. V & VI. The Journal to Stella. Short Stories From Russian Authors (Pushkin to Sologub). The Speeches of Charles James Fox (French Revolutionary War Period). The Collected Poems of Alexander Pope. The Golden Lion of Granpere and the Western Avernus. Each of these is a valuable book and their introductions and mechanical execution fully sustains the high standard of the Everyman's Library for excellent choice in the selection of books and for a rich and rare scholarship in their editing.

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DYARCHY OR PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN INDIA.*

By HON'BLE MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.

Council of State.

I am writing this note not as one of dissent but to supplement, from the Indian point of view, the observations of my hon'ble colleagues, on the Reserved side, which are embodied in the despatch on the question of a further advance towards provincial autonomy. Before doing so, however, I may state that I am in full agreement with the views expressed in the despatch, except in one instance noted below, on the various remedial measures with a view to remove the mere administrative defects from the working of dyarchy. That one point of difference between my hon'ble colleagues and myself is in regard to the suggestion to amend Section 67 A of the Government of India Act, with reference to the constitution and powers of the Council of State. It is not necessary for me to refer at length to this particular point, but I am strongly of opinion that (whatever defects there may be in the constitution and powers of the Council of State, from the Government's point of view) it would be a great mistake in the present temper of the people to think of conferring upon the Council powers which may have the effect of controlling the activities of the Assembly. Such powers might have been conferred upon the Council in the Bill itself before its enactment, but just at present, in view of certain recent instances, to which it is

not necessary for me to refer in detail, there is a considerable volume of advanced public opinion against the very existence of the Council of State and any attempt, on the part of the Government, to invest the Council by means of statutory amendment with larger powers of control, is bound to evoke very strong opposition and to deepen discontent. For these reasons I am in favour of leaving the constitution and the powers of the Council of State alone. For the rest I am in full agreement with the views expressed in the despatch in paragraphs 9 to 23.

Rules of Business.

I do not find in the despatch any reference to the grievance of the Hon'ble Ministers that "the rules of Executive Business are binding upon the Ministers, though made without consulting them." I am aware that it is so because the power of making the rules, for the disposal of the Executive Business in the provinces, is vested, under the Government of India Act, in the Governor alone. It would be, however, in my opinion, an improvement if the section sanctioning the present practice were to be so amended that the Governor might share this responsibility with all the other members of his Government, so that the rules may carry with them the concurrence of all of them, or, at any rate, of a majority of them.

Terms of Reference.

I shall now deal at some length with the views propounded in the despatch that "any discussion of its merits or demerits (i.e., of

*A minute recorded by Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Finance Member and appended to the despatch of the Governor-in-Council of Behar and Orissa, in response to the Government of India's letter asking for the opinion of the various provincial Governments on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

dyarchy) is outside the terms of reference." I am not quite satisfied that that is so. My reasons are these. In the letter of the Government of India (dated the 8th April, 1924.) initiating the enquiry, two passages are quoted from the speeches, made on different dates, by the then Home Member, Sir Malcolm Hailey. The extract quoted from the first speech ends as follows:—"It may even be—I can say nothing as to this—that the enquiry may show that some changes are required in the structure of the Act in order to rectify definite and ascertained defects experienced in actual working." If I understand this passage aright, it would make the scope of enquiry quite comprehensive, and its object no less than the practical scrapping of the Reform Act itself—if that be found necessary, in the last resort. The second extract from the speech is couched in more guarded language and—if it stood alone—would limit the scope of the enquiry to the removal of the defects, if any, in the working of the Act, through the instrumentality of the rule-making power under the Statute, as the enquiry "does not extend beyond that scope to the amendment of the constitution itself." But though this is so emphasised in Sir Malcolm Hailey's second speech, I find the following passage appearing in the fourth paragraph of the Government of India's letter under consideration:—"Efficiency in the working of this Constitution and increased contentment with its conditions may be attained either by changes in the rules under the Act, or, it may be, by such changes in the detailed provisions of the Act as are not barred by the limiting considerations above referred to, or—what follows now is very important, to my mind,—"they may be sought in advance towards a further stage of constitutional development." Then after repeating the limitations laid down in the extract from Sir Malcolm Hailey's second speech (quoted above), the letter proceeds:—"Those limitations restrict the scope of enquiry in this direction, but the Government of India desire that any possibility within the field may be fully explored." The two extracts reproduced from Sir Malcolm Hailey's speeches, taken along with those I have already quoted from paragraph 4, left room for doubt as to the precise scope and object of the enquiry. It was, therefore, that the Central Government themselves issued their communique on May 16th, acknowledging that "some doubt appears to prevail regarding the precise scope of the

enquiry into the working of the Government of India Act which has been initiated by the Government of India." The communique, therefore, summarised the scope and the object of the enquiry as follows:—

- (1) To enquire into the difficulties arising from or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the rules thereunder.
- (2) To investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects, consistently with the structure, policy and purposes of the Act.

(A) by action taken under the Act and rules, or (B) by such amendments of the Act as appear necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections.

But even the official summary, quoted above, leaves the scope and the object of the enquiry a little doubtful. The last clause B of section (2) which suggests structural changes in the Act as may appear to be necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections by amendments of the Act of 1919 itself, is, to my mind, about as vague as the declaration by Sir Malcolm Hailey in the extract quoted from his first speech.

The Correct Interpretation.

In this connection it is to be remembered that in the second extract, quoted from Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech, the Home Member declared that he had the full authority of His Majesty's Government in making the declaration that he did on the occasion. In this view of the matter the speech delivered since, as to the scope and the object of the enquiry, by the Prime Minister, becomes very important, as indicating what is at the back of his mind in having directed it. I, therefore, quote below an extract from the Prime Minister's recent speech in which a pointed reference is made to the proposed enquiry. This is what Mr. Macdonald is reported to have said: "We know of the serious condition of affairs in India and we want to improve it. As Lord Olivier says, without equivocation, 'Dominion Status for India is the idea and the ideal of the Labour Government.' If I may say so to our Indian friends: Do your bit for British democracy: keep your faith in a British Labour Government. An enquiry is being held by the

Government, which means that enquiry is to be a serious one. We do not mean it to be an expedient for wasting and losing time. We mean that the enquiry shall produce results which will be a basis for consideration of the Indian Constitution, its working and its possibilities, which we hope will help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of a system which will be Self-Government." Now what does it all mean? Does it imply an enquiry such as was foreshadowed by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his second speech—the amendment of the rules made under the Act—or does it imply one on the lines suggested by him in his first speech and also in the fourth paragraph of the Government of India's letter? Interpreting the Prime Minister's observations, as well as I can, I am of opinion that what Mr. Macdonald intended to convey was that the Committee should suggest substantial amendments in the Reforms Act itself, so that the results of the enquiry may be "a basis for consideration of the Indian Constitution, its working and its possibilities" which "may help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of a system which will be Self-Government." Now I do not suppose it can seriously be urged that some mere tinkering or a few modifications in the rules framed under the Act, is what was at the back of the Prime Minister's mind when he made the declaration, I have quoted. Taking, therefore, into consideration the various passages and pronouncements referred to above, I think that we should in our reply to the Government of India's letter, keep in view the wider possibilities of substantial reform leading to Dominion Status for India, which seem to me to be well within the purview and the scope of the enquiry. If we merely confine ourselves to suggestions about the alterations or amendment of the rules in force at present and do not express our views on the substantial amendment of the constitution itself, we may be letting judgment go by default:

Defects of Dyarchy.

Leaving aside for the present purely political considerations and confining myself absolutely to the inherent administrative defects of the system in force in the Provincial Governments, the question is what these imperfections and defects are and the only reasonable answer is that they are nothing apart from the inevitable concomitants of the system of dyarchy itself. I

had the advantage of some long discussions with Mr. Curtis, when he was touring about the country propounding his scheme of dyarchy, and in spite of his being a very persuasive debater, I remained unconvinced, and told him candidly that the system he was advocating would, if adopted, be found practically unworkable, and would fail to achieve its object either from the administrative or the political point of view. I am, therefore, glad to find myself in agreement with my Hon'ble colleagues on the merits and demerits of dyarchy as the basis of our system; and I desire to express my complete concurrence with their important observations on the subject to the following effect:—"There is very little that can be done to smoothen the working of dyarchy or to eliminate its administrative imperfections. Whatever defects exist are inherent in the system itself". I am glad to find myself so far in absolute agreement with them. If (as remarked by the late Viscount Bryce in his monumental work on the American Commonwealth, Vol. I, page 357) "the true value of a political contrivance resides not in its integrity, but its adaptation to the temper and circumstance of the people for whom it is designed", then I have no hesitation in saying that no political system could be worse adapted to its objects than dyarchy in the provinces of the Indian Empire. The inherent defects of the system of dyarchy are patent on the surface. "Parliamentary Governments," says Professor Lowell (in his standard work on the Government of England, Vol. II, Chap. LVI), "avoid deadlocks by making the executive responsible to the Legislature." "Presidential Government", he continues, "limits deadlocks because all the organs of the State must alternately submit to a superior tribunal, the electorate of the nation." But a Government like that established in almost all the provinces of India (and Burma)—composed of an elected legislature and a divided executive, with a Governor at its head armed with fairly extensive powers and working one-half of the executive with the aid of a Council appointed by His Majesty the King-Emperor and not responsible to the legislature, and the other half with the aid of Ministers appointed by himself and responsible to the legislature—is not only too complex and complicated, but one which being unknown to constitutional history is naturally unwarranted by political experience as a satisfactory solution of the problem of an efficient executive, suffi-

ciently amenable to the control of popular representatives. In this connection I may quote a well-known historical incident which seems to have bearing on this point. After Akbar had formally founded and declared himself the high priest of his new religion, "Din Elahi", he asked his near relation, Raja Man Singh, to join the new church. Man Singh said: "Sire, I and all I have are yours. I shall gladly obey your Royal command, but if I had my option, I had rather not to do so. If your Majesty had asked me to become a Mussalman, I might have understood it, for I understand Hinduism, and I understand Islam; but I confess, I do not understand this hybrid creed which Your Majesty has established". As a wise man, Akbar did not press the matter further. This incident not only adorns a tale, but points a great moral and is, to my mind, apposite to the question under consideration.

The Political Aspect.

Looking at the question now from the political stand-point, it is not to be wondered at that those educated Indians who seek the abolition of dyarchy contend that they understand a benevolent despotism—such as British Government was in this country till the pre-Reform days—and also responsible Government, as it obtains in the Dominions of the British Commonwealth, but they do not and cannot appreciate the hybrid system of dyarchy, which is admittedly neither the one nor the other. It is useless to reason with people who bring to bear upon this question the frame of mind suggested by Raja Man Singh in the anecdote I have quoted; not can it be seriously urged that they are wrong in taking this view of the matter. In his "Government and Parties in Continental Europe" (Vol. I, page 103) Professor Lowell after analysing the constitutions of various Continental States, points out that the result of his analysis shows that "the foundation of Government is faith, not reason". Now, if this be true of the European States, it can be predicated with even greater certainty of Asiatic countries and their Governments. I have tried to show above that dyarchy is not based on valid reason or warranted by the experience of any nation. And as for being able to command in its favour the faith of the people, it is unfortunately the case that in the opinion of all those who have been working the system, dyarchy has completely forfeited it. This is absolutely clear to

me—apart from my personal knowledge—from a perusal of the joint note written by His Excellency's Hon'ble Ministers, as also that by the Hon'ble President of the Legislative Council. There could not be three men of more moderate views in this province than His Excellency's Hon'ble Ministers and the Hon'ble Khwaja Muhammad Nur, the President, and yet what is it that they suggest, in substance, in their carefully-worded notes? Practically nothing more or less than the scrapping of the Act of 1919, or at any rate its scheme of dual control being whittled down to an absolute minimum. They would leave the bare skeleton or the semblance of dyarchy with but one Member of the Executive Council in charge of a few departments, but they would let all the others be administered by the Ministers. I think, they could scarcely have asked for less, if, as I believe, they hold the same view of the inherent defects of the system of dyarchy itself, as I have expressed above. But it is not only they who press this demand. I find from a perusal of the opinions submitted that one of the Secretaries on the Transferred side (Mr. Collins)—as noted by the Chief Secretary—"would transfer all subjects, except Political and Appointments, if it is necessary to keep some Reserved subjects under the Act; otherwise he would transfer them all". Mr. Heycock, the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division,—as noted by the Chief Secretary—"considers that it is not the working of the Act that is at fault, and only a radical modification of that Act will satisfy its opponents". These two official opinions expressed by those who, as members of the Legislative Council, have watched the working of dyarchy, go a long way in supporting the non-official views expressed by the Hon'ble Ministers and the President. Taken together they make out a strong case for, at any rate, the practical scrapping of dyarchy. For my part, I am satisfied in spite of my having given my most earnest and careful consideration to the observations of my Hon'ble colleagues, to which I shall refer later—that now that for better or for worse (I can only hope for better and not for worse), India has started on the road to responsible Government, there is no half-way house in the Provincial Governments, between the old system now superseded and full provincial autonomy, *i.e.*, a constitutional Governor and a responsible Ministry. It may be that this full political paraphernalia may

await the next revision of the constitution in 1929, and it may not be considered expedient to establish it all at once in 1924 or 1925, but there can be no doubt that it is bound to come in the near future—perhaps sooner than 1929—as much as the result of serious administrative defects inherent in dyarchy, as of the pressure of public opinion and popular sentiment. In the light of these considerations I do not see my way to differ from the views propounded by the Hon'ble Ministers in regard to the transfer to the Ministry of all departments of the Provincial Government other than those administered in the Political and the Judicial, namely, the control of the police and the jails, and of the administration of justice (both civil and criminal) or rather of the magistracy and the judiciary, apart from their judicial work.

Will Palliatives Do?

Adverting to this aspect of the question I find an objection formulated in the concluding paragraph of the despatch in the following terms:—"Assuming that a further step in advance is contemplated, on what grounds is this step going to be taken? In order to make dyarchy more workable? It is workable now, though creakily. The minor remedies suggested above may cure a creak or two, but they will affect the larger questions in no degree whatsoever. The real question is, are we going to pacify at all cost our clamant critics? They will be satisfied with nothing but the disappearance of dyarchy and in its place the substitution of what is popularly known as provincial autonomy. That appears to be the issue which the Government of India has to face." That is, no doubt, so. But even assuming, though not admitting, that the scrapping of the Act of 1919 is outside the scope of the reference made to us, it cannot be urged that the proposal of the Hon'ble Ministers in regard to the transfer to the Ministry of the reserved departments other than the Political and the Judicial is beyond the scope of the enquiry, since the necessary changes can be brought about by amending the Statutory Rules in force. If we once start, however, on the basis of the fact that (even apart from political considerations) dyarchy as a system has such inherent administrative defects in it that they cannot be removed by means of mere palliatives, then the logical conclusion we are driven to, is its abolition as early as possible, and till then minimising, so

far as may be, the effects of its admitted imperfections by transferring to the Ministers as many departmentst as can be done by means of rules under the Act—while maintaining that dual control which is of the essence of the system.

Moderate Opinion.

In emphasizing this aspect of the question I am not so much concerned with the attitude of the Non-Co-operators or No-Changers, or even of the Swarajists or obstructionists, as with that section of the community which is neither the one nor the other. There are yet, I believe in all the provinces, but particularly in Bihar, large, stable elements in the population, in all classes and sections of the Indian community, who are still sincerely loyal to the British connection, who are not oblivious of the good that has resulted from it in the past, and who have not yet lost complete faith in the even more beneficent results likely to ensue therefrom, to the great advantage of both Great Britain and India. Claiming to be in intimate touch with these large, important and influential sections throughout Bihar, I can unhesitatingly declare that there is even in the ranks of these classes a deep dissatisfaction with the system of dyarchy and a complete distrust of any advantages likely to accrue from it, and they are never tired of telling me so whenever and wherever they meet me.

The Reforms a Failure.

The fact of the matter is that, judged either from the administrative or the political standpoint, the Reforms—the most notable feature of which is the introduction of dyarchy in the provinces—as emphasised by the Hon'ble President of the Legislative Council, have caused profound distrust and far from allaying discontent have aggravated the feelings of acerbity "because"—as he puts it,—“they were much below the expectation” and therefore failed “to capture the imagination of the people”. Take again the opinion of Sir Ali Imam. I reproduce below an extract from the “Times” (London) summarising Sir Ali's speech at a recent meeting held in London.—“The Reforms really gave very little power to Indians. It was shadow without substance. Indians could of course, hold Ministerial rank but they could be overruled by the Governors. It was India's wish to remain within the Empire but unless something

be done very soon, it would be too late. As Ireland had gained her freedom, so would India'. Now Sir Ali Imam has never been within a hundred mile of even the old Congress, to say nothing of the new. He is by no means a clamant critic or a political agitator. And yet he is reported to have indulged in the strong language I have quoted. It would thus be seen that it is not only those who may rightly be dubbed as extremists or obstructionists, but that even the vast bulk of the Moderate, co-operating and loyal sections of the people are thoroughly dissatisfied with the working of the reformed Provincial Governments. It is not, therefore, to pacify or placate the avowed opponents of the present system but the Moderates and loyal supporters of the administration that I desire that this momentous question may be settled on lines which will remove from the public mind the serious discontent at present prevalent throughout the country. For, when all is said and done, the fact remains that in spite of their talking big and loud the avowed opponents of the Government, at any rate, in this province, are a mere handful, compared with the "sturdy loyal people" who, though not vociferous, still constitute the vast bulk of the body politic and exert a wholesome and healthy influence on public affairs and supply the resources which keep the Government so smoothly going, on the whole. To attempt to satisfy their legitimate aspirations and to make them more attached to the British connection by removing their sense of distrust and dissatisfaction should be regarded as an act of statesmanship and not as yielding to the clamour of political agitators, and a sign of weakness, for as the late Lord Minto declared, (speaking as Viceroy) "only those are really strong who are not afraid of being called weak, when the situation and occasion demand it."

Face Facts.

We have to face the admitted fact that dyarchy has failed to evoke that "faith" which (on the authority of Professor Lowell) is "the foundation of Government" even in Western countries—let alone the question of its being able to capture the imagination of the politically-minded Indians. The only question of practical importance before us, therefore, is—not to diagnose the origin and causes of the present political dis-content—but whether we are to stay where we are until 1929, or to attempt

to make such further advance as may be open to us to do as a result of the enquiry now undertaken. To answer this question we must take into account the many political, economic, educational and social forces that are operating in our midst, from day to day, and bringing such pressure to bear upon the Government as they are bound to do on all civilised administrations. These coming upon the heels of those other and mightier forces which have followed in the wake of the ideals generated by the great war, have made it impossible for us to stay where we are. Individuals and nations alike are more or less subject to the play of forces beyond their control. Perhaps, but for the happening of the world-wide war in 1914, the British Government might have waited very much longer without making any such declaration as was done by Mr. Montagu in August, 1917. This is the settled conviction of the vast bulk of educated Indians and has also been expressed by many Europeans and others. Similarly, but for the troubles consequent upon—what may be called—the enforced enactment of the Rowlatt Acts, early in 1919, and the very unfortunate and tragic incidents in the Punjab a little later, the Reform Act passed in that year might have fairly satisfied the political aspirations of the educated Indians, till the promised first Parliamentary revision in 1929. But in the face of the stern realities, these are now but idle speculations, and it seems to me to be too late to think of these might-have-beens in considering the problem. I have to differ from my Hon'ble colleagues in the view expressed by them about the Moderate section of the public men. They say:—"Moderate politicians have felt compelled to join in the demand for an advance, hoping perhaps that Government will make even a small step forward, something that will help them to meet the reproaches of the extremist school." That there may be some people even in this Province who may come under this category, I shall be the last person to deny or dispute—for, I have learnt by experience the unwisdom of generalising about matters Indian—but speaking for the vast bulk of the Moderate people, as I know them, I think, I am right in what I have stated at some length above that even they are completely dissatisfied with dyarchy and distrust its results in our administration. There could not be a more convincing proof of it than the extract quoted above from the speech of Sir Ali Imam.

No Intermediate Course.

Coming now to the answer which my Hon'ble colleagues are prepared to give to the demand for further advance as the result of the present enquiry, namely, that there is no substantial advance to be made in the only direction in which the Rules under the Act might be considered to have left an open door, they concede that Forest might be transferred to the Ministers (as is already the case in Bombay and Burma) and so perhaps the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department. But I agree that the transfer to the Ministers of these two departments only would "conciliate nobody and would almost pass unnoticed or at least unacknowledged." The net result is that my Hon'ble colleagues fail to find some intermediate course between the preservation of the "status quo" and the advent of the Statutory Commission. My Hon'ble colleagues' arguments seem to me to amount to this: Forest and Irrigation cannot be transferred at present to Ministers because they are intimately connected with the land revenue administration system on the Reserved side; nor can finance, so long as the other departments administered at present on the Reserved side continue to remain under the Governor-in-Council. In other words, the working of all the departments on the Reserved side is so interdependent that no transfer of any one of them to the Ministers is possible, in my Hon'ble colleagues' opinion, piecemeal. But this is precisely the line of argument which was adopted by the opponents of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. They contended that you cannot split up vertically a Government which, to be efficient and effective, must work as an indivisible whole and that the transfer to the control of Ministers of any one department would lead to the weakness, if not the disintegration of the Provincial Governments. In this Province the Government of Sir Edward Gait put forth before the Functions Committee of 1918 a most strenuous opposition to the transfer of higher Education to the Ministry. But that Committee accepted the popular view and directed the transfer, in spite of the attitude of the then local Government. Now the Education Department has been for more than three years controlled by an Hon'ble Minister and judging from the fact that his services have received appreciation at the hands of the King-Emperor, I think, I am justified in concluding that his administration of the Education Depart-

ment has been a success, inspite of all apprehensions at the time when the proposal was under consideration. But to get back to the main issue, it seems to me that the argument of interdependence of the various departments of the Government on the Reserved side and the consequent impossibility of any further transfer to the Ministry (if accepted) would justify the immediate transfer to the Ministers of all the Reserved departments. For, what is the contention for the abolition of dyarchy? Is it not that the executive authority in the body politic is a unified political entity which cannot be split up vertically, all its departments and activities being interdependent, so that you cannot divide it under two or more sets of executive—each responsible to a different master—and yet expect them to work, in spite of their lateral character, effectively and run the machine smoothly? But, howsoever, indefensible from the constitutional standpoint, this very system is at work in our midst, and those, therefore, who seek its abolition naturally contend that it is anomalous and illogical and should be done away with, or at any rate, have its defects and imperfections appreciably minimised by vesting the control of all the departments—except the Political and the Judicial—in the Ministry acting under a constitutional Governor. There seems to me to be much force in this contention, and it is in this view of the matter that I have supported the proposal of the Hon'ble Ministers, for the transfer to the Ministry of all the departments on the Reserved side, except the Political and the Judicial, for, in this case the evils inherent in dyarchy would be to a large extent minimised—scotched, if not killed.

Transfer of Departments.

In the light of my own three years' personal experience of the departments with which I am connected, I can say, with confidence, that the transfer of the Irrigation Department to the Ministers will be a great improvement from the administrative point of view; as it will bring the working of the entire public works department under one control. As regards the transfer of the land revenue administration to the Ministers, I naturally express my opinion with great diffidence, in view of the strong opposition on the part of my Hon'ble colleagues to this proposal. But it seems to me that their apprehensions are unjustifiable when I find that the administration of the Excise Department, which

yields in this Province ever so much more than the land revenue, and is in the present temper of the people a thankless task, has been placed under the control of the Ministers.

The Finance Department.

In regard to the Finance Department my Hon'ble colleagues are aware that even in this Province (where Ministers have publicly declared in the Legislative Council that they have received from the Finance Department all that they wanted for carrying out their schemes), the public have remained highly dissatisfied with the present arrangement under which a Member of the Executive Council alone can be in charge of the Finance Department, and I find that the Hon'ble Ministers themselves have pressed this point in their note as follows :—"The impotence of the Ministers has been much more aggravated by placing them completely under the control of the Finance Department, as appears from Rule 37 of the Devolution Rules. For instance, the Finance Department in dealing with a plan of building advises the knocking down of a portion of the building, which may be absolutely necessary. It also similarly advises appointment of Sub-Assistant Surgeons where the services of Assistant Surgeons are needed. We would not dispute the right to offer reasonable advice on the part of the Finance Department in regard to schemes to new expenditure, but the Finance Department should not have such wide powers as it has at present." Speaking from my experience of the Finance Department, I do not think that its working in its relation to the Ministers' proposals or, for the matter of that with those of any other member of the Government in charge of a spending department—goes beyond that of the Treasury in Great Britain in the matter of examining proposals administratively sanctioned by any member of the Government. But what in Great Britain is not usually resented on account of the long constitutional traditions of public life and the ripe political experience of public men, has led in our Provincial Governments to perpetual bickering and friction between the Ministers and the Finance Department. It is urged that the Provincial Finance Member practically nullifies by his refusal the Ministers' administrative sanction for their projects and that he thus virtually exercises a power of veto over the Ministers' proposals and

policy, while technically acting quite correctly, as only a Finance Member can exercise legitimate treasury control. It is also urged that the Ministers' appeals to the Governor are ineffective against the Finance Department. This question has been strongly agitated of late by various ex-Ministers and notably by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Since His Excellency the Governor was pleased to place me in charge of the financial portfolio, my connection with the Department has been the subject of many comments in the press of the country and a point has been made that I am in charge of a department, the portfolio of which I would have been disqualified to hold had I been a Minister. I quote below a short paragraph from a recent editorial in "The Leader" bearing upon this subject :—"The rule that finance must always be in charge of a member of the Executive Council and never of a Minister, is equally absurd and unjustified and it is not sanctioned by any provision of the Government of India Act. In Behar the Finance Member of the Executive Council is the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha—the only Indian Member of the Executive Council anywhere in India who holds the privileged position. If Mr. Sinha had been a Minister he would not have been eligible for the position. What an incongruity! Nor, so far as fitness goes, is Mr. Sinha the one swallow that does not make a summer. There are in all the provinces others like him, as Mr. Sinha will be the first man to admit. And is the financial administration of Bihar less efficient than, for example, of the United Provinces? Prejudice is the only explanation of the present rule." There seems to me to be, on the face of it, some force in the objections urged against the present system which (under the rules made under the Act) makes it obligatory that the Member of the Government in charge of the financial portfolio shall be necessarily an Executive Councillor and not a Minister. I am not satisfied that there is any special advantage in retaining this rule. I have no apprehension that a Minister, if in charge of the Finance Department, would be unwilling to spend the requisite amount for the maintenance of law and order or the administration of justice. I, therefore, see no insuperable objection to the transfer of the Finance Department to the Ministry, or at any rate so amending the rule that it may be possible for a Minister also to hold the portfolio of finance.

Question of Security.

It is often said against the demand for further enlargement of the Ministerial responsibilities that the transfer of any more Reserved departments to the Ministers would clash with that criterion of security which is fundamental for Indian's progress. Now, it would be idle to deny that the Government already established in the provinces or that which is likely to come into existence in the near future, not later certainly than 1929, may not be as strong and as efficient as was the pre-Reform British Government in this country. But my view is quite clear on the point that it having been rightly or wrongly declared by the King in Parliament and embodied in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919, that the form of Provincial Governments is to be ultimately a constitutional Governor and a responsible Ministry, it is idle now to contend against the widening of the powers of the Ministers, on the ground of any prospective apprehension of comparative insecurity. In a matter like this one can but hope for the best and pray that our Ministers may be strong enough to maintain law and order. It is to avoid any too rapid changes and to avert the chances of any prospective insecurity, that I have come to the conclusion that the Political and the Judicial Departments should continue to be in charge of the Service Member of the Executive Council (till the next Parliamentary Revision), the rest of the departments under Reserved control at present, being transferred to the Ministers from now, so as to give them wider scope for administrative experience and qualify them to undertake full Ministerial responsibilities for all the departments in due course.

Provincial Autonomy.

I find, however, in the despatch very serious objections urged by my Hon'ble colleagues against this proposal. It is declared in paragraph 25 that to any such half-way house the Governor-in-Council is unhesitatingly opposed, briefly for two reasons. These are stated to be that "it is not a workable administrative proposition; secondly, it will absolutely fail to achieve it (the object in view)." It is, further, stated in paragraph 20 that "in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council the proposition has only to be stated with its inevitable implications to demonstrate its administrative futility. It cannot last a year in practical working." The

same paragraph ends as follows:—"If dyarchy is to persist at all the limits of permissible division were practically reached at the outset" Taking these passages together, I gather, that in the opinion of my Hon'ble colleagues there is no "via media" between retaining dyarchy as it subsists at present and its supersession by complete provincial autonomy. That I am not wrong in my view is borne out by paragraph 28 of the despatch in which it is stated that "the true issue lies between the concession or refusal of the changes which the term Provincial Autonomy cannotes". For my part, I was under the impression that (as laid down in the preamble to the Government of India Act, 1919) Responsible Government was to be worked up to, both in the provincial and in the Central Governments, by means of successive stages and it was in this view of the matter that I have developed and elaborated my arguments at some length above, by suggesting that the next step between the subsisting arrangement in the provinces and complete provincial autonomy should be the transfer to the Ministers of all the departments now being administered on the Reserved side, with the exception of those known in Secretariat parlance as Judicial and Political. And I must state that it never occurred to me that "the limits of permissible division were practically reached" when the Act came into force in 1919. Now that may or may not be so technically. But in view of the opinion expressed by my Hon'ble colleagues that any further transfer of departments, administered on the Reserved side, to the control of the Ministers will be found so unworkable as to produce a deadlock in the whole machinery of the Government in a year's time, the question as to whether any such transfer is admissible or permissible becomes but an academic one. Assuming, however, the correctness of the view propounded in the despatch that it would be inexpedient and unwise to transfer any more departments to the Ministers, the conclusion we are then naturally driven to, is that there should be a supersession of the present system in the provinces by complete provincial autonomy. My Hon'ble colleagues though accepting it as the inevitable logical conclusion of their own arguments, decline to discuss this question on the ground that "it falls outside the terms of the present reference" and as such "the Governor-in-Council expresses no opinion" on it. In my opinion, however, for reasons I have given above, this aspect of the

question is not excluded from the reference made to us, and is within the purview of the scope and the object of the enquiry. I find it stated in paragraph 24, that in the opinion of my Hon'ble colleagues themselves it is the demand for complete provincial autonomy "which is, in fact, the origin of the enquiry now in process." That being so, I think I am fully within my rights in expression my opinion on this aspect of the question. For my part, as stated above, I am in favour of the extension of the powers of the Ministers on the lines mentioned in this note, leaving it to the working of time to bring about provincial autonomy in due course. But I am not prepared to dissent from the opinion of my Hon'ble

colleagues (who as veteran administrators are in a better position than myself to judge of administrative possibilities and difficulties) that my proposal, if carried out, would bring about a deadlock in a year's time. In the circumstances, I have no alternative but to suggest that the present system in the provinces be superseded by the establishment of complete provincial autonomy which alone seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

I am sorry that this note has become rather long. My desire to place before the Government of India, as well as I can, the various aspects of this important question from the Indian standpoint, is the sole justification for the length of this note.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.*

By MR. LAJPAT RAI.

The political situation in India is anything but hopeful and encouraging. The present state of affairs may fitly be described as one of chaos and confusion. The people all over the country are sunk in depression. They do not know what to do and whom to follow. They do not understand on what principles and for what purposes the political parties are divided and sub-divided. There are so many parties, so many leaders and so many opinions differing from one another, as to make confusion worse confounded. To their limited political vision the situation is rather blank. The recent scenes in the Legislative Assembly,—the Independents defeating the Swarajists and the latter revenging themselves on the former,—have considerably added to the existing gloom and depression. The atmosphere in the lobbies is full of recriminations and distrust. Motives and practices, not of a noble and high character, are being freely ascribed to individuals who, only a short time before, were above suspicion.

In short, everything,—principles, practices, parties, and politics,—seems to be in a state of disintegration and dissolution. The sturdy independence, self-reliance and self-confidence of 1921 are giving place to insidious self-seeking, suppressed toadyism and subdued flattery, not only in the provinces but even in the centre. Frequent opportunities of meeting men in high places, at dinners, tea-parties and otherwise, are having their subtle but sure influences over different persons in different ways. In fact, the worst fears of those who were opposed to Council entry seem to be coming true. I do not say that they have actually come to be true yet, but no one who has eyes to see and ears to hear, can doubt that that is the direction towards which things are drifting. The bureaucracy is, of course, triumphant and jubilant. It has succeeded all along the line. Except in Bengal and C. P., it had regained full control in the provinces even last year. The only place where it had so far failed to make an effective breach, was the Assembly. Now, that is an accomplished fact. In Bengal and C. P., the atmosphere is already different from what it

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was last year. The Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact adopted by the Belgaum Congress has not produced any appreciable results. Mahatma Gandhi's spinning franchise has not added to the strength and influence of the Congress, nor has the acceptance by the No-changers of the Swarajya Party as an integral part of the Congress, brought any tangible benefit to the latter. Nothing serious has been achieved in the line of constructive work. Everything seems to be in the melting pot.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee's Report, with the visit of the Viceroy to England, has also added to the uncertainty of the situation. The majority report is universally condemned and the minority report is being approved or attacked on party lines.

A Deputation and Possibilities.

Under the circumstances, what should be done and how, is the question on every one's lips. This is the question to which every serious-minded patriot, be he of any shade of political opinion, should immediately address himself. A policy of drift or inaction will not do. Something definite has to be done and done very soon. The idea of sending a political deputation to England, a remedy so often tried in the past with no substantial results, is again being openly entertained and seriously discussed. Those from whom the idea has emanated do not realise that nothing will come from England, unless conditions at home are changed and changed so radically as to force attention in Great Britain.

With the Hindu and Mahomedan differences having assumed such serious dimensions, with the Independents having separated from the Swarajists in the Assembly, with the reported differences in C.P. and Bengal, with the strength that the bureaucracy has newly gained from all these circumstances and with a strong reactionary Government in power in Great Britain, what possible influence will the proposed deputation exercise on English opinion? Personally, I believe in the necessity and advisability of having Indian agencies for the dissemination of Indian news and views in all the important political centres of the world. An agency of this kind in Great Britain is a necessity, but it would do little good if it is not supplemented elsewhere and if it does not take the shape of a permanent organization. A summer

deputation making a few speeches here and there, will not serve the purpose and will not do any good worth the cost and trouble involved therein, especially in the present political atmosphere of Great Britain. The need of the moment is unity of action at home. How to bring it about and on what lines, is the question.

II.

Before discussing programmes, I propose to examine the constitution and procedure of the political parties that exist in the country.

As a single party, the biggest and the most influential of them is the Swarajya party. Next in importance comes the party of Moderates or the Liberals. These two parties have fairly well defined principles and programmes. What, however, baffles one's understanding, is the constitution and the principles of the so-called Independent party. What are its principles? What is its programme? The very title is a misnomer. How can the 'Independents' be a party? If they are 'Independents,' they cannot be a party. If they are a party, they cannot be 'Independents.' One can understand the existence of a Nationalist party, consisting of the various groups of those who share the desire of securing self-government for their country, even if they differ in principles and procedure, but one cannot understand how one can be 'Independent' as well as a member of a party. As a matter of fact, the Independents are those who came on a ticket of their own, without affiliating themselves to one or the other of the two well-known political parties, the Swarajya party and the Moderate party. They professed to be something between the two. Some of them are more inclined towards Swarajists than Moderates and others *vice versa*. Some do not join these parties only for personal reasons, without differing from them in principles. They are not a party who have any definitely fixed principles of their own. But the strangest part of the whole affair is that some of the Moderates or Liberals should have allowed themselves to be known as 'Independents.' The fact is that for the purpose of united work in the Assembly, they became members of the Nationalist party, but by virtue of their differences with the Swarajists, they let themselves be grouped into what is now known as the 'Independent party'. This was rather unfortunate, as it has had the effect of

practically wiping out the Liberal party from the Assembly. Instead of taking their stand as Liberals they have been posing as Independents, and what distinguishes the Swarajists from the Liberals is the former's policy of obstruction, their leaning towards or approval of direct action.

The Coalition.

For the purposes of united action, both agreed to sacrifice a bit of their principles, and formed themselves into a National group. The Liberals as a party are opposed to a policy of wholesale obstruction. But as Nationalists, they agreed to go into the same lobby with the Swarajists in order to make an effective demonstration of their supreme dissatisfaction with the existing constitution and powers of the legislature and the executive. They did not thereby become Swarajist, nor did they wholly abandon their principles. Similarly, the Swarajists, finding themselves in a minority, agreed to modify their programme a bit in order to secure the co-operation of the Independents and the Liberals. Since this coalition was brought into existence, they practically gave up their formula of 'continuous, consistent and uniform obstruction' and came as near the Liberals as was possible, consistently with their principles and mentality. Both were the gainers by this coalition. And so was the country. Politically and constitutionally, the situation in the country is worse today than it was last year. Logically, the attitude of the Nationalist party in the Assembly should have been stronger this year. But the Liberals as a party and some of the Independents have all the time been of the opinion that last year they acted wrongly in rejecting the Budget grants and throwing away the Finance Bill. Others have been won over to the side of the Government by various other considerations including personal and party affiliations. The conduct of the Independents this year has proved that a good many of them are really Liberals in their beliefs and procedure. If so, why then don't they join the latter and simplify matters? Now that the coalition of the Swarajists and non-Swarajist Nationalists (that is the most intelligent definition of an Independent that we can give) has been dissolved, it will be better to revert to the old classification of the Swarajists and Moderates. That there can be any other party between the two, is only a camouflage.

An Irrational Disposition.

I have so far considered only those that stand for national government and are not in any shape or manner pledged to support the foreign bureaucracy. Among these latter, there may be some who do not wish to belong to any party and desire to remain above party affiliations, thus securing to themselves freedom of action in the legislature. They may have reasons of their own (reasons, neither of principles nor of programme) not to belong to any party. So far so good, but to talk of them as a party, even if there are many of them, is entirely misleading and creates a great deal of confusion. The Liberals who allow themselves to be called Independents, do a great injustice to their party. They should, in my humble judgment, either leave the party, or protest against being called anything but Liberals. The Liberals have in their ranks some of the ablest and the most patriotic of Indians. One may not agree with them in all matters, but no one can question their ability or their motives. They became unpopular, because they agreed to work dyarchy and by their policy of co-operation encouraged the bureaucracy to carry out..... the policy of severe repression. They have now discovered that dyarchy was only a snare and is unworkable. In their ranks are men who condemn dyarchy and denounce the present bureaucratic rule as strongly as any Independent or for the matter of that any Swarajist can do or has done. They are for an immediate and substantial advance towards Dominion Government. You have a fair demonstration of their mentality in the Minority Report which has not completely satisfied the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri. Is there any Independent who is prepared to go further? If so, his place is in the Swarajya party; if not, his place is with the Liberals, unless for reasons other than those of principle and procedure, he finds himself unable to join any party. It will facilitate eventual unity of action, if the number of parties is reduced to two. We want classification of political opinions and political procedure on well-defined principles. The joining together of non-descript politicians into a party with no fixed principles and no fixed programme only creates confusion. I am inclined to think that, if the Liberals in the Assembly had maintained their party character and not joined with the Independents as they did to form a new party, the deplorable scenes witnessed this last session would have been avoided.

III.

I will now examine the position and principles of the Swarajya party. The Swarajya party started with a formula of wholesale obstruction. That was the ticket on which they sought the suffrage of the electorates. They were originally pledged to non-acceptance of any office, with or without salary, elected or nominated. Their original intention was opposition to the Government where sure of success, otherwise abstention from voting. They forbade their members to accept membership of standing or select committees. When they coalesced with the Independents, they changed their tactics. The result was the practical abandonment of the formula of wholesale obstruction and instead the adoption of qualified and conditional obstruction. In August last, they drafted a new constitution which superseded the one framed in February, 1923. In this constitution, the formula of obstruction was omitted, and in its place the following was substituted:—

‘That the guiding principle of the party is self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation, and resistance to the bureaucracy as it impedes the nation’s progress towards Swarajya.’

The programme of the party was given out to be as follows:—

I. Within the legislative bodies the party shall, *whenever possible*,

(a) Refuse supplies and throw out budgets unless and until the system of government is altered in recognition of our rights, or as a matter of settlement between Parliament and the people of India;

(b) Throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;

(c) Move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy;

(d) Help the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress;

(e) Follow a definite economic policy to prevent the drain of public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to *exploitation*, and to advance national, economic, industrial and commercial interests of the country.

(f) Protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

II. No member of the party shall accept any

office in the gift of the Government with or without salary or other remuneration.

III. With a view to make the work of the party effective, it shall be open to its members in the Assembly and the various provincial Councils to seek election to every post and place in the Assembly or the Councils, and on their committees which may be open to them by election.

Provided that no member shall seek election in contravention of any rules framed by the members of the party in the Assembly or any of the Councils, as the case may be.

V. Outside the Councils the party shall work for:

(a) Inter-communal unity with a view to bring about complete understanding between Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsees, Jews, Indian Christians (including domiciled Anglo-Indians) and all other communities living in India; more specially the removal of the disputes and differences between Hindus and Mahomedans and Brahmans and non-Brahmins;

(b) Removal of untouchability and raising of the so-called depressed classes;

(c) Village organization;

(d) Organization of labour in the country, industrial as well as agricultural, including ryots and peasants, with a view to protect and promote its interests and enable it to take its proper place in the struggle for Swarajya;

(e) The acquiring of the economic control of the country, including the development of commerce and industry;

(f) The acquiring of the control of Nationalists over local and municipal affairs by contesting elections to local and municipal boards in the several provinces;

(g) The carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress in such manner as it thinks necessary in relation to Swadeshi, *khaddar*, temperance, national education and arbitration courts;

(h) The boycott of selected British Empire goods manufactured outside India on the advice of a committee with a view to use it as a political weapon in the pursuit of Swarajya;

(i) The formation of a federation of Asiatic countries and nationalities with a view to secure the solidarity of Asiatic nations, including Egypt, to promote Asiatic culture and mutual help in the matter of trade and commerce;

(j) Organization of agencies of foreign propaganda for Indian affairs with special reference to the dissemination of accurate information and the securing of the sympathy and support of foreign countries in this country’s struggle for Swarajya.

I have given this programme *in extenso*, as it was necessary to do so for my argument. I have omitted article IV, as it was not necessary for that purpose. In article I, I have italicised the words 'whenever possible'. There is nothing in articles III and V to which any Liberal from the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri downwards, could not subscribe. Article II, is one which no member of the Liberal party can accept. Of article I, there is only one clause to which some members of that party may take exception. Thus, the whole difference between the actual programmes of the two parties is reduced to Article II, and in the case of some, to clause (a) of Article I. Of course there is another important factor which cannot be omitted from consideration in discussing the difference between the programmes of the two parties, *i.e.*, the difference of mentality.

IV.

I am not aware if the Swaraj party's programme has been again revised and the obstruction formula of the election manifesto restored. My comments are therefore based on the programme quoted, which was given to me by the leader of the party. Now so far as I am concerned, I am in full accord with this programme which, in my judgment, is based on a true appreciation of the realities of the situation and is in accord with my principles. I have always been of opinion that it was wrong for the leaders of a subject people to co-operate with a foreign government to such an extent as to make it strong, effective and popular. British rule in India would be an impossibility without the co-operation of the Indians. Look at the various departments of the administration and you will at once see that that administration could not be run for a day without Indian co-operation and Indian help. In one sense, it is the Indians who are ruling the country. But the guiding policy is that of the foreigner. He is the master and the Indians are merely his tools. He makes or unmakes the law; he determines the taxes and imposes them (though they are assessed and realised by the Indians); he rules the Police and the Military department; in fact, he does everything vital for the government of the country. But it is plain that after 175 years of British rule in India it is impossible to-day to enforce that principle in such a way as to make it effective. Yet, I consider that the existence of a political party in the country

pledged to that principle (at least in the persons of its members) is an inspiring reminder of the true position.

Resourceful Bureaucracy.

Again, the experience of the last four years has made it clear that we cannot, by processes of non-co-operation 'paralyze the administration,' or 'bring it to a stand-still' or 'make it impossible.' The ruling bureaucracy is too resourceful for us and we are too much disunited and divided to make any kind of non-co-operation or obstruction sufficiently effective and co-operative. As wise men who do not mean to play fast and loose with the destinies of a great nation and a great country, we must recognise our limitations and must admit that so far as 'making the Government impossible' is concerned, we have failed. Some people may retort as to why I did not see and say this in 1921 and why I threw myself heart and soul into the non-co-operation campaign. What I did actually say in this direction is known to some. I am not here to make apologies or give explanations. My business just now is to see realities and give the best advice I can give according to my lights to my people. The reality is that neither by non-co-operation nor by obstruction can we bring the Government to a standstill. The non-co-operation campaign was based on absolutely true principles but the leaders did not correctly estimate the fact and conditions of national life. They over-estimated their power to bring the nation back to fundamentally right position. How much they succeeded, where and how they failed, need not be discussed in this place. The fact remains that we failed in our immediate objective and the bureaucracy succeeded all along the line in non-plussing us. Now, we cannot afford to make a fetish of the principles and practices which failed to bring us success. Adjustments and readjustments according to the conditions and circumstances of the time are the very essence of politics. Yet we cannot entirely give up our principles. To do so will be carrying political opportunism to an undesirable length. Personally I do not see anything wrong in our taking the fullest advantage of the opportunities that the prevailing system of Government and the laws afford us to improve our position and build up the nation, subject to one condition and that is that we do not let our minds be deluded and befogged by false delusions and illusions.

Co-operation Tabooed Too.

We must realise that if obstruction and non-co-operation is at the present moment ineffective to bring us nearer our goal, unreserved co-operation is also out of question. One outstanding fact of the situation is that the Britishers cannot and do not trust us and we cannot and do not trust them. It is not that the East and the West would remain apart on account of their inherent incompatibility of temper or nature, but it is because the interest of the two are different and often clash. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy which represents the British people, wants to perpetuate or at least to prolong its rule and strengthen the British hold on India. The Nationalists want to end or at least shorten the same and decrease as much as possible the Britishers' power of exploiting India, by virtue of their political dominance. On this point, all Indian Nationalists,—Swarajists, Liberals or Independents—are of one mind. The interests of the two being in conflict, from the very nature of things the two must pull in different lines wherever there is an attack by one on the other's fundamental position. This is the moral of the working of dyarchy by the Liberal leaders. There can be no true co-operation between the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and the Indian Nationalists.

I hope all classes of Indian Nationalists realise the truth of these observations. If they do, then, is it not their duty to find out a *via media* by which all parties may be able to unite on the immediate programme of work to be done and as far as possible, come to an understanding about the methods to be followed?

The Assembly.

In the debate on the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly there was a good deal of mutual recrimination indulged in by both sides about each other's intentions and what they had done years ago. Mr. Jinnah charged Pandit Motilal Nehru with the desire of destroying the constitution and Pandit Motilal retorted by pointing out how Mr. Jinnah had supported dyarchy before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, before the Act of 1919 became law. In the same strain were couched the attacks and counter-attacks of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Babu Bipin Chandra Pal. It is not my intention to go into the propriety or impropriety of these recriminations, but I cannot help remarking

that Mr. Jinnah's charge against Pandit Motilal had in principle no legs to stand upon. Refusing supplies and rejecting a Finance Bill is not destroying a constitution. It is the exercise of a power given by the constitution. The 'United' Nationalists acted quite constitutionally when last year they threw out the Finance Bill as a protest against the inadequacy of the constitution and its failure to place sufficient and effective power in the hands of the representatives of the people. That it was a perfectly constitutional thing, was admitted by Lord Olivier in one of his speeches last year and I know that he made that admission with the full consent and approval of the Cabinet. Pandit Motilal's reply was in my judgment entirely sound and effective. What he said was that they were using the constitution for the purpose of mending or ending it. To try to get the constitution changed either slightly or radically, by using the constitution, cannot be said to be unconstitutional. I am of opinion that, failing uniform obstruction, a principle with which I am not in agreement, the throwing out of the Finance Bill is the one and the only way of making an effective protest which the representatives of the people can adopt against the inadequacy of the present constitution. The Liberals have not so far suggested any other method as effective as that. Mr. Jinnah's party has in principle accepted it even this year by rejecting the demand for the Viceroy's Executive Council. If that is not destroying the constitution, surely throwing out the Finance Bill either cannot be such. Both involve a strong disapproval of the present constitution. If that is destruction, then both fall in the same category. In my opinion the demands for grants should be considered on the merits and so should the different items of the Finance Bill but the final motion for the passing of the Finance Bill should be negatived from year to year unless and until the constitution is changed and the Assembly is invested with real power over the policy of the executive. This is not obstruction but even if it be so, I won't mind it. It may be said that this is illogical. Once you pass the grants, you must logically make a provision for meeting these grants. Perhaps it is illogical. But is the present Government of India logical? Is the rule of a handful of foreigners over 300 millions of Indians logical? Is the power of certification vested in the Governor-General logical?

The entire constitution of the Government of India is illogical. In my judgment, the procedure is fully in accord with the spirit of the constitution such as it is. You judge the demands under both heads of Revenue and Expenditure on their merits, but show your emphatic disapproval of the present constitution which practically makes the executive omnipotent and puts it in a position to humiliate and over-rule the Assembly from day to day. You thereby enable the Governor-General to take the entire responsibility of raising the revenues and carrying on the administration. I will beg of my liberal friends to reconsider their position in this respect or suggest some other way of recording our protest as effectively as this. Your resolutions and paper protests create no impression either in the British Isles or in the rest of the world. But the throwing out of the Finance Bill from year to year is bound to be echoed throughout the civilised world. This is the least you can do. I am afraid the Independents have this year completely undone what they did last year and have thereby stultified themselves and brought humiliation on their country. This is not the time for a weak and vacillating policy. By all means settle any policy you think most effective, but stick to it unless circumstances force you to change your tactics. There was no such change in the political situation this year which could justify the change in the attitude of the Independents towards the Finance Bill. If anything at all, their attitude ought to have been even stronger.

V.

Within the last 25 years never before was the political situation so muddled and complicated as now, nor was there greater disunion among political leaders than what is observed today. No one can claim a monopoly of political wisdom; but, in my judgment, the situation has been made worse by a policy of drift on the part of the leaders. So far as one could judge from what has taken place at Delhi during the last session of the Legislative Assembly, one can say that Nationalism and Communalism have been working at cross purposes. There was nothing to be wondered at in that fact as it had been made pretty clear by Mahomedan leaders during the conversations that took place at the Unity Conference meeting that they were negotiating with

Government. What has surprised me is that the Nationalist leaders,—both Swarajists and Liberals,—should have walked into the trap laid for them by Muslim leaders. I wonder how many of them realised that the attitude of some of the Independents in connection with the Finance Bill was due to a bargain that had been made with the Government by some for personal reasons and by others for communal reasons. I have a suspicion in my mind that the announcement made by the Government of India, first, in the Council of State and later, in the Legislative Assembly, about reserving one-third of the services for minorities, was a part of this bargain. If so, all that happened in the Legislative Assembly is perfectly intelligible. The Hindu Nationalists have now to make up their minds as to the line of policy they should follow in the future. It is not a question of driving the Mahomedans into the arms of the Government as some Mahomedan leaders are apt to point out to the Hindus as a result of the latter's refusal to concede the demands of the former. On the contrary, it is a case of the Government throwing itself into the arms of Muslim leaders to make the Swarajist policy innocuous. While they have failed in Bengal by their own stupidity, they have succeeded very well in Delhi. The Bengal blunder was perhaps due to no fault of theirs. It might have been dictated from Whitehall. The Hindu Nationalists, even if they were to concede the maximum demands of the Mahomedans, could at any time be easily outwitted by the Government. One of the Mahomedan leaders has already expressed the opinion that he did not expect any appreciable advance towards Swaraj for the next 40 years, and that no pact that might be entered into for the purposes of the next advance would be final. Under the circumstances, I, for one, do not see how the Hindu Nationalists could enter into any pact with the Muslims with a view to accelerate the advent of Swaraj. Consequently, the first thing that the Hindu Nationalists have to decide is how far they should go in face of this attitude of the Muslims. I have, no doubt, that the Muslims also want Swaraj as keenly as the Hindus; only, they are not prepared to sacrifice an iota of their communal interests for the purposes of Swaraj. On the other hand, there are Hindu leaders who want Swaraj *at any cost*; but there are others who do not want to proceed so fast, as the price that they are

asked to pay for Swaraj will make that Swaraj worthless from the national point of view. In the light of these observations, it seems to me very clear that no party of Hindu Nationalists can make their policy of obstruction effective. An ineffective policy of obstruction is no good. In fact, it is harmful. Those Nationalists who are harping on pure obstruction every time they stand up in the Legislative Assembly to make a speech, are doing positive incalculable harm to the country as well as to their community.

A Suggestion.

Under the circumstances, I am very strongly of opinion that in the best interests of the country and the cause of Swaraj, Swarajists and Liberals should join hands in formulating their minimum demand, which is, autonomy in the provinces subject to the control of the Central Government in certain matters, and subordination of the Executive to the Legislature in certain departments of the Central Government. The manifesto issued in Great Britain by the group of Liberal Politicians who visited England last year and the Minority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee can certainly form a fairly good basis for negotiations between the Swarajists and the Liberals. Once a minimum demand is formulated by the joint efforts of these two parties, they could easily come to an understanding as to the methods to be followed to make that demand accepted by the Government in India as well as in England. It is obvious that two things are required to achieve that end,—negotiations and pressure. No amount of ordinary agitation could produce that pressure which will make any negotiations in that line fruitful. The pressure must, to a certain extent, be so compelling as to make the bureaucracy adopt a reasonable attitude in the negotiations. Violence and force must be ruled out and so must uniform obstruction. In fact, the word 'obstruction' itself must be deleted out of the National programme. Every question must be judged on its merits, opposition to be resorted to where it is necessary. Personally, I am wedded to no formula and would be glad to accept any programme which could be formulated by the joint deliberations of the two principal political parties in the country.

An Appeal.

I would beg of my Swarajist and Liberal friends to weigh the situation very carefully and

to bring about joint deliberations as early as possible. I do not believe any deputation to England at the present time would be of much value for the purpose of bringing pressure upon the British Government in England to yield to our demands, though it is quite a different matter to send a few propagandists to counteract the mischief which is being done by the one-sided activities of the henchmen of Anglo-India. What is of the greatest importance is the creation of a hopeful atmosphere at home and the drawing up of a programme which would appeal to the people as practicable.

I am afraid, there are too many Independents in the country to be of any effective use for political purposes. Their refusal to join either of the two principal political parties does not appear to be very sound except perhaps on personal grounds. I think the electorates in the next elections will have to make up their minds to choose their candidates from the two political parties and to reduce the number of Independents to the lowest figure. The Independents cannot form a party. They are being used by ambitious people for various ends and it is extremely unfortunate that they hold the key position in the Central Legislature. I am confident that a good many of them could be won over and brought into the fold of one of the two principal parties.

An Open Mind.

Before concluding I want to say once more that my mind is quite open on the Hindu-Mahommedan question. Any solution effective for national purposes and safeguarding against the danger of dividing the provinces on the basis of Hindu and Mahommedan majorities will appeal to me. But from a close study of the mentality of the Muslim leaders, I am afraid, they are determined to have their own way. In that case, I will rather let them negotiate with the Government than agree to propositions which to me seem fatal to the very purpose for which an understanding is desired.

There is another phase of the question to which I would like to draw the attention of all national leaders. It is clear to me that the only political party in Great Britain, which is likely to be of some help to us in our progress towards Swaraj, is the Labour Party. The Liberal Party is in this respect worse than the Tories and, moreover, it need not be counted

upon as having any influence worth the name in Parliament. The only party which can deliver the goods safely and surely, if once we enter into an agreement with it, is the Conservative Party. An agreement with the Conservatives as to the terms on which they will allow us the management of our internal affairs would be worth while, even though we may have to sacrifice some vital points in order to arrive at that agreement. Failing that, as I have said before, the Labour Party is the only group of British politicians with whom we should negotiate. It will be extremely foolish to alienate them. It is true that they failed us last year when they were in office. It is also true that they are responsible for the policy of repression now being followed in Bengal and the Punjab. Yet, in spite of all this, they are the only party in which we have true and trustworthy friends. I am afraid, the attitude of the Indian Nationalist Party towards Indian labour is not likely to help in the retaining of that friendship. It will be impossible for any

Indian nationalist to adopt a policy such as might be fatal to the development of Indian industries. For some time to come, it is in the best interests of India that nationalists should strive after a solution of labour problems such as would not be inimical to the development of Indian industries; yet an out and out partiality for capitalists is not the right thing to be done. Indian labour must be helped to a position of safety and security. Its present organisations are much below the mark and it behoves the Indian nationalists to support labour in establishing its position and securing its fundamental rights, which can only be done by the help of the Indian Legislature.

I have striven my best to write without prejudice and bias. I belong to no party and am desirous of bringing about such an agreement between the different political parties as might change the present political atmosphere into one of hope and confidence. But, if, in making these observations, I have made any mistake, I am open to correction.

THE REFORMS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE'S REPORTS.

By MR. T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER.

Intelligent anticipations have seldom been so well justified as in the case of the Reforms Enquiry Committee's Reports. That the majority were for strengthening dyarchy, patching up the creaks, plastering the faded walls and making the unseemly structure look new, was the expectation. The fact that the attempt would make it hideous was not wholly lost on the five. In justification of their attitude, their limitations should be mentioned. They were men in service or accustomed to it. They felt bound by what they regarded as the limit of the order of reference to them. They had lost touch with the views and ideas which the people entertain. It was no wonder, therefore, that they have produced a memorandum which they hoped would make dyarchy yield what its present dimensions do not enable it to give. Frankly they were out to find justification and

to strengthen the system and they succeeded.

Reading the Majority Report carefully, I recognize that the authors were not blind to faults of the system. They seemed to have said to themselves: "Nothing in this world is perfect; here is a formula which with all its faults has some good points. Why should we advise its rejection in toto? Why not try to mend it?" I am not a clairvoyant: but I would be surprised if the Indian members of the majority were not obsessed by the fear that if dyarchy goes, bureaucracy of an undiluted form would be the only substitute. The change of Government in England, the cry for blood from the *Morning Post* and from that tried friend of India, Sir M. O'Dwyer, might have alarmed them. The same factors contributed to make the steel-frame portion of the majority less pliable. They knew their masters would sup-

port them through thick and thin. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the jubilation of one portion coupled with the consternation of the other was responsible for the recommendations of the majority.

One can only speculate as to what the answer would have been if the MacDonald Ministry had continued in power. *Non-constat* that the process would have been the reverse of what happened. The Indian members of the majority would have felt that in going as far as the instructions permitted them, they would have the countenance of Whitehall. The other portion would have realized that by their truculent attitude, they might make themselves wholly unacceptable to the Secretary of State. Hope in the Indian and fear in the European would have led to a less unsatisfactory Report being penned.

Perhaps it is well that the Report is so uncompromising. I am not sure that if there had been a tendency to go half way, the strength of the minority would not have suffered. Further a recognition of inherent defects and the promulgation of remedies which would have removed some of the glaring grievances would have the effect of perpetuating the mongrel system of dyarchy. We have now a clear issue. The majority say it is improvable. The minority say it is rotten and should be destroyed root and branch. There is thus a healthy controversy.

With all that, I am sorry that my friend Sir Muhammad Shafi should have signed the Report. I know he is patriotic. I know he is good. Why did he, without demur, put his signature? Is it the Hindu-Mahomedan tension in his province that is responsible for it? I hope not. That would argue short-sightedness. We may have our domestic differences. They may even appear to be irreconcilable. But that is no reason for not enabling the country as a whole to march through straight road to self-government, rather than the devious one that we have. He has missed a splendid opportunity, although it is evident that he felt that the order of reference put limits on his views. I cannot help saying he has sacrificed himself at the altar of red tape.

II.

It has been said of the Minority Report that it is halting and vacillating. I am sure

that had I been in the Committee, I could not have been more thorough. The defects of the existing system have been pitilessly exposed; the financial difficulties well brought out; the so-called educative value of dyarchy has been proved to be imaginary. The constant conflicts between the reserved and the transferred departments have been pointed out. What more could they do? They were not out to make a new constitution. That was not within their province. They could only show, and they did show, that dyarchy has not given the ministers any real voice in the Government of the land.

I only wish they emphasized the more the utter dependence of the ministers on the votes of officials for their very existence. In Madras, it is abundantly clear that the executive councillors are the king-makers. They could throw out the ministry, if they chose, to-morrow. This dependence creates a subconscious inclination in the Ministers to be well with the Executive Councillors. I doubt whether Mr. Montagu believed that by this system, he was creating not a popular ministry, but one which in a sense acts as the subordinate caretaker of a portion of the work hitherto done by the Executive Councillors. I do not know how it is elsewhere. In Madras, this aspect of the system is stamped on everything that is being done in the transferred departments. What else can Ministers do? They have before them a good opposition. That opposition, if it has the countenance of the Reserved side can replace the Ministry in power. The result is dependence on the good will and smiles of the Reserved half.

I am glad that my friends of the minority based their judgment on the evidence placed before them. I have been accustomed to reading judgments based on *a priori* reasoning, ignoring the materials placed before the judge. It was not to be expected from the composition of the minority that such a procedure would have been followed. It is open to evolve from one's inner consciousness certain conclusions on a matter on which one's opinion is asked. But when evidence is given, to cast it aside is wholly unjustifiable. Can the majority say that their conclusions have support from the preponderating evidence placed before the Committee? The minority have been true judges. The overwhelming nature of the denunciation of the system was incapable of

returning any other answer than that returned by them.

It has been said that the recommendations for a round table conference and for a Royal Commission showed how weak the members proved themselves to be. I do not agree. As I said before, the members were not constituted to devise a constitution. I would go further and say they were not representative enough for undertaking the work. They had not sufficient materials for the purpose. They were, therefore, well justified in the recommendations they made. It may be said, and has been said that a Royal Commission spells that an alien government is to settle the form of government we are to live under. True. I believe and I think my friends in the committee believed that the next step towards responsible self-government must come from the British Parliament. You may present your ultimatum, you may say that nothing less would satisfy you—but the sanction, as we stand at present, must come from the British Parliament alone. Taking this view, is it open to question that, in proposing as the immediate step, the constitution of a Royal Commission, the minority have in no way

betrayed the trust reposed in them or belied the reputation for statesmanship which they possess.

What next? Intensive propaganda in England is absolutely necessary. The country has spoken with one voice. Swarajists, Congressmen, Liberals and Independents are agreed that dyarchy is a huge failure. There is no need to placate public opinion here, unless it be to proclaim the shortcomings of every party but one's own. That can well be done eighteen months hence. To-day we must concentrate all our efforts on educating our masters. (I am afraid I am using an expression which would be regarded as indicating my servile spirit). Great Britain is uneasy. The Secretary of State is summoning the big men to enlighten him. We should not, surely, allow judgment to go by default. We must organize and agitate. It is absurd to take up the attitude of Achilles and remain in the tent unless summoned, with apologies and offerings that would expose us to great danger. I hope the minority which have done such excellent work would follow it up by carrying the agitation to the doors of Westminster.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH INDIA?

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

"I have staked my all in the movement for Swaraj in the hope that Swaraj is a certain cure for all our *maladies*. As darkness vanishes at sunrise, so when the sun of Swaraj rises, the dark anarchy of rulers as well as of subjects will disappear in an instant and destructive conflict will be a thing of the past."

Mahatma Gandhi.

Various have been the causes assigned for the Unrest in India. Some see in it a natural reaction against foreign domination, political and economic; others the birth-throes of awakening national self-consciousness; still others the

inevitable struggle of the soul of a suppressed nationality for the recovery of its long-lost freedom; while the most imaginative trace in it an unmistakable symptom of the general resurgence of the whole continent of Asia for a vast cultural and racial re-union. All these four causes have without doubt contributed their quota to her Unrest, but the secret cause of all her trouble is that she has been for a long time past suffering from that world-old malady of mankind—the Malady of the Ideal.

For the past forty years some of her leading minds—those most advanced in political thought,—had set up the ideal of self-government as the goal of Indian political aspirations.

But since the termination of the War, with the Wilsonian demand for self-determination for all people based on linguistic and ethnological affinity, that ideal of self-government for India has changed from a mere goal of political aspirations of an advanced section of its people into one dominant, all-absorbing motive and purpose of the political life of the entire nation for a complete and immediate realisation of Swaraj. In other words, India at the present moment is so wholly absorbed in and so completely obsessed by the idea of Swaraj, that without exaggeration it might be said that Swaraj is on her brain and her trouble is *monomania autonoma*.

As it is useless to argue with a monomaniac, who is suffering from any particular kind of mental obsession, and tell him of the dangers attending the realisation of the object of his obsession, so it is equally futile to argue with the Swaraj-possessed political personality of India and tell her of the manifold dangers awaiting the realisation of her dream and ideal among such a disjointed, disruptive, disorganised mass of humanity as she possesses and must ever continue to possess.

India of to-day is very much like that boy in the tub in the Pears' Soap advertisement. She takes Swaraj to be a cake and so has set her

heart on it and has quite made up her mind that "she won't be happy till she gets it." And when she gets it, as through force of circumstances and pressure of world-ideas she must in the course of the next decade or two, she will realise—as that Pears' Soap boy would have, had he got hold of that cake of soap—that Swaraj like soap was anything but a cake and, if taken as such, was likely to cause in her case, as in that of the boy, acute internal disorder and disruption which, unless a Mussolini or a Mustapha Kemal came to the head of affairs, would soon turn the prevalent law and order into chaos and rampant anarchy and thus fulfil the prophecy of Sir James Stephen :—

"Should the British Government abdicate its functions, it would soon turn order into chaos. No country in the world is more orderly, more quiet, or more peaceful than British India as it is ; but if the vigour of the Government should ever be relaxed, if it should lose its essential unity of purpose, and fall into hands either weak or unfaithful, chaos would come again like a flood."

Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that India for a long time past has been a helpless and almost a hopeless victim of the Malady of the Ideal. That's what's wrong with India.

A MEMORANDUM ON OPIUM.

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

The rapidly growing consumption of opium, with its alkaloids, morphia and heroin, is now becoming a menace to the world, in the same way as the 'white slave' traffic, and such diseases as 'plague' or 'leprosy'. Such evils can only be overcome by united international agreement. They can never be conquered by selfish isolation and national exclusive policy.

At the present time, India stands to lose the friendship of those nations of the world who

are on the side of humanity in the great struggle against the opium poison, if she is unwilling to fall into line with the world reform movement, which aims at restricting the actual cultivation of opium to the full medicinal requirements of the world's population, and to leave nothing over for smuggling purposes.

This was the great issue at Geneva; and America, China and Japan were on the side of the world reform movement. Many of the

smaller nations sympathised with them. But Great Britain and the Government of India stood out stubbornly against this world solution based on restriction of *cultivation*. They suggested instead a very long process of gradual reduction of opium smoking and a stricter safeguarding of the manufactured drugs of morphia and heroin, so that they should not come into the hands of unlicensed dealers. Those powers which were financially interested in the sale and manufacture of opium into morphine and heroin sided with them.

The contention of the opium reformers was, that it is quite impossible to stop the secret sales of the drugs, when once they have been manufactured. On the other hand, it is easy to detect how much of the opium poppy, with its white flower, is being grown. 'Stop excessive cultivation,' say the reformers, 'and you get at the root of all the mischief: but once let the tiny pills of opium and its alkaloids loose upon the world and they will be sure to be consumed by some one; they will be smuggled through, and no one will be able to detect them.'

When the solution put forward by the opium reformers was rejected by the Governments of India and Great Britain, America threatened to leave the Geneva Conference in despair. Great Britain tried to avoid this disaster and sent Lord Robert Cecil as a delegate in order if possible to smooth over matters, and come to a compromise. But Lord Robert Cecil only offended the American delegation still further and refused to accept their proposal. Therefore, President Coolidge recalled the American delegates; and the Chinese delegates also left the Conference with them after three months of incessant delay and obstruction. Such a deadlock has been an event of world importance. It is likely to prevent America finally from becoming a member of the League of Nations. For America is saying: "If we cannot agree upon a purely humanitarian issue, such as opium, how shall we agree about political questions?" A little less stubbornness on the part of the representative of the Government of India might have brought about a different result.

There were two main disputes over which the break and deadlock came. In both of these unfortunately India was involved. They were as follows:—

- (i) With regard to India's internal consumption of opium.

- (ii) With regard to India's external opium traffic.

We may take these two disputes in order and deal with them separately. Below will be found the argument in each case:—

Internal Consumption.

The Government of India declared at Geneva that India's internal consumption of opium could not be limited to India's medicinal needs. But the opium reformers, including America, would have been satisfied, if India had agreed to reduce internal consumption approximately to the index figure of the League of Nations, which stands at 6 seers per 10,000 of population. That amount of 6 seers per 10,000 is arrived at after much calculation, and is regarded as sufficient to supply amply the full medicinal requirements to civilised people. To-day, the opium figure for the whole of India is nearly 12 seers per 10,000 of the Indian population, or nearly double the estimate of the League of Nations. But while there are 'opium' addicted areas in India, where the consumption is enormously too high, there are also many whole provinces, wherein the League of Nations index figure is hardly at all exceeded. For instance, the United Provinces stands lowest, with a rate of 6 per 10,000.—exactly the League of Nations figure. Bengal, Behar and Madras stand next, with a ratio of 8 per 10,000. The Punjab stands in the middle, with an average of 11 per 10,000. Bombay is double the amount, with 22 per 10,000; and Burma's figure is 28. Assam is far the worst of all, with the alarming rate of 52 per 10,000. In some districts of Assam, where the Assamese race predominates, the rate goes up to 173 seers per 10,000 and 189 seers and even to 237 seers in one instance. The last named figure is the worst in India and Burma. In Burma, the presence of the Chinese makes for a high average. We have Mergui, with its tin mines which employ Chinese labourers, with a consumption of 147 seers per 10,000 and Tavoy with 66 per 10,000 and Katha with 55 and so on. These high figures in Burma are due to the presence of Chinese who are opium smokers.

But the most alarming figures of all are probably to be found in the modern industrial centres of India itself. There the excessive consumption of opium is very marked, and we know from the records of Bombay and

Ahmedabad and Calcutta how much of this is given by mothers to young babies. The figures are as follows:—

Calcutta consumes	144	seers per	10,000
Rangoon	108	„ „	10,000
Ferozepore	60	„ „	10,000
Ludhiana	49	„ „	10,000
Lahore	40	„ „	10,000
Amritsar	28	„ „	10,000
Cawnpore	29	„ „	10,000
Ahmedabad	42	„ „	10,000
Bombay	43	„ „	10,000
Broach	51	„ „	10,000
Sholapur	35	„ „	10,000
Karachi	46	„ „	10,000
Hyderabad	52	„ „	10,000
(Sind)			
Madras	26	„ „	10,000
Cuttack	25	„ „	10,000
Balasore	56	„ „	10,000

In Calcutta and Rangoon the presence of Chinese probably accounts for the extraordinarily high percentage. It is not difficult to see that on the whole the mass of the Indian village population remains remarkably free from excess in opium consumption (except in Assam and Burma). But the town population, where the religious sanctions of the village life have broken down, has begun to succumb to the insidious opium habit and the danger is very great indeed of still further increase of vicious consumption of opium. I have already mentioned the daily doping of babies. This leads to chronic constipation and children who are thus habitually doped suffer from debility and intestinal weakness for the rest of their lives. We are in danger of producing a weakly and debilitated industrial population which will be a terrible drag on the prosperity of India in the future.

Let me, before passing on, give in a table the opium consumption of the different provinces and areas:—

United Provinces	...	6.0	per	10,000
Bengal	..	8.1	„	10,000
Behar and Orissa	..	8.3	„	10,000
Madras	...	8.5	„	10,000
N. W. Frontier	...	10.2	„	10,000
Punjab	...	12.0	„	10,000
Central Provinces	...	16.1	„	10,000
Bombay	...	22.2	„	10,000
Burma	...	28.7	„	10,000
Assam	...	52.1	„	10,000

Beluchistan	...	6.0	per	10,000
Ajmere	...	52.7	„	10,000
Coorg	...	2.3	„	10,000
Delhi				not given

Grand Total ... 12.0 per 10,000

After examining these figures very carefully it will be seen that it is in the most thickly populated agricultural provinces, on the whole, that the lowest records are made. The first four provinces, whose records are fairly near the League of Nations index figure of 6 per 10,000, have a population of 170,000,000. It is clear therefore that if we were to deal thoroughly and drastically with what might be called the darker areas, such as Assam and the industrial centres, we should effect two objects.

(a) We should counteract the terribly near danger of the vast bulk of the Indian population becoming infected—a fate which has already happened to China.

(b) We should be able to bring down the final grand total for the whole of India, which is now just double the League of Nations index figure, to a much more decent level. Indeed we might bring the All-India record within the medicinal limits recognised by the League of Nations itself.

It may be stated, without hesitation, that if we could bring the All-India figure down to 8 instead of 12, the League of Nations at Geneva would be quite satisfied. The actual figure for America to-day is 8 grains per head of the population, which works out at about 4 seers per 10,000 of the population. But Switzerland even with a Dangerous Drugs Act is as high as India's present rate of 12 seers. I have quoted these figures to show that there is still an undoubtedly large variation even in the West, where opium can only be obtained under medical prescription.

What follows from this analysis is the fact that if we seriously tackle the three outstanding evils of the present internal opium situation in India, namely,

(a) The Chinese evil in Burma and Calcutta,

(b) The Assamese race addiction,

(c) The increasing evil at industrial centres,

we might actually be able, *without a Dangerous Drugs Act at all* (which would be very difficult to work in India) to bring our opium consump-

tion down to a much lower figure than at present, and we should be able to stand a very fair comparison with Japan and the nations of the West. But for such a drastic revision and enquiry to be effective an All-India Committee must be appointed. It would not be satisfactory merely to rely on local enquiry; for as will be seen from the above analysis, the problem must be tackled as a whole. I hope that such a drastic enquiry will be asked for when the Opium Vote is brought forward in the Budget. The Royal Commission of 1894-95, on which the Government of India continually relies, is now out of date. A new India has come to birth since then, with new industrial and other problems. Also India has become an original member of the League of Nations. For these and other reasons a new enquiry is absolutely necessary. Whether it should be a Royal Commission or not should be decided by the Legislative Chambers.

It ought to be made clear to everyone that Japan and the United States and practically every western country have refused to make revenue out of opium because they are aware that consumption beyond medical requirements *is a dead loss in health and strength and moral stamina to the whole nation*. As Ruskin so well pointed out, the ultimate wealth of any country is the weal, or well-being, of the people. No financial return can make up for loss of health and moral stamina. Therefore every rupee saved from the opium revenue is equal to many rupees saved in public health and public efficiency. A fall in the opium revenue must be always a matter for congratulation. A rise in the opium revenue is a thing to be feared.

II. External Consumption.

It is now necessary to turn to the export of opium from India to the countries of the Far East for purposes of opium smoking. In the end, at Geneva, it was over this opium exported for smoking,—rather than over the internal consumption of opium in India beyond medical requirements,—that America finally broke away and left the Conference. It is necessary at this point very closely to follow the American argument, because the good faith and honour of India are involved. America has publicly accused the Indian Government of conniving at a breach of a solemn contract signed and sealed at the Hague Convention of 1912-13. In the plainest possible terms and in

quite undiplomatic language, Great Britain and India were accused before the League of Nations of a breach of treaty. Many apologetic words were uttered afterwards by Lord Robert Cecil, in trying to smooth matters over, but in spite of all attempts at a compromise and appeals to the American delegation to withdraw the words uttered, the strong, blunt and almost brutal accusation still remains unrepealed and uncorrected. President Coolidge, fully approving of the action of the American delegation, recalled the delegates by a curt cablegram in disgust.

Let us examine very carefully the actual point at which this breach occurred and the accusation which was levelled against Great Britain and India as responsible and civilised nations.

The Hague Convention of 1912-13 in Article VII states as follows:—

“The contracting powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium. Those Powers, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium shall prohibit it as soon as possible.”

A very large proportion of the opium exported from India goes to the British possessions in the Far East. It is at once prepared by the Governments of those British possessions for opium smoking and sold in opium dens under a Government monopoly. The Government of India gets out of its contract by saying that it does not send out ‘prepared’ opium but ‘raw’ opium. The American Delegation stated that this was a mere quibble. It was a connivance between two parties at a breach of treaty and contract, because it was well-known that all the opium sent out from India to the Far East was used for smoking purposes.

The British possessions in the Far East which *imported* this Indian opium took shelter under the words “shall prohibit it as soon as possible.” They said that they needed time to bring the traffic to an end. The American delegates pointed out that thirteen years had already elapsed since the signing of the Hague Convention, on January 23, 1912. How much *more* time did the contracting Powers want? Could they go on delaying till Doomsday?

Then Lord Robert Cecil brought forward on behalf of Great Britain and India the proposal that first of all it should be ascertained by an international commission that no opium was

being smuggled from China. *After that date*, fifteen years should be allowed to elapse at the end of which the contracting Powers should agree to suppress opium smoking.

America replied that this would mean only another interminable delay. By such a dilatory course opium smoking would be suppressed somewhere near 1950. Even then, just as there had been thirteen years' delay already since the signing of the Hague Convention, so there might be again a still further postponement.

Then America made a last offer. America agreed to a period of fifteen years' delay from the present actual date, or twenty-eight years' delay from the actual date of the signing of the Hague Convention. Was not that long enough?

Great Britain and India refused and Lord Robert Cecil insisted on his own formula of "fifteen years after it has been ascertained by an international commission that no smuggling is taking place from China."

From that point the deadlock was final. One adjournment after another took place, but both parties maintained their position. America still offered a fifteen years' delay from January, 1925. Great Britain offered fifteen years from the time that China should go 'dry.'

Let us see how the matter stands for India itself and the obligations of the Indian people to world opinion and the opinion of the League of Nations.

Now it is quite certain that practically every chest of opium that leaves India for the Far East is immediately prepared for smoking and used for smoking. Therefore Indian opium which is used all over the Far East should come under this article of the Hague Convention. The only real ambiguity lies in the closing words: "Shall prohibit it as soon as possible."

Having signed this article VII, we in India ought as soon as possible to have reduced our export of opium to the Far East to such amounts as are sanctioned by the League of Nations, *i.e.*, to about 6 to 8 seers per 10,000 of population. At present, the consumption of Indian opium for smoking in the Straits Settlements, is well over 1,000 seers per

10,000 of population. The same is almost equally true of Indo-China and Macas and other Far Eastern possessions. Whatever we may lose in revenue by forfeiting this trade we shall win back a hundred times over in moral prestige throughout the world.

Here again the whole problem of opium exported from India should be settled after a careful and thorough enquiry by a first rate commission. At Geneva, as I have already shown, and repeat for the sake of absolute clearness, the Government of India along with Great Britain proposed that first of all an interval should be allowed for opium smoking to continue in the Far East until China stopped its excessive opium cultivation; *afterwards*, a period of fifteen years should be counted, and, at the end of this whole double period, opium smoking should be suppressed. America proposed that fifteen years should be allowed from the date of the end of the Geneva Conference, not from the time when China ceased to cultivate excessive opium. Furthermore, America declared that the attitude of Great Britain and India had been merely obstructionist throughout.

We ought not to be satisfied with this attitude taken up by the Government of India on our behalf, which has so offended America that she left the Geneva Conference. At least, we should submit our export traffic to a thorough investigation, just as we should submit our internal consumption. If there is anything which is against the dictates of humanity, we should be at once ready to sacrifice this very small fraction of our Indian revenue. In the long run, the moral credit that India will obtain in the world, by taking up a truly humanitarian attitude on this question, is of far more material and spiritual importance to India in her history than a certain number of rupees in hand to-day which are obtained by offering to other people what is recognised as a poison. Just as Great Britain won great credit in history a century ago by the suppression of the slave traffic, even so India may obtain great credit in history to-day by the suppression of the opium traffic.

BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS.

A LONDON CAUSERIE.

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

Joseph Conrad.

A correspondent asks me why I did not join in the obituary chorus which rose up and continued for six months after Joseph Conrad's unexpected death last summer. Having met Conrad personally I felt a shock at the news of his death which all who knew the man besides admiring his work must have similarly experienced, and I had decided to refrain from writing anything of an occasional nature. But time passes and minds alter, and now I would like to recall my first meeting with one of the most vivid personalities in the whole of English literature. The occasion was the "first night" of his own play *The Secret Agent*, adapted from the novel. But although the critics in the theatre were looking round for him while the audience shouted "Author! Author!" he was not in the theatre that night but at a West End hotel to which he had kindly invited me for an evening's talk. The famous author, suffering from ennui and a splitting headache, sat with my humble self after Mrs. Conrad and her two sons had left for the theatre. It was in the tea-lounge that I found them first. Conrad himself excited astonishment in me because he was not disappointing, as most famous authors are of course, when seen in the flesh for the first time. He simply overwhelmed my imagination by his truth to fiction! He was the immortal Marlowe incarnate in manner, and the Anglicised Polish genius in aspect. He appeared suddenly, preternaturally slender, vivid and gentle. His apparition (perhaps my imagination was heated by the prospect of meeting him) seems in memory to have been as mysterious in its materialisation as that of the strange nigger of the "Narcissus". The glare of electric lights, the clink of tea things in that lounge, the determined performance of the hotel orchestra in the adjoining restaurant, none of these realistic phenomena of the ordinary served to rescue me from the glamour of this first contact with Joseph Conrad. As

through a dream I was aware of his proposal to go into the quiet smoking-room for a talk. My attention was caught by the timbre of his voice, almost like a fervent whisper, suave and even, yet like the restless foam—surface of a maelstrom. The smoke-room presented itself suddenly as a compendium of all those favoured decks, cabins and parlours where Marlowe and his friends foregathered and talked. Sudden too was the unveiling (there is no other way to describe that gentle flash) of his deep-set, remote, soft, brown eyes. They glanced up from the jutting base of a broad, almost thought-tortured, receding brow, from which the sharp-featured face curved neatly over small, high cheek bones and desperately hollow cheeks to the tapering chin made extraordinarily prominent by a pointed beard. Captain Kettle transformed into a passionate artist. But the personality was that of the unforgettable Marlowe himself. I knew it when he slipped his hand gently below my armpit and steered my hesitating steps along with him. Then, walking beside him, his friendly voice murmuring, I glanced at him sideways. He stepped eatlike on the carpet of that prosaic corridor, with level forward gaze, his head lifted back slightly, recovering from the stoop of the small shoulders. His figure was astoundingly thin for all its suggestion of wiry strength. Hence I always thanked Marlowe, a man with a heart friendly and generous as his creator's, for the privilege of that talk while the *Secret Agent* was being staged for the first time. Conrad's very gestures, his silent relapses into the depth of his armchair and the sudden vivacious projections toward me were of the great Marlowe himself. Even politics had their place in the conversation. He recollected arriving in England for one of his periodical holidays. He went as usual straight to his agent in Fenchurch Street wearing his blue jersey, bell-bottomed serge trousers, and blue merchantman's black-peaked cap, his head full of anticipations of renewed visits to concerts, lectures,

bookshops, after a long scuffling. His agent would greet him as usual with: "Why, you Conrad!—Shake hands! So glad to see you back," and friendly enquiries. This time however, the young skipper found his agent sitting on a high stool at the office counter, hat pushed back, spectacles on his forehead, consuming a chop lunch and the latest edition of the newspaper. As Conrad entered the agent lifted his head, seized the newspaper and crashed his fist on it. "By God: We've swept the country! There will never be another Tory Government", he shouted at the astonished mariner. The story told, Marlowe added in a musing voice. "And strangely enough the man believed it. Of course, Gladstone's Government was itself rocking a year or two later, but at least political parties then did stand for recognizable principles."

The problem of Conrad's wonderful mastery of an alien language is one which probably has intrigued many of my readers. In *The Mirror of Sea*, which he told me he regarded as the soul of all his work, Conrad says that he did not choose English, but English chose him. He might, of course, have written just as readily in French, even more readily, for he was first acquainted with the Gallic tongue. But his early reading as a boy led him more deeply into English literature. Writers like Marryat and Defoe had a strong appeal to his youthful mind and stirred in him the first dreams of escaping from Southern Poland to become a sailor. He had read too, the whole of Shakespeare before he was 23. His first experience of English seamanship was directly a consequence of his desire to master the idiom of English, and therefore the earliest lessons of one of the greatest prose writers in English literature were picked up on barges along the east coast. The careful craftsmanship of his writings was as strictly conscientious as that demanded by his career as a sailor. Some evidence of this was afforded by the fact that in preparing a big collected edition of his work he made no single alteration of importance. "I corrected", he told me, "one or two faults of grammar, of which there are always a certain quantity in my work—not faults that a foreigner would make but faults that a very careless Englishman would make. I am constantly worrying about the choice of a phrase, and deciding that 'this will never do.' I do not consider myself a literary man, you know

Yes, I am quite serious" he added, catching a smile, "many people can hit on the exact word at once for some touch of description or shade of meaning, while I have to rake all round my poor head! I always write as well as I can. It is inconceivable that a man should compose less well than he is able to do. It is like walking lame when you can walk properly."

* * * *

New Novels.

One of the writers of fiction in our midst who has laid the foundations of a reputation which may become fame is Miss Ethel Mannin. Her *Hunger of the Sea* (Hutchinson 7/6), is a well and sometimes beautifully written story about a south coast fishing village. Into the account of its primitive loves and hates is woven a central dramatic thread connecting the lives of a sophisticated but ignorant working girl from the metropolis, her husband, a fisherman, and another woman of the village, a wild lass of electric temperament and unstable passions. Into these lives, or rather across them, passes the figure of a woman novelist who has visited the village to study the fisher-folk. I shall not describe the plot of the book, but I do not hesitate to recommend *Hunger of the Sea* as a fine piece of dramatic and descriptive fiction.

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Another remarkable novel by a comparatively little known author is Mr. Geoffrey Denis's *Harvest in Poland* (Heinemann 7/6) which, in spite of its fantastic melodrama—not always secure from the charge of being merely cheap sensationalism—has yet much originality and considerable power of imagination, qualities none too common in the floods of new fiction for ever being poured out of the printing presses.

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We have had also Mr. Michael Sadleir's new novel, *The Noblest Frailty*, (Constable 7/6) a worthy fulfilment of the promise of *Desolate Splendour*, his last novel. *The Noblest Frailty* is a love story without the perversity or the filth which so many modern novelist seem to regard as necessary concomitants of an effective novel, and the language throughout is that of an artist in words. Mr. Sadleir is still deeply interested in the effects of decay in the ruling classes,—intellectual and moral decay, which made up almost the entire theme of his

earlier novel *Privilege*. I expect the majority of his readers are unaware that Mr. Sadleir is, besides being an accomplished writer and critic, a Director of the firm of Constable's, and perhaps the alteration in the spelling of his name conceals the fact from many others that he is the son of Sir Michael Sadler, the distinguished educationist and ex-Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. He told me once the reason for spelling his name with an *i*, which was the original form. One of his youthful indiscretions—I believe he was still at Oxford—was a novel of the type which young men who followed the legend first of the Yellow Book of the eighteen-nineties and later of Mr. Compton Mackenzie's *Sinister Street* enjoyed writing in order to "épater les bourgeois" as the now old-fashioned phrase went. That book was given a whole column review in a Yorkshire newspaper. The reviewer was very respectful although he obviously made efforts to be polite. Finally he expressed surprise that the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University should have written such a book!

* * * *

Two other novels which anyone will desire to read, having some acquaintance with the previous work of these authors are **The Romantic Tradition** By Beatrice Kean Seymour (Chapman & Hall 7/6) and **The Monkey Puzzle** by Mr. J. D. Beresford, a writer of whom I hope to deal at length in the near future. Mrs. Seymour in her three previous novels has already shown herself to be a fair-minded student of modern feminism as well as a good writer.

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Short Stories.

Among the new volumes of short stories first place must be given to Joseph Conrad's posthumous volume, **Tales of Hearsay** (Fisher Unwin 7/6). The four tales included here are worthy of Conrad, and one of them, "The Warrior's Tale" is as perfectly told a story as you may find in English literature, and, I believe, in any other literature.

Ethel Colburn Mayne, who has been described as the successor to the late Katherine Mansfield, although her art is quite peculiar to herself, has given us another volume of stories, eleven altogether, entitled **Inner Circle** (Constable 7/6) which is not a thing to be missed lightly. Miss Mayne's studies in

feminine psychology are delicate and subtle, even if the same cannot be said for her interpretations of the masculine mind.

A new woman writer, Miss Pauline Smith, is destined to make a big name for herself, according to Mr. Arnold Bennet, who is an excellent judge. Her volume of sketches of life on the South African veldt, **The Little Karoo** (Jonathan Cape 4/6) certainly does more than promise much: these tales of the inhabitants (chiefly Dutch) of the Little Karoo, the brackish, mountain-surrounded plain in Cape Town which supports vines, grain, tobacco and ostriches, are a definite literary accomplishment. In Jonathan Cape's interesting little periodical, "Now and Then," Mr. Bennet tells us of the author:—

"Miss Smith's father was an Englishman born in China and her mother is a Scotswoman from Aberdeenshire. The hamlet of Oudtshoorn, on the banks of the Grobelaars and Oliphants rivers, was her birthplace. She had the advantage, from the novelist's point of view, of passing her most impressionable years amid the pristine civilization of the Little Karoo for Oudtshoorn lay in the heart of the little Karoo; it was then a small village, and much of its commerce was carried on by means of barter. Also the fact that her father was a doctor medicine—the first London M.D. to settle in the Little Karoo—with a district as big as several counties, must have been an advantage to her. The doctor has contacts with the population denied to all other professions save the religious, and these contacts must exercise a powerful but indirect influence upon his children. The remoteness of Oudtshoorn may be gauged from the detail that in earlier days it had no resident minister; the communion service was only an annual event. At the period of these stories Oudtshoorn had achieved a resident minister and a quarterly communion service.

"On the veld Pauline Smith was taught by governesses. At the age of twelve she migrated to be educated. An early age to leave an environment, but the impressions had been made—deep, intense, lasting. The young girl carried away with her sufficient material for a lifetime of writing. And since, on more than one occasion, she has refreshed and strengthened her knowledge of Karoo life on the spot. Oudtshoorn rapidly developed, and is now the most important station of the railway line between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

"Miss Smith's first literary work was done at school—sketches of Karoo life for children: not much prescience was needed to see that the author of these sketches would soon be producing sketches of Karoo life for adults. Her first published work, however, dealt with Scottish life, and appeared in that great organ of North Britain, *The Aberdeen Free Press*. Thence forward Miss Smith wrote exclusively about the Little Karoo. Her work in periodicals received little notice until Mr. Middleton Murry published *The Pain* in his monthly review, *The Adelphi*. *The Pain* was instantly greeted, from various parts of the world, as something very fine; and I, perhaps the earliest wondering admirer of her strange austere, tender and ruthless talent, had to answer many times the question: 'who is Pauline Smith?' I would reply 'She is a novelist.' 'What are the novels?' came the enquiry. 'She hasn't written any yet,' I would say, 'but she will.' It is no part of my business here to appraise the gifts of Pauline Smith. The reader will decide for himself whether or not she has unusual originality, emotional power, sense of beauty, moral backbone. This is her first book."

* * * *

King Edward The Seventh.

The chief book of biography published this season has undoubtedly been Sir Sidney Lee's first volume of his biography of King Edward VII. Three years ago, I remember paying a visit to Sir Sidney Lee's flat near the London University in South Kensington and asking him about the progress of this important work, a work which perhaps is destined to rank higher among the author's achievements than even his famous *Life of Shakespeare*. All round his small study on tables were stacks of papers, files of documents and manuscripts which were being used in the writing of the biography. This first volume (Macmillan 31/6) contains, besides an intimate (but not too intimate) account of King Edward's private life from boyhood to manhood, some rather startling revelations of the part played in European politics by the personal relations between the late King, and Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, who was almost insanely jealous of his uncle's diplomatic influence on the continent. There is sufficient evidence in this volume that in his relations with the German Kaiser King Edward merited the title of "the Peacemaker" which was bestowed upon him after his death. But a read-

ing of this valuable sidelight on modern European history gives one a very poor opinion of the value of a system of international diplomacy which was so much at the mercy of personal feelings and dynastic interests. Sir Sidney Lee's account of the young Prince's early training under the rigorous code of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria affords an outstanding example of misapplied idealism, for the future King's real education was almost entirely gained by travel and personal contact with people, to both of which his no doubt natural tendency for variety rather than depth of experience drove him only the more eagerly in reaction against an oppressive disciplinarianism on the part of his parents.

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A book of biography, or perhaps it should be described as autobiography, I have not yet read is Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *The Cruise of the Nona* which has just been published (Constable) and from what the publishers tell me should prove well worth obtaining, for it is crowded with reflections and reminiscences of one of our best living essayists. In Mr. Belloc's own words, it is a book about "Things that Come to Mind" and its essence is "a leading on and a passage through the vales of life; now culling this sour fruit, now that poisonous herb, and now again this stinging plant which I had thought to be innocuous." In his letter of dedication to Maurice Baring the author confesses that he could not make up his mind whether to call his book one of reminiscences or of conclusions or of experiences. Finally he decided to give it the name of a cruise and a cruise of his own boat the *Nona*. The cruising of a boat, he says, is very much what happens to the soul of a man in a larger way. "We set out for places which we do not reach, or reach too late; and on the way there happen to us all manner of things which we could never have awaited. We are granted great visions, we suffer intolerable tediums.....and the whole rigmarole leads us along no whither, and yet is alive with discovery, emotion, adventure, peril and repose."

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From the mass of literature offered to us by the publishers this season, I would select a volume of poetry before our space is exhausted.

Gordon Bottomley.

Mr. Gordon Bottomley's *Poems of Thirty*

You force the birds to wing too high
Where your unnatural vapours creep:
Surely the living rocks shall die
When birds no rightful distance keep.

You have brought down the firmament
And yet no heaven is more near;
You shape huge deeds without event,
And half-made men believe and fear.

Your worship is your furnaces,
Which, like old idols, lost obscenes,
Have molten bowel; your vision is
Machines for making more machines.

O, you are busied in the night,
Preparing destinies of rust;
Iron misused must turn to blight
And dwindle to a tettered crust.

The grass, forerunner of life, has gone,
But plants that spring in ruins and shards
Attend until your dream is done;
I have seen hemlock in your yards.

The generations of the worm
Know not your loads piled on their soil;
Their knotted ganglions shall wax firm
Till your strong flagstones heave and toil.

When the old hollowed earth is cracked,
And when, to grasp more power and feasts,
Its ores are emptied, wasted, lacked,
The middens of your burning beasts

Shall be raked over till they yield
Last priceless-slugs for fashionings high,
Ploughs to wake grass in every field,
Chisel men's hands to magnify."

Mr. Gordon Bottomley is now fifty-one, the same age as another of our few great living poets—Mr. Walter de la Mare. We may expect more wealth from him yet; but even with what he has given us, his place in the future of English poetry is secure. A hundred years hence, when dirty factory, light-starved slums, and the beastliness of wars and private industrial profits have vanished under the sunlight of more knowledge and more power, the song *To Ironfounders and Others* may still find a page close to Black's song of the New Jerusalem in the most slim anthologies of the pure gold of poetry.

Poetic Unreason.

There is some excuse for concluding this survey with a notice of a very interesting study of poetic psychology which has just been published.

Poetic Unreason by Robert Graves, (Cecil Palmer 6/-) one of the younger poets of to-day whose career dates from the European war, is a critical study of poetic psychology of unusual value. "Skelton has had a stronger influence on my work than any other poet, alive or dead," says Mr. Graves in one of his (fortunately numerous) personal confessions, "particularly I have admired in him his mixture of scholarship and extravaganza, his honest outspokenness and unconventionality in life and writings, his humour, his poetic craftsmanship, and, in spite of appearances, his deep religious sense." *Poetic Unreason* is learned, pleasing, light and thoughtful, and justifies the application of such words to the author himself.

Take the chapter in "Defence of Poetic Analysis", for example. It contains a lucid statement of Mr. Graves's attitude to the mystery of verbal suggestion and its emotional sources. A kind of Aunt Sally is made of the "emotional approach" reader, who is alleged to care nothing for "the manifest statement of poetry" but only for the feeling evoked by the music and by certain suggestive phrases. Mr. Graves's own position is fundamentally sound enough, and the reader can forgive his tendency to set up Aunt Sallies in order to knock them down, for he does it with a verve peculiarly his own, like this:—

"If it is claimed that it is the actual sound beauty of the word *nightingale* and *violet-wreath* that commend them apart from their sense, I may be forgiven for saying that for mere beauty of sound "*manure*" is as proper a word as *bergamot* or *cramasie* or any other in our tongue, and *acute pyorrhea* is in no way less melodious than *Callamorosa* or the *fancies freakt with jet*."

Mr. Graves's main argument here is that the poet's emotional conflict which is indicated in the poem must be grasped by the reader who would understand, and that it can only be grasped by an intellectual classification of the dream elements embodied in the words. I think he over-rates the importance of this subsequent analysis and tends to ignore the fact that an intelligent reader who is excited by a magical poem reasons about it by that intellectual process

we call intuition: that such a direct apprehension of the poet's mood appears only as a feeling in the emotional reader; nevertheless the mind is busy with unconscious associations, indeed is probably moving in closer unison with the poet's than will ever be possible as a consequence of subsequent analysis. It is of course true, as Mr. Graves remarks in connection with Blake, that the reader may require a scientific knowledge of the poet's symbolism, where such symbolism belongs to a system peculiar to the poet. The motto from *The Book of Thel*:

"Does the Eagle know what is in the pit?
Or wilt thou go ask the Mole?
Can Wisdom be put in a silver rod,
Or Love in a golden bowl?"

cannot be fully understood if one does not know the silver is the metal of the East, of Luvai and of Love; whereas gold is the metal of the South, of Urizen and of Reason. But instead of dissenting from an editor of Blake (Mr.

Allardyce Nicoll) who follows such an admission with the reminder that Blake as a poet must be studied emotionally, Mr. Graves should have pointed out that the necessity of a preliminary science of the poet's symbolism is an indication of the poet's divagation from poetry into philosophy, for poetic imagery is necessarily unsystematic, irrational, dreamlike in origin and in its appeal to other minds. The symbolic content of a poem should be apprehensible to a reader simultaneously with the music, which after all is nothing but symbolism also, auditory instead of visual and all this symbolism is in the "form" given to truth by creative imagination which builds up living thought from foundations in the dark valley of dream.

Mr. Graves is in general much indebted to the late Dr. W. H. Rivers, particularly for his theory of emotional conflict, and having studied modern psychology as few poets have troubled to study it, he is able to offer criticism of certain conclusions of the psycho-analysts which they cannot as scientists afford to ignore.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—V.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

The Ethics of Western Civilization.

In the preceding Section I have dwelt upon external exploitation as an effective instrument for the evasion of the curse of Adam. This exploitation was not accidentally suggested by any definite historical event. It was no doubt facilitated by the discoveries of Columbus, but it was not suggested by them. The people of Western Europe even before the birth of Western civilization, had been thinking of possible exploitation in unknown lands, or lands but dimly known. The pressure of population, the 'devil's remedy for the cure of stagnating idleness, and his chief instrument for advancing civilization, was working its way along new lines, and instead of trying to subject the natural resources of their own countries to improved

forms of exploitation the people of Western Europe thought of exploitation in other countries, for the exploitation of neighbour has always been considered to be easier and nobler than the exploitation of nature.

The countries in the East were inaccessible by a direct water route, while the land route was effectively barred by the terrible followers of the prophet, who had expanded into Eastern Europe right up to the centre of Austrian territory. Columbus having assured himself that the earth was a globe came to the conclusion that continual sailing along a longitudinal circle must either take the ship to new land, or bring it round back to the port of departure. He selected the circle which, he supposed, passed through the territories of Kublai Khan, where the people were rich and had things to spare.

Columbus had no clear idea what course exploitation should actually take in the new land or in the old land to be rediscovered. A few days' sojourn among the people of Guanahana enabled him to form a definite plan. That plan was (1) to rob the natives of their accumulated wealth, and (2) to make them work for the advantage of the adventurers by amicable methods or to enslave them by force or (3) to extirpate them. Columbus was not the only man who thought of these methods of exploitation. All the maritime nations of Western Europe formed similar plans, and the more powerful among them had conceived a supplementary method, by which the wealth gathered by the nation would be pirated by another.

It will thus appear that external exploitation has a history of its own and it sprang out of a psychology which had been developing for centuries in the mind and heart of the people who represent Western civilization in flesh and blood to-day. Western civilization has evolved out of primitive pragmatism, with a slight orientation imparted to it by Christianity. Its Ethics is the Ethics of primitive pragmatism slightly muddled and weakened by the teachings of Christ, but not purified or improved by it, as many suppose. The ten Commandments of the Holy Bible have their counterpart, somewhat varied in the Bible of primitive pragmatism. They are (1) Love and assert thyself; (2) Hate thy neighbour as deeply as thou lovest thyself; (3) Trust nobody (4) Thou shalt eat bread well buttered if possible in the sweat of the faces of thy neighbours or at least try to eat it in that way; (5) Worship thy tribe as thy God and feel contempt for all other tribes; (6) Thy native land is at the centre of the world, and thou must revere it as such; (7) Thou shalt commit no murder except when love for thyself, thy tribe or thy country requires it, and so forth. As primitive pragmatism advanced into civilization supplementary commandments have been added. One of them is—speak the truth, but never the whole truth, and conceal as much as you can manage to. This commandment, intelligently followed, enables man to reveal the appearance of truth and conceal the reality. Its utility appears in deception, without which our ancient forbears could scarcely have triumphed over their neighbours of the brute kingdom with their tougher muscles and stronger bones. All civilised people in the East as well

as in the West practise deception down to the present day against rats and fishes for the progress of civilization. The rat trap and the fish bait are symbols of civilized truthfulness, which nobody ever thinks of reprobating, for civilization has been rendered possible by these traps and baits and camouflage, that is, by truth revealing only the appearance of reality. The measure of success attained by each civilization is determined by the degree in which camouflage succeeds in allaying suspicion. It begins to decline when people begin to see beneath the surface and to read between the lines when camouflage is met by distrust and suspicion. We are assured by the authority of the present Prime Minister of England that "diabolical suspicion" is retarding the progress of the salvaging of Western Civilization after the great war. But suspicion is older than camouflage, and it appears probable that camouflage after playing its part in the progress of civilization has exhausted its efficiency and that civilization, if it is to advance further, must depend more and more upon naked truth. The suspicion aroused by uncloaked untruthfulness is less pernicious and persistent than what is created by the repercussion of camouflage. The ten commandments of the Holy Bible are known to all. They directly contradict the commandments of primitive pragmatism, or the aboriginal impulses of human nature. Moses did not create them. He received them from Jahovch, that is, from a source higher than ordinary human nature. He had gathered them from wisdom built upon experience. In the progress of social life there comes a time when the unrestricted exercise of the primitive impulses, instead of advancing that life tends to give it a backward turn. It is then that wise men begin to search for new guiding principles of conduct. They find it difficult to propound principles, exactly suited to the circumstances or to the degree of progress already attained—principles calculated to give the maximum acceleration to social advancement. So from one extreme they run to the other. Herbert Spencer would, if possible, have framed separate sets of rules for the guidance of conduct, suited to each grade of social advance. But he found that impossible, and contented himself with laying down general principles which he supposed to be suited to the general condition of European Society in the second half of the nineteenth century. His principles were intended to be applied to con-

duct between Europeans and Indians or between specifically excluded from these principles conduct between Europeans and Indians or between Europeans and Negroes, that is to say, to social intercourse between men of two distinct grades of advance, for which he had no cut and dried scheme of ethical guidance. He left such intercourse to be guided by the discretion of the superior man, that is, of the man with superior strength of brain and brawn. In a manner Herbert Spencer left ethics in the same condition in which he found it. The only noticeable fact in his *Principles of Ethics* is the attempt he made to clothe Pragmatism with an undervest of psychological evolution. A study of his principles of ethics points to the conclusion that no immutable moral laws can be wisely left to guide the conduct of mutable man. The nature of man at any given stage of social progress is an unknown quantity, and the best conduct suited to that stage must remain indeterminate also. Man either blunders into civilization or blunders out of it. He has no principles of ethics to guide him.

That the commandments of the Holy Bible have never been conformed to even approximately is known to all. They represent ideals,—ultimate ideals,—the terminal stage in the moral progress of man. The term 'terminal stage' is objectionable because it sets a limit to the moral progress of man, and advanced pragmatists repudiate it. But we may hold that the ideal is very remote for practical purposes. Man is drifting up and down in the great current of progress with its back washes some where midway between the stages to which the commandments of primitive pragmatism and of the Holy Bible respectively would accurately apply. The velocity of a stream flowing from the hills down to the sea varies at each stage of its progress. The progress of the moral life varies in its speed in the different stages of its course: We may generally assume that the progress is very slow at first; and steadily receives new acceleration with each advance towards the ideal. We may take it that the velocity of progress varies inversely as the distance from the ideal. The question for my present purpose is, what was the stage of moral progress at which Europe had arrived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the more adventurous among its people came in contact with the original population of America,

now, by the irony of fate, called the aboriginal population.

The Ethics of the New Testament were prematurely superimposed upon the unwritten commandments of primitive pragmatism in the West of Europe by what may be regarded as an unnatural accident. In the advanced Roman Empire, where Peter and Paul preached, the teachings of Christ found an agreeable soil in the prevailing stoicism and platonic idealism of the early centuries. There a civilized people were Christianized. It was a process of conversion that the apostles undertook in Greece and Rome. Among the primitive races of the North-West the Roman Monks found no pre-existing civilization. There Christianity had to face the problem of creation. The people were in need more of civilization than of Christianity. The Monks gave the people more of civilization than of Christianity. Spirituality had to be created as well as intellectuality and morality. Flesh and blood reigned supreme; and the interests of flesh and blood were the interests of humanity in this region of the world. The teachings of Christ never percolated beneath the subsoil, and just as the spiritual and moral subsoil was being prepared there arose a new aggressive force on the borders of the so called Christian world. Christianity became a mere slogan, fortified by the incursions of Islam which threatened Europe from East and West not as a missionary force, but as a flesh and blood power shortly after the monks had begun work in earnest. Love for the neighbour was at once drowned in the surging sea of hate for the Mussalman. Christianity kept Islam at arm's length, not by the power of love but by the power of hate which leavened primitive pragmatism and gave it the fragrance and flavour of semi-social life. It was a fortunate thing for Christianity that it had not yet succeeded in making any deep impression among the pagan pragmatists of the wilderness of Europe. Otherwise the followers of the Prophet might have crushed to death the youthful giant—that spirit which now rules the World in the name of Western Civilization. The course of history would probably have taken a different turn if Islam had spread over entire Europe, instead of being driven back from the centre of it. It is impossible to say what that history would have been for the World; but this much is certain that it would have been different from what it is and what

it has been. Faith and fanaticism are supreme in the Islamic countries even now; and though Greek philosophy made some impression upon the cultured people among the followers of the prophet, reason has always been subordinated to faith in practical life, specially in international and intertribal affairs.

The progress of real Christianity was thus nipped in the bud by the aggressions of Islam, and primitive pragmatism kept its robustness untouched by it. During the middle ages, the whole of which was occupied by the wars of the Crusades, the teachings of Christ had very little chance of making a deep impression. Love was seldom lost upon neighbour, and hate reigned supreme. Christian Europe as a whole was at war with Islam; and the different countries of Europe were at war with one another. Peace seldom intervened long enough to enable the teachings of Christ to take root in the heart of man. People loved Christ for the sword to which he had referred in down-right humour. They did not love him as the prince of peace—a little afterwards conferred on him by subtle theology.

By an irony of fate it was Saracen Civilization that mellowed the barbaric life of the West. The Christians and Mussalmans, encamped near each other in Palestine, carried on social intercourse which enabled the former to imbibe principles of civilized life from the superior culture of the latter. It was thus that Islam by repercussion diffused the spirit of Christ, though but slightly, among people who were baptised with the water of the Jordan, but were never prepared by repentance or otherwise for the kingdom of God which Christ had come to establish on Earth. Among other things Islam gave a new turn to Christianity by suggesting to the Pope the value of a Khalifa and of theocratic rule. The Pope consolidated his spiritual power with the cement of secular power. He became the Suzerain of Western Europe, and Christianity became slowly converted into Catholicism, with all its secular strength and spiritual weakness. Western Europe became for four centuries united under one ruler feared by kings as by feudal vassals.

The middle ages were brought to a close by a unique concatenation of events, *viz.*, the renaissance, the reformation, the discovery of the printing press and the discovery of America. The renaissance substituted advanced Greek pragmatism for the primitive pragmatism of

Western Europe, and weakened the force of official Christianity. It superimposed Greek intellectualism on the medieval brain of a people emerging from superstition and the trammels of traditions. It produced a psychological combination unparalleled in history. It was an amalgamation of the hellenism of the age of Homer and the pragmatism of the age of Pericles and Protogenes, with a feeble streak of Christianity running through it. Trade, commerce, navigation and adventure received a new impetus.

This was the psychology of Europe when her people began to sail across the Atlantic, ostensibly in the name of Christianity and Civilization, but really with the Bible of pragmatism reinforced by recently invented gun powder and muzzle loader in their hands, for the economic exploration and exploitation of the new world. They went with the knowledge (1) that the country to which they were going was inhabited, (2) that the inhabitants were inferior both physically and intellectually, (3) that they would have to be dislodged from part of the land, and deprived of part of their rights in a larger area, (4) that they would have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the settlers if they refuse voluntarily to do so, (5) that they would have to be organized into an amalgamated economic society and behave in ways dictated to them in accordance with the principles of social advance, and (6) that they would have to be extirpated if they showed persistent stubbornness in refusing civilization and its mode of life, or in other words, if they refused to sign the social contract prepared on Hobbesian principles or to live up to it afterwards.

The result of the contact of Western Europe with Eastern America is well-known. The Atlantic Ocean has been virtually obliterated from the surface of the globe, and America now forms to all intents and purposes an expansion or accretion of Europe towards the west. The old inhabitants are annihilated, and the present ethnography of America is nearly the same as that of Europe. England has its counter part in New England, and London has its replica in New York. America is to-day as civilized as Europe, and, as a matter of fact, now stands at the head of the civilized world in science and politics, in industry and commerce. The likeness of Europe and America, and their relation to the

rest of the world is sometimes emphasised by the newly coined term Eur-America, which makes as if Europe and America were parts of the same continent, the Atlantic Ocean forming the connecting link, not the separating gulf, between them.

Very few people now think it worth while to examine the process by which this new continent (of Eur-America) has been formed as an unified concept. On the contrary most pious people, bewildered by the contradiction between methods and results, try to forget the loathsome uglinesses of the past in the exuberance of the beauties of the present.

Professor Sidgwick says (page 322, *Elements of Politics*), "the wretched details of ferocity and treachery which have marked the conduct of civilized men in their relations with savages forms one of the most painful chapters in modern history." He might have escaped much of this poignancy if he could have made up his mind to substitute "powerful savages" for "civilized men" in the above passage, and added the epithet "intellectually weak" to "savages." This substitution would have reflected the state of things more accurately, and would have made the process of the transformation of America more intelligible. Western civilization had just started in life when the possibility of external exploitation was opened out to it. Four centuries have since elapsed, and Western civilization has undoubtedly undergone some change during this long period of its life, both morally and intellectually. To call the adventurers of the sixteenth century "civilized men" is to forget the distinction between the childhood and manhood of civilization. Scientifically speaking the transformation of America has been possible because the adventurous colonists were savages just emerging into the first glimpses of civilization. If the transfiguration were undertaken in the twentieth century instead of in the sixteenth, its success would have been less rapid and more doubtful. Many factors which hampered the progress of American Civilization have grown stronger during these centuries. Among these factors international jealousy fortified by the progress of destructive weapons and increasing density of population is the strongest. Sympathy for the weak, though still very feeble in the face of growing love of self, was much feebler in the sixteenth century. Public opinion, that is, the collective psychology of the civilized people,

having gathered elements of idealistic morality from far Eastern sources as well as from the teachings of Christ, made available by the printing press and a thirst for true knowledge, has also grown cautious, and to a large extent obstructive to progress on old lines. Public opinion is getting confused in the crucible of practical life, specially of group-life, by the boiling of an impossible mixture of pragmatism, idealism, and naturalism in morality, and of agnosticism, atheism, monotheism and polytheism in religion. Faith is decaying with the growth of rationalism, and fanaticism is declining with the progress of prevision. The desire to avoid danger is stronger than the desire for progress. With this confused psychology, the adventurers of the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth century would have found themselves baffled at every step in progress by internal as well as external forces. The hampering power of internal forces did not trouble them at all, and external forces were much weaker than now. Briefly speaking, the 'ape and tiger' qualities were still fresh in them. They are getting old and rusty now, though in Eastern eyes they seem to retain much of their ancient robustness.

Three kinds of opinion regarding the achievements of Western civilization in the new world are entertained, viz., (1) pragmatic, (2) idealistic (3) mixed. Pragmatic opinion has no fault to find with the course of history in America. The heroes lived upto their faith. Idealistic opinion finds the achievements, though superficially gaudy, to be rotten at the core, and expects that the future will reveal their rottenness, and create repentance where triumph is at the present the ruling feeling. Mixed opinion regards the history of the atrocities and treacheries of the last four centuries as the history of an advantageous course of rascality (like the conquest of Sindh, described by Napier), which has wrested a continent fresh from Nature's hands to adorn it with the highest beauties of Art and Civilization. The aphorism 'good cometh out of evil' has meaning only in the expanded form, 'the good of the strong cometh out of the evil of the weak,' on which Natural selection, and the theory of the survival of the fittest is founded. Western subtlety distinguishes between the good of the individual and the good of society, and thereby evades the enigma of benefit arising out of injury, celestial morality evolving

out of infernal diabolicity, and real civilization flowing from brutish animalism. Darwin has done much to clarify and reinvigorate primitive pragmatism, but the incursions of eastern idealism, though probably not so strong as Darwinism, is still gathering strength. The time may come when either of the two will ultimately triumph, and then and not till then can man form any clear definite idea of the future of mankind. Western Civilization is a stream with a strong back-wash, and man is drifting up and down. The back-wash is the creation of the stream itself. Is it possible to conceive of a stream of civilization that has no back-wash? The civilisation of *pravritti* ends in the triumph of *nivritti*, while the civilization of *nivritti* leads to inanity and banality of stagnation in which the larvae of *pravritti* make their appearance again like anophelos, powerless for good, but effective agents of malaria and concomitant evils. Between self-assertion and self-abnegation, there can be no rational compromise; and judgment upon conduct from either standpoint is likely to be unsatisfactory. Man has hitherto followed diverse mixtures of the two courses of morality, in the ancient world and the modern world, in the East and the West, and their results have been also a mixture of good and evil, rolling and changing in taste and temperature in the gyrating gulf-stream of time.

In dwelling upon the progress of Western civilization in America, and on the methods by which it has expanded and elevated itself I confess my inability to do justice to the completeness of the idea which oppresses my heart, because we are by nature accustomed to think of a country and its people as an associated whole, and not as separable entities. Perhaps the tyranny of words is at the bottom of my feelings. Abstractions and concrete realities are getting inextricably interwoven with each other. The whole and its parts are also getting fused and confused. The distinction between majority and minority is becoming foggy and obscure by the invisible manipulation of time: the majority of to-day is the minority of to-morrow, and *vice versa*.

One race has replaced another in other parts of the world in prehistoric ages by the processes of enslavement and extermination. But the case of America is unparalleled. Here the original people have been annihilated with such un-historic, inhuman rapidity, with such

premeditated, organized and systematic civilized brutality, conscious and purposeful in its character and activity, that our Eastern sentiments are bewildered by the phenomenon, dazzled and stupefied by its monstrous effulgence. The fact that the phenomenon has taken place within the historic period, and for that matter within the proudest period of history, and that the most civilized people took the most prominent part, not merely in the brighter constructive aspect of the phenomenon, but more deeply and deliberately in the darker destructive aspect of it, adds to our bewilderment. The thing is morally unthinkable, and intellectually unrealizable unless we regard civilization as a dragon—a monstrous pterodactyl, biologically extinct, but resurrected in spirit for the construction of a celestial pandemonium on earth.

A unique feature of the phenomenon lies in the fact that the new population of the new Continent consists of two irreconcilable types of races, *viz.*, the White-Aryan and the Black-Negro. How the two foreign colours came to be mixed up in the same locality, while the indigenous colours of the continent were conspicuous by their absence? If the black came to spite the white why did not the latter smite it dead ere it was too late. There are white people who would fain get rid of the black Negro by expatriation or extirpation. But they are in the minority. They lynch the black when the blood is up. They are afraid of murder in cold blood. They loathe the old open type of massacre, and they make the best of a bad business by resorting to subtle modes of exploitation. The thing seems mysterious, and we are almost tempted to think that the psychology of Western civilization has received a drastic orientation by the subtle influence of time and experience. Some change has possibly taken place in it, but the Bible of primitive pragmatism and its decalogue remain substantially the same as before. The same love of self, the same hatred of neighbour, the same desire to eat buttered bread in the sweat of other peoples' faces, the same instinct and impulses still rule the heart. Only the mellowing influence of reason and prevision of insight, foresight and farsight is changing their modes of expression.

Is the black Negro a better man than the red Indian? The question is a philosophic puzzle. What constitutes goodness? The

knife is good that cuts the pen-stick. Herbert Spencer says something of this kind in his *Principles of Ethics*. The goodness of a thing is judged by the manner in which it fulfils the purpose for which it is made. What was the purpose for which the red Indian or the black Negro was made? Ask the average civilized man of the West and he will at once tell you that both were made to sweat for the white man; and Herbert Spencer's answer to the question, who is the better of the two, will at once suggest that the Negro was better than the Indian. This is how the black Negro still survives while the red Indian has been rejected and extirpated. The law of Natural selection preserves the useful, and destroys the harmful. Pragmatism, based upon purpose, makes the same answer. The civilized men who went to America to develop Western civilization gave the same answer in an emphatic manner. There can be no other answer as conclusive if the premise, as given above, is correct. There are men who doubt the correctness of the premise. There are men who think the red Indian was a better man than the black Negro for the very reason that he proved useless, even harmful to the white man, while the Negro proved useful and good. In course of time a change came over the Negro. He did not change his character; but circumstances enabled the white man to find a more useful instrument for his purpose. He rejected the black in the name of emancipation and transferred his functions to his white brother, whom the Dismal Devil had made poor and seek employment.

The Will-to-command and the Power-to-Command.

I have defined the ethics of Western civilization in the shape of a decalogue, the first commandment of which is "Love and assert thyself," and the second is, "Hate thy neighbour as deeply as thou lovest thyself." These commandments, it may be supposed, are open to criticism in several ways. In the first place love of self is common to human nature all the world over, and so is also hate for neighbour. In the second place hate for neighbour is mixed with sympathy, and in many cases it is difficult to say which of the two preponderates. Thus Western civilization, it may be said, does not stand by itself. The ethics, commendable or reproachable, are

shared by it with other civilizations, ancient or modern. Again self-assertion is not necessarily a concomitant of self-love,—and in Western civilization self-assertion is, and until lately has generally been, limited to a small minority of the social aggregate, and that civilization has advanced more by self-negation or self-submission than by self-assertion, that is to say, 'obedience' more than 'will' has been the dominating factor in that civilization more emphatically than in other civilizations. This last is the secret discovered by H. G. Wells. It is necessary to explain that 'obedience' is also 'will'. It means 'will to obey' while 'will' as used by Wells means 'will to command': The question which of the two wills creates the other or whether they are co-existent is rather difficult to answer. Sociology has not yet definitely found the solution. It is probable that both the wills were present in human nature from the beginning in an inchoate state, and that they have slowly developed by the pressure of environment, after their bifurcation; that is to say, that the will to command has developed in some, while the will to obey has developed in others in a direct ratio. The law of heredity has helped the evolution of the two wills in different parts of society. The bifurcation is comparable to the multifurcation of the senses which have afterwards developed in different degrees in different species. Taking a single individual for consideration, the will to command has grown in proportion as the will to obey has declined, and conversely. Thus society became divided into two parts in one of which the will to command was immensely strong and the will to obey was equally weak, while in the other evolution proceeded in the reverse direction. This double development in the two parts of society lies at the root of co-operation without which there can be no civilization. The society in which every man wishes to command is doomed. The society in which every man wishes to obey has no future before it. The society in which every man is equally willing to command and to obey is also on the way to ruin, for this double development is meaningless, and only indicates invertibrateness.

There is another psychological element essential for social progress, *viz.*, the 'power-to-command.' This power is primarily intellectual with a moral undercurrent. Thus the intellect, the will and the emotions are all combined to

constitute the living source from which springs civilization. The energy of muscles is also necessary, but this energy must be universal, and the more equally distributed it is the better for the society running for progress.

The conditions of social progress are thus: (1) A definite ratio between those who possess the will to command and those who possess the will to obey, (2) coincidence between the will to command and the power to command. If those who have the will to command do not possess the power to command the result is disastrous. If those who have the power to command lack the will to command, the result will be unsatisfactory if their lack of will to command renders it necessary to invite men of inferior power to the position of command. A disproportion between those who have the will to command and those who have the will to obey is specially disastrous when the numerator goes on increasing and the denominator keeps decreasing. The proportion which is most beneficial changes with the condition of society, and in a progressive society the very fact of progress makes the change necessary. Civilization is meaningless if it is not dynamic. It will thus appear that civilization is a delicate machine, which requires perpetual attention, there being more chances of its going wrong than of its going right. Every new phenomenon creates new forces and chances, and every new generation must overhaul it thoroughly to grapple with the effects of new changes, if adverse, and to reinforce them if they are helpful. For example in Western Society the will to command is increasing both in intensity and in expansion. The will to obey is imperceptibly decreasing in both directions. The progress of external exploitation and of general education leading to the growth of democratic ideas in politics, and of the idea of equal rights in economics, *i.e.*, in industry and commerce, have largely prepared the ground for disruptive forces with which statesmen find it difficult to grapple. The labour movement, with all its implications, is largely prompted by the will to command springing up in quarters in which half a century ago the will to obey resided in its pristine purity. The self-assertion which characterises the movement carried beneath its cloak of equality and fraternity the dagger of the will to command, and to enforce retributive justice by compelling those who have so far commanded to obey for sometime at least those

whom they have unjustly commanded for untold ages. This has been accomplished in Russia, where retribution has been as drastic as the injustice of ages. Vested interest in other countries, anticipating this vindictive retributive self-assertion is steadily making concessions to which they give the name of superiority, ennobled by generosity. But the reality is now and again popping out. What will really happen in the long run over Western civilization as a whole cannot be accurately or with certitude predicted; but this much is more than probable that the new social order will be different from the existing order and that the new civilization will be substantially, as well as in form different from what we now call Western civilization.

I have said that a society in which every man is equally willing to command and to obey is on the way to ruin, because equality of strength in the two wills in the same person indicates nervous debility, and comparative indifference to social life. Both the wills in such cases are feeble and lethargic. But in every society there is a large section composed of this type of hybrids, living in the middle planes of society. They act as connecting links and are beneficial to society in the earlier stages of the progress of inequality. They are a danger to such society when they outgrow in volume their legitimate limits, causing a disproportion between those who command and those who obey. There is in the amalgamation of the wills in the same person a moral poison of the nature of hypocrisy and treachery, though the two wills separately function in opposite directions. The amalgamation facilitates the progress of equality in a society striving for increased inequality, as its spinal column. This middle class is expanding in the Western countries beyond legitimate limits. The energy of will either to command or to obey is decreasing with the result that the most advanced nations are declining in power and prestige. The coming equality which is divorced from fraternity, and is nourished by intellectuality is carrying in its bosom the elements of mutual aloofness more than the forces of active disruption,—the elements of non-co-operation more than the forces of aggressive opposition. Mutual distrust and diabolical suspicion rule the hearts of men in all social and international affairs. Capital is

getting shy, and labour prefers unemployment to existing conditions of work. Profits are declining, and wages are increasing—a state of things which indicates that exploitation which has made civilization possible is losing its motive force and sustaining energy.

The will and power to command which create, expand and strengthen, in its proper sphere, the will to obey have been more highly developed in the West by the strength of the resistance which they met with in what is known as the struggle for existence, but what is really a struggle for ascendancy. This struggle for existence, in the case of man, is more a struggle for the position of command than for mere subsistence. In the West climate and soil were in the beginning enemies rather than friends. They resisted, more than they helped, man to find food and clothing in requisite amplitude and necessitated a harder fight between neighbour and neighbour. Grabbing and grinding, pillaging and ploughing, plundering and producing,—both met with strong resistance. But on the whole grinding seemed more difficult and disagreeable than grabbing. Military co-operation developed farther than industrial co-operation. Industrial co-operation had in a manner to be created by military co-operation. Victory in war produced slaves and slaves produced commodities. In Greece free men fought and slaves produced. In Athens alone twenty-one thousand free men were served by four hundred thousand slaves. I believe there were fifty thousand overseers or links to keep the slaves bound to their masters. At all events free men found it easier to enslave than to slave, to compel a neighbour to obey than to coerce nature to respond. In the East on the contrary nature was easily responsive, and neighbour when pressed did not show much resistance. It was thus that men belonging to the same stock migrating to different climates, different latitudes, longitudes and altitudes, developed civilization of different types (in which the exploitation of neighbour and the exploitation of nature were mixed up in different proportions) in different ages instead of developing it simultaneously. The Western Aryans were the latest in developing their civilization, but when they did develop it they developed it with greater fulness. They have had besides the advantage of the experiences of civilizations that had preceded their own. Western civilization is not Eastern

civilization elongated or developed in a direct line, though it has had the advantage of working with the experience gathered by the latter both in progress and decline. It has borrowed much from Greek civilization, and now the principles of Indian and Chinese civilization are intently creeping over it. They have not yet succeeded in changing the foundation of its structure, but they have slightly affected the latter. Western Civilization still retains in full vigour its military type though her industries have advanced more fully than in any other civilization. The industrial and the military character of the civilization are mutually helpful, but the industrial definitely holds a subordinate position to the military character. Comparative peace during the second half of the nineteenth century led philosophers to suppose that civilization had definitely changed its type. That illusion has however now completely disappeared. The twentieth century promises to be pre-eminently a century of militarism, not one of constructive industrialism. All its inventions so far have been directed to the facilitation of war and destruction.

The expansion of Western civilization over latitudes and climates different from those in which it originally started life, and in which it has mainly developed, is unfavourable to its further growth, that is to say, growth in its own line. Through foreign influence working directly through the contact with the Jews in Europe and indirectly by the facility of acquiring it, afforded by contact with the East, the love of wealth has developed enormously in Western civilization. Opinion is divided as to whether the love of wealth has already outstripped the love of power or the will to command. If however progress continues in its present line for sometime more, the love of wealth will definitely overpower the love of power, and there are already signs visible on the horizon which indicate that in some small parts of Western society the love of wealth has reached undesirable dimensions.

When climate, soil and neighbour are all docile, the power to command has very little play. With the power to command the will to command declines also, and this state of things, if continued for a long time, must lead to enervation and love of relaxation. The influence of the expansion of Western civilization all over the heathen world, which is a glorious fact in its history to-day, will have its due share in its

ultimate destruction. The repercussion of its contact with alien civilizations is bound to show itself in new orientations and change of pivotal principles. Two civilizations cannot live in close contact for any length of time without mutual infection. The evil produced on the weaker civilization may be more direct and immediate, but that which affects the stronger partner is more injurious in its ultimate effect.

If the struggle for existence against climate, soil and neighbour is the underlying life-principle of Western civilization it cannot ultimately gain by the relaxation of that struggle, caused by favourable climate and soil and readily obeying neighbours. India has placed at the disposal of Britain a vast continent, with a climate that dispenses with the burning of coal at night and the costly rearing of woolly cattle, with a soil that responds profusely to the scratching stimuli of the ancient unchanging plough-share, and teeming with a population in whom the will to command is now conspicuous by its absence. The situation is, in its immediate effect, fascinating for Britain. But its ultimate effect must be ruinous to her. The poet said "Rule Britannia rules the waves," not the calm sea. The will and power to command India are much weaker now than they were before. They have been demoralized, debauched, devitalized by long continued fair-weather navigation. The ship has long sailed fast and true in direction. The rudder and the propeller though they have long been rusting have had very little attention directed to them, for they seemed to be getting superfluous. The ship seemed capable of dispensing with them. A cloud no bigger than a man's hand, and a gale no stronger than an evening breeze of summer have set the whole thing out of gear. The bureaucracy is dreadfully afraid of the little stream of opposition which has appeared in the shape of Non-Co-operation. It ought to have welcomed it as a tonic for its relaxing constitution, instead of looking upon it as a destructive force, with consternation. The brightest service in the world seems to have been utterly forsaken by its brightness, by its will and power to command, and as the difficulty of commanding has increased, a large percentage of civil servants in a diffident, despondent mood quitted the service on proportionate pension. They failed to appreciate the national value of the problem, and far from putting their shoulders to the task of grappling with environment found

wisdom in retiring to a life of ease and repose, from the field of battle where they had opportunities of achieving higher glories for the good of a vast aggregation of mankind, for the progress of humanity as a whole. Their patriotism running into communal and personal lines taught them the value of discretion as the better part of valour. Such civil servants as adhered to the service did not generally do so out of confidence in the strength of their will and power to command, but from their imbecility and self-imposed pecuniary embarrassments created by the reproductive impulses of human nature. Their bank accounts superimposed pessimism upon routed imbecility. In stead of changing their own internal power they tried to change the unfavourable environment with which they were threatened. They tried to menace the imperial government forgetful of the latter's moral obligations, which, to their honour be it said, had impelled them to fulfil a promise instead of ignobly wriggling out of it. The recalcitrant civil servants showed by their conduct that they had lost not only their will and power to command, but their will to obey. Discipline, the pivotal principle of social progress, showed regrettable relaxation. They carried on for sometime a morbid propaganda at home with the object of convincing the people that the generosity shown to India by the Government of India Bill, was opposed to the principles of Western civilization, which condemned self-disregarding virtues as the footstool on which other-regarding virtues stood erect, which regarded altruism as a mere work-product of egoism. This bad propaganda, worse manipulated, led to unforeseen evils; and the result of the competitive examinations showed from year to year that the degeneration of the will and power to command was getting diffused over the flower of the youth of the British Isles to an alarming extent. The British Government conceived the plan of reinvigorating the will and power to command by the love of money (i.e., of personal gain) which characterised Western civilization. They have largely increased the emoluments of civil servants and are paying for propaganda work in the universities to play off their love-of-gain against their relaxing love-of-power. The success of this propaganda work will furnish supplementary evidence of the depth to which the national psychology of Britain has sunk in the sloughy swamp of loathsome lucre. If that

propaganda fails British Statesmen may have the satisfaction to know that though the will and power to command may have slackened in British youths they have not been corrupted by the lure of lucre, and that the national future is not very gloomy yet. The spirit of adventure which has characterised the British youth from the day that the ships of the East India Company set sail on their first voyages in the early years of the seventeenth century, undaunted by repeated disasters, caused by stormy seas, malarial climate and Portuguese hostility, was in essence inspired by the will to command, and the dreadfully tragic adventures were the school where the will and power to command were reared, nursed and cherished. The love of lucre was comparatively weak and remote. The loss of that spirit of adventure has an inwardness which has escaped accurate observation, and is in need of a deeper and more intelligent attention than has been so far bestowed on it.

India in the nineteenth century was more amenable to bureaucratic command than the German sea which refused to respond to the command of Canute, the Great. Times have changed a little, and the Government of India Act, unaware of the *Zeit-geist*, tried to throw some half-real, half-unreal difficulties in the way of the smooth sailing enjoyed by the bureaucrats in order to test their power to command and to morally strengthen it. The Muddiman inquiry shows that though many of the civil servants have showed themselves equal to the task, others have failed, and that the future is unfavourable to all of them. The Government of India Act stands in need of change. Change in one direction may wholly upset the civil service and expose their increasing incapacity to command, while change in another direction may rouse Non-Co-operation to a higher pitch of volitional and intellectual energy, and lead to a most disagreeable collapse of the administrative machinery. The position has become difficult for the responsible law-givers. A wrong step either way may end in tragedy. The power to command is not mere muscular power but a complex psychological faculty, requiring ingenious handling. This power has to be renewed and recultivated, by grappling with difficulties, not by avoiding them. What is called tact may be useful in a transient way, but the real remedy lies in a change of heart, a radical change of psychology, from the mean

to the noble, from smallness to real greatness of character, from the crookedness of camouflage to straight-forward sincerity.

The British Empire of India is built upon a colossal hoax of providence or Mahamaya to whom centuries are but hours, stability is invisible change towards destruction, volumes are points, weights are atoms, and the world itself is a speck of dust. Pride and shame are the weapons with which she equips human beings as with swords and boomerangs, and laughs when they change hands with congratulations and condolences swarming in the air like flights of locusts. To her, history is a fairy tale, and science but fragments of pebbles on the beach of the ocean of knowledge subject to emergence and submergence caused by lunar influence. On her lips, human criticism of life and of the movements of society creates an evanescent smile. To her, theories of transmigration and biological evolution are childish knocks at the closed gates of fate, and the rise and fall, the progress and decline of Empires and civilizations are events that majestically march in disciplined disorder, without consulting human wishes, aspirations and hopes, in the midst of discordant symphonies sung by infernal cherubins in the nebulous domes of celestial pandemonium. The light that she creates is but visible darkness which tantalizes the eye, and never quenches its thirst for vision. Her breath makes and unmakes at pleasure universal laws and postulates, gives to decadence the brightness of progress, and to victories and triumphs the reality of melancholy defeats. At her command the past sinks out of sight, and the present rashly rushes into the future, and is presently drowned in the abyss of eternity, to emerge no more.

The will to command and the power to command reside in the group, as well as in the individual, personality. In the middle ages the personality of the Church was the most important group-personality in Europe. It had the will to command and it acquired the power to command chiefly by the power of the will to command. Both the will and the power in this revered personality has now declined almost to the zero point. The history of Europe from the eleventh century onward until the advent of the modern age is the history of the will and the power of the Church to command. The crusades, the inquisitions, the bulls and edicts, the Church taxes, the

persecution of heresy and of science are the events which gave expression to the Church-personality's will and power to command. At present the personality of labour having shaken off its unconditional will to obey, seems to be the most prominent group-personality in the civilized world. In India the will to command was reserved for the caste-personality of the Brahmin supported by that of the Kshatriya. Here also by the pressure of circumstances both these personalities are climbing down the ladder of command.

The great war brought to the fore-front a number of individual-personalities whose names will remain in history to the end of the present civilization. Among these Kaiser Wilhelm II. and Hindenburg, Foch and Clemenceau, Lord Kitchener and Lloyd George, Lenin and Trotzky with President Wilson were the most prominent. In the Kaiser and in the President the will to command appears to have been disproportionate to the power of command. This disproportion caused their failure and defeat. Lord Kitchener did not survive long enough to show how he bore the proportion between the will and the power to command. The subordination of the British army to the French command took definite shape after his death, and it is difficult to say what course British and French consultation would have taken in regard to the command had Lord Kitchener been alive at the time. The worst part of the business lies in the fact that the arrangement did not merely employ the superiority of General Foch over General Haig, but penetrated the domain of the national personalities concerned. It exposed to the view of the world the difference between the will and power to command as possessed by France and England. England has shared the tangible fruits of the victory, but her moral loss has been immense. It is difficult to say whether she has gained or lost more by the transaction. At the present moment the bare fact that the arrangement led to the defeat of the central powers clouds public opinion. The subsequent course of history shows that France has gained an advantage over England which will develop steadily with the lapse of time. The world is already feeling that the will and the power to command is the strongest in France among all the national personalities. Most people now believe that Clemenceau held the destiny of Europe and of the world in his hands while President Wilson merely presided as a

figure head in the Hall of Mirrors. Clemenceau and Wilson are now all but forgotten. But the prestige of the French nation still regulates all international relations, and promises to regulate them with increasing will and power to command in the future as far as that can be seen. To lose prestige is to lose the will to command. The weakness of the will to command led to the surrender of her prestige by the British Cabinet. The loss of prestige is a real loss to a nation and not a pure psychological abstraction.

I have indicated how America, having fallen under the spell of Western civilization with its poisoned nectar of constructive destruction, became metamorphosed, in the course of three short centuries, in colour and character, ethnical and moral, and climbed by cosmic leaps and bounds from the hunting base of the cone of civilization to its apex of science and industrialism, passing with the speed of lightning through the several stages of progress on which anthropologists and historians delight to dwell with amplifications and illuminating illustrations. Washington Irving was so struck by an infinitesimal fragment of this progress that he found it instructive as well as interesting for mankind to create out of his fertile imagination a character, whom he baptised with the name of Rip Van Winkle, and who after enjoying a short siesta of eighteen years in the jungle awoke to find America transfigured from the monotonous tranquility of village life to the tumult of democratic hurry and bustle. It seems unintelligible to me why Irving instead of contenting himself with this fragment did not think of writing a similar, but much grander and more marvellous, story of the whole metamorphosis effected by western civilization in three hundred years, which neither the cosmic process of natural selection nor the ordinary ethical process of Huxley could have achieved in less than thirty thousand years. Perhaps Mr. Irving's accidental imagination was not vigorous enough to conjure up a trance of three hundred years. Perhaps like Professor Sidgwick's, his historical will (the will to recall the shameful and defeated past) recoiled from the task of dilating on the details of ferocity and treachery by which his venerable national forbears had accumulated the legacy which he was complacently enjoying with his neighbours. Sidgwick loathed these details with the loathing of a true Christian when he remarked that these

details formed a "painful chapter in history," and that the sooner they were forgotten the better. Civilization, all over the world, is a delightful legacy bequeathed by brutish savagery and criminality. It is vested right built upon time-terred and lapsed natural right. But who ever before heard of not merely natural rights but the claimants themselves wiped out in so short a time as three centuries? The blood of the Czardom of Russia has been recently wiped out. But a family is a mere speck in the firmament of a nation. Absolutely and relatively speaking the civilization of America is the most wonderful historical phenomenon as yet known to man—as wonderful in its power of destruction as for its capacity for construction. Nature has destroyed old races, and created new ones in their place, by what is now known as natural selection or natural rejection, but compare her progress with that of Western civilization in America.

Buddhism spread over half of Asia in a thousand years. Christianity spread over the small continent of Europe in a similar period. Islam spread over half of Asia and Africa with a part of Europe in a few hundred years. Can the rapidity of expansion and the depth of intensification of these spiritual forces compare with the expansion and intensification of Western civilization? The latter has expanded over the entire globe in the course of three short centuries. It has also sunk into the hearts of the people among whom it has spread more deeply than did the principles of those religions. The ethical commandments of Western civilization are more easily learnt and more cheerfully respected and obeyed than those of the latter. They are fragments of naturalism filled into the pragmatic steel frame of that civilization. Self love and hate for neighbour have been systematised and organized into a science. These fragments of naturalism are non-purposive and non-moral at home. They have become civilized into purposive, moral principles of conduct in their new setting. That is the distinction between pragmatism and naturalism. Naturalism knows no virtue or vice, reward or punishment, pleasure or pain. It works unconsciously, steadily, immutably. Pragmatism foresees consequence and looks for reward or punishment. Its reward is personal or national or racial, but mainly personal. Western civilization does the same with perhaps greater intellectuality, longer and wider vision, and a higher

outlook. It appraises conduct on the payment by result system. Judged by this test western civilization has been stupendously successful. Judged by more ancient tests it has been monstrously self-expressive. Human foresight—How far can it go? Who can say what lies beyond its limited perspective—behind the everlasting screen? Indian philosophy rejects everything which is not permanent as unreal. It has rejected the material world, and all the happiness that it bestows. It seeks permanent happiness. Western civilization clamours for happiness intelligible to the ordinary mind. Its idealism does not transcend the limits of practicability. It is lower in conception, and therefore more easily realizable.

The Regulative Principle in Social Organisation.

It is more than probable that in the beginning of the organization of society all men had the will to command, and none, the will to obey, and that those who eventually established the regulative system of command and obedience experienced great difficulty in converting the will-to-command to the will-to-obey in their neighbours, while they themselves enormously developed the same. Perhaps ages passed in the process of conversion, and great disorder and blood-shed characterised it. It is marvellous that a small minority had to conquer a large majority. It is probable that the minority was not so small in the beginning nor the majority so large as now. It is even probable that the two sides were represented by equal numbers. But there is no theory which supports the idea that the majority commanded while the minority obeyed at any period of the process. The general tendency of progress is towards a diminution in the number of those who command and an increase in the number of those who obey. This tendency shows accelerative force down to this day, though in recent times great effort has been made to arrest it. The will-to-command still shows a tendency towards concentration, while the will-to-obey is expanding in volume.

The developing pressure of population in the early ages imposed upon the natural insularity of man the unexpected burden of catastrophic gregarism, and its concomitant chaos. To reduce this chaos to order was a problem of great difficulty, when everybody was willing to

command and none willing to obey, for social order means, primarily, the division of society into two parts, the one commanding and the other obeying. We may form some idea of the magnitude of the difficulties of our venerable forbears when we consider the imbecility of the rulers of men in the present age to keep law and order when the density of population increases even by one per cent. At the present moment in India the Government finds great difficulty in keeping order, that is, in enforcing obedience among those who are required by the social order to obey. Ordinary crime is increasing and revolutionary crime is also showing its head now and again. Revolutionary disorder means nothing but that the proportion between the commanding minority and the obeying majority has been disturbed. How has this proportion been disturbed? Some say it has been disturbed by the diffusion of education. Some say it has been disturbed by over-population and increasing opportunities for the play of gregarianism. There are others who maintain that the total quantity of subsistence is either decreasing, or is not increasing in the same ratio as population. There are others still who hold that the disorder is due to unjust distribution of the annually recurring wealth of the country. There are in last place men who hold that foreign exploitation, manifesting itself in various crooked ways, is taking away an increasing quantity of this recurring wealth. Probably all the causes are at work, though the rulers sometimes pretend to think that the whole phenomenon of disorder is due to sheer cussedness, specially energising itself in a few selected devil's workshops. They run after this imaginary devil, and find the disorder increasing. I would advise them to chase the 'Dismal Devil' who has a real existence, instead of wasting their energy upon the pursuit of this phantom of a devil.

Our ancient fore-fathers possessed no science, economic or political, no steam engine or control over electricity, no gun powder or dynamite, no gun or pistol, not even a sword or a sharp cutting knife or boomerang to help them in bringing order out of disorder. They had to deal not with interrupted order, but with primeval disorder, the disorder not by God but by the Dismal Devil. They had no experience to help them. Besides they had as yet no settled habit of lying or of concealing the truth, no art of deception, no rat-trap or

fish-bait, no hypocrisy or diplomacy, and only a little cunning to help them in the arduous task. They depended in the first place upon bare arms, upon the power of muscles opportunely used. They developed these arts after entering upon their work. No wonder they took an uncensurably long time to create order out of disorder. No wonder they shed much blood in the process. They did not even know what order meant or how it could be achieved. They only felt a sort of restlessness in their heart, and an unspeakable disgust of the existing state, and a vague craving for a better state. They wanted peace as the end of their efforts, and resorted to war as the means of attaining it. War never ceased, either in actu or in posse, but some sort of peace evolved out of it. They wanted complete peace, but that never came. It has not come as yet. Nay, in the twentieth century it has definitely taken a contrary course, and war in the heart is more rampant than peace out of it—war not merely between nations, but between social groups and between individuals. Man seems to be visibly approaching towards the ancient war of one against all—the state of things which our ancient grand-sires created in their desire for peace. I say they created it, because their grandparents lived in the peace of isolation, not yet impinged upon by over-population, not yet suffering from the glare of the 'Dismal Devil.' The Dismal Devil increased the density of population beyond the point at which each person could live by himself or herself. He brought men into mutual contact, and left them to decide for themselves whether they should live in war or in peace. Each of them decided that they should live in friendship and peace by mutual help if necessary. But in what way was one person to help another, when both had the instinct and will to command, and not the instinct or will to obey. How was one person to approach another for help?—by supplication or by command? Each commanded his neighbours and was met by resentment from them. Each of them suffered from what may be called megalomania. The melee that ensued lasted for ages, and at length ended in partial peace by the many learning to obey the few. Those whose love of life exceeded their love of liberty adopted the will to obey when temporarily disabled in the fight. The victor took advantage of this defeat, and showed him kindness in exchange for submissiveness.

Temporary weakness led to permanent weakness. The victor commanded and the vanquished obeyed. Thus the will to obey became increasingly diffused till a small minority began to command a large majority.

The inequality of position and of liberty gradually deepened till those who obeyed became slaves, and those who commanded became masters. The association of masters organised Government for their own benefit, made laws for the same purpose and increasingly made it difficult for the obeying majority to revolt against the order thus established. The root of disorder, though scotched, was not destroyed, however.

The inequality of social position did not directly lead to inequality of wealth or gratification for the cravings. These cravings consisted in the beginning of the desire for food and for satisfaction of the sex-instinct. The complications introduced by the aesthetic cravings had not yet arisen, and there was as yet no distinction between fine food and coarse food. Perhaps aesthetic cravings first showed themselves in the gratification of the sex-instinct, and a kind of primitive eugenics, based more upon good health than upon beauty, gradually brought about differentiations, pleasing or painful to the senses, chiefly to the sense of vision. In the same way as food increased in variety and differentiated in taste inequality of wealth began to develop itself.

In course of time this inequality of wealth deepened the love of wealth, which gradually weakened the love of power, and the will to command, leading to industrialism and its evils. Western civilization has the unique merit of developing in parallel lines the love of wealth and the love of power. But so great is the charm of wealth that with further progress, the love of wealth leaves the love of power behind, and introduces a new epoch, injurious to society.

The will to command involved greater risks than the will to obey. At the same time it had a greater fascination. It is difficult to say whether men have lost more by the undue development of the will to command than by that of the will to obey, or what amounts to the same thing in an indirect way, whether the will to command has cost mankind, physically and morally, more than the will to obey. It seems certain that different parts of humanity in different parts of the world have paid

different prices for obtaining the advantages of the bifurcation and subsequent development of the two wills. This price, it seems to me, was the highest in the Western countries where now exists that type of social discipline which represents the moral aspect of Western civilization. It follows that while greater difficulty and delay has been experienced in reducing the stubborn masses to obedience, the actual result in the long run in the shape of social co-operation has been more satisfactory. The masses in the West have a higher discipline and a greater reverence for those in command than in the East, where the initial obedience was more easily secured. The life of command has had a comparatively easy time of it in the East, and when the West came in aggressive contact with the East, the latter accepted the position of obedience more readily than her sister had anticipated. More than half the population of the world living in the East have submitted themselves to the position of obedience to be exploited by the commanding West. The West is recovering with compound interest the high cost of securing the harmonious development of the two 'Wills' at home. In her contact with India, particularly, the will to command has found the easiest scope over an immense area and population. The machinery of command and obedience, until lately, worked so smoothly that no lubrication was thought necessary. But an unlubricated machine has the defect of getting slack by continued friction—a defect which subsequent lubrication can seldom remedy. That is the melancholy position in which the administration of India finds itself to-day after a smooth working for a hundred and fifty years.

That in the West the initial prehistoric struggle for social order was of a strenuous character will be evident from the way in which the occasional upheavals of the spirit of disobedience and revolt against the orthodox order, were dealt with in the middle ages long after that order had passed its incipient stage. It will appear from the ruthless, reckless, remorseless manner in which Wycliff-ism, Hussitism, heresy and dissent, and the emergence of science out of the darkness of catholicism were met by those who held the position of command in that order. The cost of maintaining or restoring order in those penumbral centuries has been subsequently more than recouped by the West in her dealings

with the East. Initial difficulties lead to subsequent facilities. The power to command on the one hand and the will to obey on the other have developed to an enormous extent in the social discipline of the West, with the result that both artificial co-operation and natural competition have higher vitality there than in the East. Here lies the secret how Eastern civilization having developed much earlier than her Western sister has long been showing signs of senility, while the latter is in full prime enjoying the sweets of civilization in spite of effervescing chances of violent death by the effects of excessive blood pressure and elevated nerves. Her contact with her old sister (still mainly jubilant over the memories of her past beauty and glory), who now, like an old widow, complacently cooks her food, makes her tea, washes and irons her clothes and prepares her toilette, is slowly instilling into her youthfully majestic heart softness, touchiness, haggishness, priggishness, pusillanimity and diabolical suspicion, that is, old womanishness, in short, has given an ephemeral effulgence, foreboding evil in the not very remote future. It is marvellous that in spite of the melancholy experiences of oriental civilizations men of culture living in parasitic comfort, ease and repose, both in the East and the West, regard the slowly diminishing ruthlessness and brutishness of Western civilization as an indication of advance towards a higher plane in which humanity will realize the brotherhood of man. The truth seems to lie in the direction of the conclusion that Western civilization, unless she dies a sudden and premature death in thunder, earth-quake or volcanic eruption, has the same prospects before her that her Eastern sister is now experiencing. She will drag a lengthening longevity, lived upon the memory of the glories of the past, blind and feeble, unable to walk without a stick, bearing the burden of life for the bare satisfaction, that she is not dead, though storm and thunder have passed over her dilapidated existence many times and over centuries, and proudly admonishing mankind to be prepared for ancestorship, the true panacea for social degeneration, and teaching that in the order of human progress the golden age precedes the age of iron, and that, in the order of art, wrought iron is obtained from steel, cast iron, from wrought iron, and pig iron from cast iron, and that rust does not destroy but protect, by covering the true metal within. Western

civilization may evade this catastrophic orientation, but, unless she makes up her mind to maintain, and if possible, to invigorate her accustomed remorselessness in maintaining due proportion and order in regard to the will to command and the will to obey in her domestic concerns, she may ascend or descend, but she will lose her distinctive character.

It will not be irrelevant to remark here that the world's civilization will not die with Western civilization, whether the latter expires by sudden violence or by foreign poison injected by contact with Eastern civilization, by external vandalism or by internal barbarism, for in spite of all exploitive cruelties in the past, exhibited in wholesale extirpations or enslavements, fresh blood still exists in the world, in Central Asia, for instance, for fresh development of civilization in the future, however long the umbral interregnum may last. I say this because no people in the world have so far enjoyed civilization twice over. I am sometimes tempted to say that no people suffer more than once in their lives from civilization, which, if it comes a second time, never shows the vigour and virulence of the first attack. The inoculation of civilization registers itself in the nervous system in the shape of an amalgamated mass of multifarious poisonous ideas, which by their incompatibility and mutual antagonism bring on intellectual insanity and muscular paralysis of an incurable type. Even where recovery is possible rejuvenation never follows convalescence. The old civilized brain is a dilapidated house, aesthetically furnished but over-run by rats and lizards, flies and mosquitoes, white ants and red ants, living upon decomposing sloughs of festering rationalism running in channels of multitudinous directions. It is a ramshackle structure, whose erect tallness gives a deceptive idea of the strength of the cement that keeps it standing still. A civilization whose ethics are founded upon sightless faith and shortsighted rationalism, characterised by a mixture of naturalism and supernaturalism, of humanism and idealism, of absolutism and relativism, of Buddhism and Darwinism, of loving Christianity and crusading catholicism, of forgiveness and retaliatory vindictiveness, of world-affirmation and world-negation, of pessimism and optimism, of defensive war and peaceful penetration, of truthfulness and concealment of facts, of sincerity and diplomacy, of alliances and

balances, of free-trade and heavy revenue-tariffs, of imperial preference and fair trade, of the principles of the league of nations and international suspicions, of capitalism and communism, of female emancipation and wedded subordination, is doomed. The orient and the occident can never be good friends. Their embrace is bad for both, directly for the first and remotely for the second.

Some Foundational Facts of the Ethics of Western Civilisation.

To return to the question of self-love and hate for neighbour. In the first place distinction must be made between the higher-self and the lower-self. The higher-self in man is God. Uddalaka Aruni said, "Thou art that". Krishna said, "I am he". Christ said "I and my father are one". The Book of Genesis says, "God made man in his own image." It was the devil that gave him a drastic orientation. The same book also says that man was made out of the dust. The dust-self is the lower-self, and the image of God the higher-self. Love of the higher-self is the love of the *Paramatma* residing in the *Jivatma*, and is tantamount to the love of God. No adverse criticism of this self-love is admissible in a society which has a religion, which believes in a God as the support of the world of life. I shall speak of love for the self of practical life, that is of self-love as understood by the common people. This love is universal. The higher-self may have a distinct life or merely a life which represents a sublimated continuation of the lower-self or practical life. It is this love of self that gives value to life. All other love is made in imitation of this supreme love. When the Gospel says, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," it recognizes the supreme nature of self-love. Love for others should try to imitate it—be a true copy of it, if possible—in character and intensity. Self-love is thus the ideal love. It is supreme also because it is instinctive, the only other instinctive love being the love of the mother for the child. All other love is reasoned, and therefore rickety.

Is self-love equally strong in all men, in all climes, in all civilizations? If it is not, how does the difference arise? In the first place instincts are not equally strong all over the world, and love as an instinct varies in vigour with environment, with latitude and

longitude, flora and fauna, soil and climate. Love touched by reason varies with social conditions, education, and the general moral atmosphere, comprising customs and traditions. Instinctive self-love and reasoned self-love have coalesced in the West, and have gathered strength with age. Self-love means love of life—where love of life is strong self-love must be strong also. The love of life is stronger in the West than in the East. Self-love follows this difference like a corollary. Self-love varies with the intensity of the struggle for existence. This struggle is more strenuous in the West than in the East. It has been so from the beginning and is gradually increasing in intensity. Benjamin Kidd tells us that the struggle for existence is kept in Western society at high water mark deliberately to facilitate social progress. Of course the idea lurks in his mind that it is so kept up among the working majority for the benefit of the parasitic minority, who constitute real society—the brain of it as contrasted with the brawn. Among social philosophers, though his conclusions may be unacceptable, Benjamin Kidd holds a high place for chivalrous regard for truth. Life is maintained in the West in a sea of perilous precariousness. The love of life increases in intensity with the difficulty of maintaining it, and the uncertainties which accompany it. With the love of life self-love develops, and with self-love develops the love of life as a whole, by the magic touch of reason which prompts man to keep his neighbours alive so that he may the better evade the Curse of Adam. Love of neighbour, so far as it exists, is a necessary condition of successful self-love, and is cherished as such.

Hate for neighbour is instinctive. Love for neighbour is a reasoned impulse. Hate for neighbour varies as love for self, so far as it is instinctive. Reasoned love or hate for neighbour stands upon a different ground. Instinctive hate is in direct opposition to instinctive love. But reasoned hate is not thus related to reasoned love. They are confused. And it is difficult to infer from any particular conduct whether it is prompted by hate or love, or whether neither of the sentiments has any play in the heart. Indeed conduct is gradually divorcing itself from the heart. Collective beneficence may have no connection with the condition of the heart of the donor, or may be prompted by self-love manifesting itself as a creative force

which brings social honour and governmental patronage, or may be motivated by high spiritual altruism or actuated by both the sentiments. But in no case can a clear association be established between the quantity of beneficence and the strength of the spirit or motive force, egoistic or altruistic or both. A rich man gives a donation of fifty thousand rupees for a charitable institution. He may do so out of sheer indifference, having more money than he can dispose of, or out of love or charity for the poor and helpless, or out of a desire for a new-year or birth-day title, or for a higher title, if he is already in possession of one.

When British capitalists invest money in the jute trade, they benefit the cultivators of Bengal. How is this beneficence to be accounted for? It is probable that in thus investing their money they are either unaware of the existence of the cultivators or don't think of their good and evil at all. The investment is made for profit and for profit alone. The benefit of the cultivator arises as a waste product of the investment. The directors and managing agents do their best to minimise this waste product, and the investors express their gratitude to them at the annual general meeting at which dividend is declared. I have never heard of any resolution passed or even proposed at such a meeting condemning the directors for increasing the dividend at the expense of the cultivators. On the contrary no stone is left unturned to deceive them and thereby inducing them to increase the acreage of cultivation. Indeed all the moral evils of monopoly are associated with the jute trade, whose course of procedure reminds one of the wisdom of the Greeks who had one God, (Hermes) presiding over both trade and theft. One marvels at the impudence of Scottish merchants who profess to carry on the trade in the interests of the cultivators of Bengal. Theft, by its subtlety, is becoming the "national profession" of the civilized races. If the Greeks had the experience and wisdom of the present age they might have brought all the precious principles of love, suggested, if not directly prompted, by the Dismal Science, as well as all the moralities mentioned in Chapter XVII of the Indian Penal Code under the administrative suzerainty of a single God. Western civilization has the unique reputation of evolving virtues out of vices, magnificence out of meanness, splendour out of darkness, love out of hate, reverence out

of contempt, truth out of lie, and a God for worship out of the eternal asphyxiating abyss.

Lancashire, it is reported, is now engaged in making experiments for the production of cheap and durable cloths out of Indian cotton to bring economic relief to the poor peasants of this continent, after vainly trying to increase the cotton excise duty with the object of relieving the Indian market of the coarse cloths, unworthy of civilized life, manufactured in Indian mills. The power to manufacture love out of hate, and truth out of lie, marks the moral progress of Western civilization more conspicuously than the power to manufacture good cloth out of bad cotton, or fine cutlery out of pig iron. The corrupting influence of Western civilization upon human morals is more potent than its refining influence upon human manners. Morals and manners have now been almost completely divided and packed as luggage in separate trunks for convenience in the voyage of life. Whether we look at external objects or into the inward nature of man, we find intellectuality regulating the affairs of the world without consulting the higher moral nature of man. Herbert Spencer in his old age, after a vigorous intellectual life passed mainly in showing that morality was, after all, in its origin and development, an intellectual process consisting in an analysis of the consequences of conduct, changed his horizon of vision and regretted the growing "identification of mind with intelligence." "The emotions," said he, "are the masters, the intellect is the servant." (Page 27, *Facts and Comments*). He would have been more accurate if he had laid due emphasis on the lower emotions as the true masters in Western civilization. The identification of mind with intelligence in the eye of the average man of the West is due to the growing feebleness of the higher emotions, and the natural unwillingness of man to admit the growing strength of the lower emotions. The higher emotions are suffering from drought and emaciation, while the lower emotions are masterfully controlling the intellect, which, ashamed of admitting its subordination to such ignoble masters pretends to convince the world that it has dethroned all the emotions, high and low, and is ruling the world by its own authority as the dictator of the microcosm. Jealousy, hate and suspicion are the principal emotions in the Western heart. Egoism, individual, national

and communal, is the suzerain power that guides all other emotions and enjoys the fruits of their activities, almost unseen. National and communal egoism masquerades as altruism, as if group-life represented nothing but the aggregate of the lives of the individuals composing it, and were not an organism by itself, which though living in abstract thought has a powerful emotional and volitional individuality. The nationalist, in the blazing uniform of the patriot, thinks that all that he does, he does out of love for his co-citizens, who are his true neighbours in the vocabulary of the decalogue. He thinks in short that by competing with foreigners in commerce or in fighting them at the front he demonstrates that he is a true Christian who loves his neighbours as himself. Even the rank blatant communalist who fights for the interests of his caste to the detriment of national causes thinks or pretends to think in the same fashion. Both the nationalist and the communalist by habitually practising intellectual dissimulation come at length to deceive themselves and to believe in their hearts that they are real altruists, and when they pay subscriptions to the common funds of the organized group in the shape of taxes or levies, or shed their blood as soldiers in the field of Flanders, they think, or persuade themselves, that they are making self-sacrifice out of the depths of their altruistic hearts in which self and neighbour find no discrimination. Even conscript soldiers forced into the field in spite of conscientious objections or unpatriotic repugnance to war receive honours, nationally and more rationally reserved for youthful volunteers, who on reading a newspaper one morning cast away their books, and rushed to the war office for enrolment, and never again got the opportunity of greeting their mothers at home. The altruistic self-sacrifice of the conscript soldier publicly honoured by his countrymen is a marvellous illustration of blasphemously travestied reverence for the tenth commandment of which every human being with an unbefogged self-consciousness has reason to be ashamed. The ethics of Western civilization, corrupted by the selfishness of the national-self and the communal-self, has, with greater cleverness than any other civilization, ancient or modern, ennobled and adorned barbaric and brutish egoism with costumes and titles stolen from the wardrobe and heraldic archives of altruism. Natural illusions are invigorated by artificial

ones to make this civilization shine with dazzling, blinding splendour.

What were the emotions that ruled the heart of the British lad who withdrew from the college and enrolled himself in the barrack at Lord Kitchener's command? Nobody can believe that the intellect by itself furnished the impulse that goaded him out of his customary surroundings. Were the emotions all of the higher order or of the lower or belonged to a mixed group? We want a correct psycho-analysis of the lad's heart at the moment he formed the determination to rush into the recruiting sergeant's arms. The intellect, I am inclined to think, was paralysed, and not, as Herbert Spencer thinks, merely enslaved. The thought-element of his mind was overwhelmed. He did not himself know what emotions actually worked in his mind at the moment. His books, particularly the poems, epic and lyric alike, his neighbour in the press, pulpit and platform, had told him that patriotism was the noblest of virtues, and that patriotism invited him to run to the front. It was the imitative emotion, reinforcing the hate for neighbour, that caused him to forget his mother and little sisters, his love of Christ and reverence for his teachings, his duty towards himself, his God and his neighbour, and to run madly for the purpose of violating the sixth commandment on as large a scale as possible. Does this emotion belong to the higher order or the lower? The emotion has all the characteristics of an instinct, and is almost wholly untouched by reason. Once enrolled the suddenly maddened enthusiast had no alternative but to get drilled for murdering neighbours and to learn the tricks of self-preservation in the dust and smoke of battle. Even here, he had lost his individuality, his freedom of will, his soul. He had turned himself into a machine. To think or to act for himself was vicious—an offence liable to court-martial.

All civilizations have brought up soldiers, made wars and openly shewn their disrespect for the second commandment. The distinctive trait of Western civilization lies in the fact that it has made a science of the whole business, and has, as by magic, obliterated the distinction between disrespect and reverence, between love and hate, between truth and lie, and now threatens to destroy the distinction between high and low, between good and evil, between noble and mean, between humanity

and brutality, between altruism and egoism, between selfishness and self-sacrifice. I have spoken of self-love as the pivot round which the Ethics of Western civilization gyrates and makes conduct fruitful. In practical life all over the world self love plays an important part. Love for others increases with advance towards the ideal life. The ideal life of the West would have been almost identical with the ideal life of the East if the influence of Christianity were as great as it is sometimes supposed to be, and if Christianity instead of declining with the centuries had maintained a steady growth. But as already indicated Christianity was never more than a veneer on the primitive character of the Western people, and has for several centuries been definitely losing the substance by the onslaught of Greek Humanism, modern naturalism and Jacobin pragmatism, so that the ideal life of Christianity, far from being approximated to in practice, is being increasingly discarded in theory, and as practice follows theory, like illustration following definition, the future of Christianity is becoming hopelessly melancholy. Lord Balfour in the nineteenth century regretted that self love did not show ideal vigour in the west in that century and was suffering from an undesirable relaxation. (*Foundations of Belief*). He gave this opinion in commenting on the ethics of naturalism. But his study of the current of ethical tendencies seems to have been lamentably erroneous. That current has been developing during the last half a century with astounding results. The great war is one of these results. Diabolical suspicion which keeps Europe in constant dread of war and anarchy is the psychological offspring of intensive self-love, the pivotal principle of the ethics of western civilisation.

Self-love is invertibrate and jejune without the support of hate for neighbour, which constitutes its brain, brawn, bone and blood, in this world of limited wrath and unlimited cravings, ruled by the fascinating tyranny of the Dismal Devil. Personal self-love purged of hate for neighbour is as preposterous as patriotism without international pugnacity, or religious fanaticism without contempt for other creeds, or communal enthusiasm without gloomy oblique glances at rival communities. The national-self, the communal-self and the credal-self are all created in the image of the personal-self. International jealousies, communal con-

flicts and credal rivalries are imitations in an expanded form of personal hatred for neighbour. Hate for neighbour may be aggressive or passive, explicit or implicit, and may lead either to competition or to co-operation, or to both in succession. Fight with a neighbour may lead to enslavement of the latter with the happy result of co-operation, the foundation of civilization. Co-operation is always traceable to competition and conflict; and competition and conflict are traceable to hate for neighbour. The foundation of civilization thus lies in "Hate for neighbour". This Hate for neighbour is both creative and destructive in regard to civilization. In the early stages it is creative, and in the advanced age of civilization it is destructive. As we all live in the latter age we forget the primordial creative influence of Hate. Western civilization has the unique trait of being supported as well as created by Hate. Co-operation conceived in pure love, that is, love completely dissociated from hate is a rare commodity limited to sexual and domestic relations, and generally ephemeral in duration. Love ceases to be pure love when co-operation is anticipated. It is thenceforward maintained by self-love, which, as already said, is barren and imbecile without the backing of hate, not necessarily directed to the co-operative correlate, but flowing in some channel or other. Sexual co-operation, while it is increasing in ardour is decreasing in duration as evidenced by the increasing number of divorces in the civilized west, where the institution of marriage, the highest and purest expression of sexual love, is getting increasingly disparaged, and is losing its social value by its growing barrenness as a race-preserving force. Indeed Western genius, eager to evade the dreadful glare of the Dismal Devil, is now engaged in inventing constructive weapons for the destruction of society—weapons designed to facilitate and keep alive sexual love divested of the danger of unmanageable domestic over-population.

I have said western civilization is sustained by hate. Hate in its turn is not only sustained but developed by Western civilization. Western civilization and hate by their mutual helpfulness and co-operation have rendered it possible for the Western people to obtain ascendancy over the entire globe. The oceanic discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were prompted by Hate, the mother of exploitation. Columbus was not inspired by the desire of

showing his friendship and love for the subjects of Kublai Khan by direct salutation and friendly embrace. His object was to add to the wealth of Europe, and of Spain in particular, by exploiting the people and their natural resources.

His successors, who completed his work, were unblushing exploiters and haters of the heathen world. It is wonderful to contemplate the expansive and developmental impetus which Hate received by the glorious geographical discoveries of the childhood of Western civilization. This is how Hate has expanded:—John hated James. Essex hated Wessex. England hated Scotland. Britain hated France. Every country in Europe hated all other countries of that continent. Columbus showed the way, and Europe now hates all other continents of the world. Some of these continents she has made her own, and she would have loved them as herself if the by-products of her loving embrace did not develop dreadful poisons which now threatens to destroy Western civilization root and branch. External barbarians have been extirpated or bound in fetters, but internal barbarism glares with a dreadful flare. The Dismal Devil seems determined to relieve the white man of his self-imposed burden—the burden of Western civilization.

I shall conclude this section by drawing attention to what appears to be a paradox in the ethics of Western civilization. While this civilization is characterised by great love of life it has very little reverence for life (*veneratio vitæ*). It feels no compunction destroying life (1) when it is convinced that the purpose for which life exists remains unfulfilled and (2) when it perceives that that purpose has no chance of being fulfilled. Life is risked when the fulfilment of its purpose becomes precarious. The purpose of life is to live in happiness, that is, in abundance of comforts added to personal freedom. It recognizes the truth of the proposition that the will-to-live is universal; but it refuses to recognize the equality as well as the universality of the right to live. As a rule the right to live is, in its eye, proportioned to the might to live. There is only one exception to their rule of right. The first person has the best right to live irrespective of his might, unless he is himself convinced that he has lost that right. In other words, it is the honest conviction of every civilized man that the world lives for him. This idea is probably derived

from Hebrew wisdom, which says in the Book of Genesis, that God made the beasts and birds and fishes, and gave to man dominion over them. The new idea of Western civilization is an extension of this old idea. It gives to every man the right to think that the entire world of inanimate and animate objects, including human beings, has for its primary purpose the duty of doing its best to contribute to his happiness, and that if it fails to do it, it loses its right to existence in proportion to its failure, and places itself at his disposal for punishment, whose character and amount are conditioned by his power of inflicting it. This power may be absolutely his own, or it may be gathered from the obedience of other individuals willing to help him. This is one of the secrets of the ethics of Western civilization. In plain words, the world lives for me, and if the world fails to function for this purpose it has forfeited its right to live in my eyes. Whether it will actually continue to live or not depends upon my power to destroy or to coerce it into obedience.

As to love of life accompanied by the lack of reverence for life take the case of domestic animals. They are gram-fed, washed and clothed, and receive veterinary treatment. But they are sold to the highest trader among the butchers of Smith-field market, with the conscience untouched. The diseased horse or dog, the best pet of the master, is shot without the least compunction when there is danger of infection spreading or when the disease is medically pronounced to be incurable. Reason is said to lie at the back of the phenomenon. Captives in war, if they are too numerous to be kept in order, or to be properly fed and accommodated with due regard to economy they are slaughtered by the dictates of reason. Conscripts are sent to the front along with volunteers with all the risks of the field of battle. Segregation in plague is a civilized mode of showing irreverence for life. In a life boat in which provisions are running short some lives are destroyed at random for the safety of other lives. The workhouse was invented by Western civilization for the benefit of people living outside it. Recently in France a wife shot her husband with his consent because he was suffering from an incurable disease. The slaughter has been declared to be warranted by the spirit of the law of the land. Other countries are following suit. This irreverence for life lies at the back of most of what is

considered glorious in Western civilization. It has extirpated brute life in the forests, and turned them into cities. It has annihilated races of mankind. It has from the beginning enslaved neighbours. It has subjected them to hard work on small ration. It has created and

developed exploitation and enabled a few to evade the Curse of Adam at the expense of the many. It has simplified the future ethnography of most of the world, and it now threatens to rebarbarian it.

A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY.

By MR. SARINIWAS M. DATAR, M.A., LL.B.

The most remarkable fact of the scientific world of the present era is the emergence of sociology as an independent branch of human knowledge. "The proper study for mankind is man," said Pope, about three centuries ago. Socrates, too, long before Pope, had insisted very strongly on the study of the phenomena of human life and human conduct in opposition to the physical and metaphysical speculations of the early Greek cosmologists, whose ingenious theories about the origin and the growth of the world or philosophical doctrines full of intellectual subtleties, had no direct and practical bearing on the highly complex and essentially interesting problems of human life. In no age, however, has the truth of the thoroughly practical dictum of Pope or the earnest pleading of Socrates, been so clearly understood and so enthusiastically put into practice as in the present age. Look where you will, be it the highly abstract and intellectual field of science and philosophy, or the essentially imaginative and delightful sphere of poetry and art, the keynote, the inspiring spirit as well as the guiding aim of all kinds of endeavour in modern times, may, without any hesitation, be said to be humanism. The great tide of the new doctrine of humanism, that has been set in by writers of various tastes, like Charles Picard, Arthur Sidgwick, William James, Dr. Schiller, H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw, has swept away old ideas and old standards of worth and has substituted new tests of judging the value or worth of any science or art. The first question that is now generally asked in judging the worth of a science, is, not "How far is it true," but

"What is it good for or what are the ways in which it would conduce to the happiness and welfare of mankind as a whole?" If a science answers this question satisfactorily, then alone, it is considered as worth studying. The dictum of Protagoras, the great sophist of ancient Greece, *viz.*, that man is the measure of all things, meaning thereby, as Dr. Schiller means by it, that human needs and human aspirations are the only considerations that should be taken into account in estimating the value of a science, is being universally acclaimed and actually followed by many a thinker of the present age.

The importance of such an essentially human science as the science of sociology, can hardly be exaggerated in an age thoroughly imbued with the broad, tolerant and sweet spirit of humanism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the science of sociology should go on growing vigorously, and, expanding in all directions, should add new provinces to its already vast field. In modern times sociology has assumed a definite form and shape, conceived its aim clearly, developed its own peculiar method and technique distinctly and has laid down its boundaries definitely, so that it has come to occupy a distinguished place by the side of the great sciences of nature such as physics, chemistry and biology.

Before the modern period there was no science of sociology in the strict sense of the term. But it would be wrong to ignore the value and importance of the vast and rich mines of social philosophy contained in the valuable writings of ancient Greek Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, and the Indian law-givers like

Manu and the authors of those semi-historical, semi-mythological and semi-philosophical writings called the Puranas. In medieval times writers like Grotius and in early modern times thinkers like Montesque, Rousseau, Voltaire and Tom Paine had developed many important social doctrines. It will hence be seen that the germs of the present science of sociology have been already present in the writings of ancient and medieval thinkers. Plato's famous dialogue entitled the "Republic," and Aristotle's treatises like the "Ethics" and the "Politics," contain many important social ideas which have continued to influence men's minds down to this day. The Stoic idea of the "Cosmopolice" or the "World-State," would, in this connection, be a very important piece of study in the present times, when everybody is thinking of the best means of effecting a harmonious and sympathetic co-operation between different communities and nations.

The Nineteenth Century was distinctly a century of science. In the former half of that century lived the famous French philosopher, August Cönte, to whom belongs the honour of having laid the foundations of the science of sociology. Cönte regarded sociology as the crown of all the sciences. Mankind, he used to say, begins its advance with a crude superstitious theological stage. During this stage mankind is constantly appealing to an external fetish, for progress and protection, by prayers and offerings. After a time mankind sets aside these fetishes and gradually takes resort to dry metaphysical speculations. This is the second stage of human advance which he calls the metaphysical stage. After this comes, in due course of time, the positive stage, in which man throws off the dull yoke of metaphysical dogmas and turns to find out concrete and positive laws of human betterment and human progress. Cönte had grown so enthusiastic about the welfare of humanity, that he raised it to the position of God. He said that the only God, the only Great Being, which he knew, was humanity and the welfare and the happiness of humanity can hardly be accomplished by appealing to an external deity. The only way to accomplish it was by inculcating upon the minds of young children the spirit and love of humanity through a systematically planned course of instruction.

Cönte's grand idea of the "Religion of Humanity" did not however appeal to later writers like Herbert Spencer, who, while re-

cognising the spirit of social service, had rejected the lofty idealism that underlay his theory. The theory of evolution, conjointly discovered by Wallace and Darwin, and to the discovery of which, Cönte himself along with Hegel, had contributed no less, was being applied in the explanation of every kind of phenomena. Herbert Spencer's love for the science of biology was so great that he tried to apply the new theory, systematically and energetically to even such sciences as ethics, psychology and sociology. Such being the case Spencer's exposition of these sciences was conceived and expressed in biological terms. Spencer did not hence succeed in giving a satisfactory exposition of the science of sociology. His followers like Huxley and Leslie Stephen carried the theories of their master to their logical conclusion by putting a thoroughly biological interpretation on such theories as those of "the Struggle for Existence" and of "the Survival of the Fittest," even in the field of the social sciences. The result naturally was that the main aim of all social activity, *viz.*, the establishment of a harmonious relation between different races was represented to be a process which was perfectly incapable of being accomplished. The ethical and the natural processes, said Huxley, are at constant variance with each other. The root-principle of the former is self-sacrifice and that of the latter is ruthless suppression and hence no reconciliation is possible between them.

It is needless to say that modern sociological theory is mainly based on the views of Cönte and Herbert Spencer. Though such is the case, it must be admitted that while incorporating all that is sound and reasonable in these views, the modern theory of sociology has made many important developements in various new directions. Modern sociology tries to observe and examine the varied complex of social phenomena by the recognized methods of natural science. It fully recognizes the value and importance of social service which was the key-note of Cönte's theory. From the school of Spencer it has learnt the importance of the idea of development in the interpretation of the social feelings and phenomena. It is now fully recognized that sociology is not politics as Cönte supposed, or a mere branch of biology as the school of Spencer supposed. Sociology is a very complex science intimately related with other social sciences such as anthropology, psychology,

history, politics and economics. Sociology has constantly to take account of the definitely established conclusions of these sciences. "Sociology," says Mr. Todd rightly, "studies that spirit which manifests itself in political, economic and religious, educational, cultural and domestic organizations, in public and private corporations, in customs and costumes, in institutions and oppositions, briefly in all the multifarious ways in which men and women living in social relations manifest their social attitude." Sociology is hence a very comprehensive science and Mr. L. F. Ward is quite right when he describes it as "a sort of a head to which other social sciences are attached as body and trunk."

This, briefly stated, is the general character of the science of sociology. It would not in the least be an exaggeration to say, that no science can be of more use to the general interests of mankind than the science of sociology. It is perhaps the only science that has a direct and practical bearing upon the facts of everyday social life. As Prof. Geddes, one of the most distinguished sociologists of to-day, rightly remarks, sociology is nothing but thinking in general about human affairs. Hence the conclusions that can be drawn by such thinking, cannot but be of immense value to the general well-being of society. The society in which we live is full of various sorts of short-comings. The human race is subject to different kinds of calamities. The struggle to get over these is going on forever. It is very rarely that a satisfactory solution of social problems is found. Social workers have to tackle problems relating to their defective, dependent and delinquent fellowmen and to find out the best possible methods of their improvement. Here certainly is ample scope for the practical application of sociology, for it is sociology alone, that can furnish us with an excellent diagnosis of the diseases of society and suggest the best remedy for their speedy removal. The question is often asked, can sociology enable us to control and manipulate material realities? The answer emphatically is, "Yes, to a great extent." It is perfectly true that good human possibilities are born into this world never to be realised. The poet is right when he says—

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen ;
And waste its fragrance on desert air."

But sociology has to study why such a condition

should have continued to exist, and whether, in the interests not only of justice but of social well-being it should be allowed to continue in future? Sociology has, in short, to study how equality of opportunity can be most effectively established, so that every individual shall be able to put forth the best that is in him, and thus be able to accelerate the advance of social progress. Hence the study of sociology is bound to be highly advantageous from this point of view.

Even a cursory study of the history of nations clearly impresses one with the fact that there has been going on between them a constant struggle for supremacy ; and one knows not how long is this international scramble for supremacy to go on. The last Great War with its unprecedented loss of human life is an example of how awful a character the struggle for international supremacy may assume. Pessimists are not wanting to-day who are busy making dreadful predictions about the unparalleled devastations that future world-wars are likely to inflict upon the world. How to put a stop to international jealousies and to bring about a harmonious co-operation between the different nations of the world, this may be said to be the greatest problem before the world to-day. The League of Nations is no doubt trying to solve this problem in its own way but any attempt in this direction is bound to fail so long as there has been no real change in the social outlook of the world. What the world to-day needs most is not so much the creation of a League of Nations for peace, as the fostering up of a new world-view. Nations must cease to regard one another as enemies. The study of sociology brings about a great change in our intellectual outlook of the world. It shows that the interests of different groups of humanity are not only not antagonistic but are also capable of mutual adjustment so as to ensure the co-operation of all. Such a co-operation is not only helpful to the progress of humanity as a whole but conduces also to the improvement of each individual group. A change in the intellectual outlook is naturally followed by a change in our outlook of the world. When this is done, the task that the League of Nations has placed before itself would become easy of accomplishment.

Perhaps in no other country of the world is the study of sociology so needful as in India. It is an admitted fact that nowhere in the world is the social problem so acute and so difficult of

solution as in India. India presents herself to one's eyes as a vast congeries of warring castes and creeds. Here, for the sociologist, is a most suitable field for study and research, for here alone he can study by means of direct observation a large variety of social groups in different stages of civilisation. Social reform of a most radical nature is a very urgent need of the present. There is no want of enthusiastic social workers for this purpose. What is most seriously lacking is scientific knowledge of social laws and social conditions. Hence, if sincere attempts are made for the propagation of the study of sociology and the training of social workers, the work of social reform would progress rapidly and in the right direction. India cannot progress well politically unless she improves well socially. So long as social inequalities are allowed to prevail no real social improvement can be said to have been made. The study of sociology would be very helpful in

suggesting the best possible means of removing this undesirable social condition and thus enable social workers to bring about a complete and harmonious unity between the different social groups that are living on terms of indifference, if not of open hostility, with each other now.

The Bombay University deserves to be congratulated for having opened a post-graduate department for the study of Sociology and Civics and continued it for the last seven or eight years. The work that Prof. Geddes has done, during these years, in training students and inspiring them with a true spirit of social service and social research, is simply invaluable. It is to be hoped that other Indian Universities will emulate the example of the Bombay University by opening similar departments for the study of sociology and social research and also by giving greater scope to sociology in the courses of study prescribed for the various university examinations.

AN ENQUIRY INTO SOCIOLOGY AS FOUND IN

BENGALI LITERATURE.

By DR. BHUPENDRA NATH DUTTA, M.A., PH.D.

I

The Science of Sociology is an important abstract science of the modern time ; it embraces all the activities of man and enquires why, and what for, of every social phenomenon. There cannot be any social institution without any adequate reason for it. Thus in our enquiry regarding the social conditions of people we must ask—what are the reasons for it and what for it has come into existence and how it has come about. This enquiry in the matter of primitive and ancient people brings us in the domain of Ethnology. Ethnology or the knowledge about the life and conditions of a race is a part of Sociology. It enquires into the life, manners and cultural conditions of a primitive or a past race.

A race is a group of peoples having homogeneous physical characteristics. But such an homogeneous group of people is not to be found now-a-days anywhere in the world. The present-day races of men are heterogeneous in their physical compositions. Congeries of people of different origins group together and form a race as it is found to-day. But a common language and a common mode of life bind them together and they become an ethnic unit. But when this ethnic unit by developing a common history and culture builds a state it becomes a nation.

A nation is the product of a communality of fate and culture. A common religion might be a bond of union (though not always necessarily), but a common language is a great bond.

Language is the vehicle of thought and culture. Thus a common culture and language helps to build up a nation which in the course of its historical fate and evolution develops certain characteristics which may be called national traits.

Applying this law to India we see that India though linguistically divided into two great divisions, ethnically she is one. That means, the Indians from the standpoint of physical anthropology may not be homogeneous (and there is no harm if it is not) but the life, the manners, the social institutions, the culture of the people of this vast peninsula form one united whole. From this standpoint of view India is an ethnic unit. It is the difference of languages and in many times in her history the decentralising tendencies inherent in such a vast country giving rise to separate historical fate have created the provincial peculiarities. This difference of language coupled with historical evolution have created the provincial nations which have given rise to such differences as are be seen among the "Bengalees," "Marhattas," "Punjabees," etc.

So long it has been the common impression in India that the people of different provinces are different in "race" and this difference of race enables them to unite themselves into one nation. This notion has been strengthened by the strange nomenclatures used by late Herbert Risley who took physical measurements of 6000 Indians all over India and as a result of his examination coined phantastic nomenclatures such as "Mongolo-Dravidians, Scytho-Dravidians," etc., and he differentiated the inhabitants of different provinces as separate "race" by baptising them in these strange nomenclatures! Thus the Indians by taking these nomenclatures (which Risley expressly used as temporary expressions) as scientific facts think each other as "racially" different. In fact, from the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Indians as a whole are not very far from each other. A biometrical analysis of Herbert Risley's data will bear testimony that the basic elements are more or less common amongst the different provincial groups. Risley's method was old which is no longer held in repute according to the technique of the modern data of the science of anthropology. In order to enquire into the different racial elements in India I have made biometric analysis of Risley's data as given in his "Tribes and

castes of Bengal" and out of my analysis I have found out that there are certain elements which are more or less common among all the castes and in every province.

In my analysis I have combined the different forms of heads and noses together and deduced their presence in the group in percentages. Thus in the Punjab with the Khatri:

Dolichoid—leptorrhineus	...	23.3 p.c.
„ —mesorrhineus	...	70.0 p.c.
„ —chamorrhineus	...	5.0 p.c.

with the Sikh-Jats:

Doli—lep.	...	57.5 p.c.
„ —meso.	...	4.0 p.c.
„ —chamo.	...	1.25 p.c.

with the Chura:

Doli—lep.	...	12.5 p.c.
„ —meso.	...	64.0 p.c.
„ —chamo.	...	4.0 p.c.

Thus we find that with the exception of the Sikhs the other castes have Dolichoid—mesorrhineus element as the largest element among them. In the United Provinces with the Brahmins—

Doli—leptorrhineus	...	25.0 p.c.
„ —mesorrhineus	...	64.0 p.c.
„ —chamorrhineus	...	11.0 p.c.

with the Kewat:—

Dolico—Lep	...	11 p.c.
„ —Meso	...	52 p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	37 p.c.

Thus in the U. P. we see that with the highest Brahmins and lowest Kewat Dolichoid—mesorrhineus as the largest element. In Behar with the Brahmins:—

Doli—Lep	...	31 p.c.
„ —Meso	...	58 p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	4 p.c.

with the Musafar:—

Doli—Lep	...	0 p.c.
„ —Meso	...	23 p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	70 p.c.

Here we see with the highest Brahmins Dolichoid mesorrhineus is the largest element but with the lowest Musafar Dolichoid—Chamorrhineus is the largest element.

In Bengal with Brahmins:—

Doli—Lep	...	29. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	40. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	21. p.c.

with Kayasthas :—

Doli—Lep	...	...	30. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	...	38. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	...	10. p.c.

with Sadgop :—

Doli—Lep	...	...	23. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	...	50. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	...	8. p.c.

with Geala :—

Doli—Lep	...	...	19. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	...	58. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	...	7. p.c.

with Kaibarta :—

Doli—Lep	...	...	11. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	...	54. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	...	11. p.c.

with Chandals :—

Doli—Lep	...	...	15. p.c.
„ —Meso	...	...	51. p.c.
„ —Chamo	...	...	97. p.c.

Thus we see that in Bengal amongst all the castes represented there Dolichoid—Mesorrhineus element is the biggest element which is common amongst all of them. And their element is found by examining Risley's data to be the biggest element in most of the castes and provinces. Thus Risley's hypothesis of an "Indo-Aryan" element in the North and Mongolo-Dravidian groups in the East falls to the ground. We see the common elements everywhere scattered in different proportions.

If there had been a pure racial element anywhere then we would not have found such differences. Rather the curve drawn of a homogeneous element will be a polygonal one. But such a curve is not to be found in Risley's data. Physical anthropology says an ideal race is a homogeneous one, but homogeneity we do not find in India. If the different elements given here be the characteristics of different racial stocks then we must find out the period when they have appeared on the Indian soil. According to my hypothesis the dolichoid-chamorrhineus element which is found to be the largest element in some of the so called lowest castes and mostly to be found among the so-called lowest castes in South India as evinced by the data given by Risley in his "Peoples of India" is the autochthonic racial element in

India. The dolichoid-mesorrhineus element is the most universal element in India and it is also to be found in Beluchistan, and perhaps has some connection with the dolichoid-mesorrhineus element that exists beyond the latter country. The dolichoid-leptorrhineus and brachycephal-leptorrhineus which is to be found existing in attenuated form amongst the castes in the lower scale are perhaps the foreign elements coming from outside of India, as they are the largest element in Afghanistan and beyond.

Now if these different elements represent different racial stocks then the period of their migration in India must be found out through archaeological, linguistical, ethnological and other kinds of researches. Amongst all these materials of research language is an object of critical analysis in order to find out the influence of different racial elements in it. According to the philologists when a race takes over the language of another race the shifting of the consonants according to Grimm's Law takes place which naturally gives rise to splitting of the languages. Thus the original Indo-Germanic or Aryan language has been split up into two important divisions; centum and satem groups, which in turn again have been divided into different language groups. This phenomenon according to the Philologists has taken place on account of different foreign races taking up the Aryan language as their mother tongue. Physical anthropology testifies their difference of racial composition amongst the Aryan speaking peoples of the world.

In this way the philologists say that the splitting up of the Sanskrit language into different dialects due to the shifting of the consonants had a racial influence behind it. Of course it cannot be supposed from the standpoint of physical anthropology that different parts of India were inhabited in ancient time by different racial stocks of homogeneous nature who by taking up the foreign Sanskrit language changed it into a new form through the shifting of the consonants. Firstly there is no stable proof that those who introduced the Sanskrit language in India were homogeneous in composition, neither there is any anthropological evidence from the present data to prove that those who accepted the Sanskrit language as their mother tongue were of homogeneous composition.

It is said that in Bengal the original Prakrit through the shifting of the consonants and

transformations in the course of ages has been developed into modern Bengali language. In our analysis of the data of the castes of Bengal as given by Risley which though not a representative and exhaustive one we find that there is a dolichoid-leptorrhineus element, brachy-leptorrhineus element (which is very small with the Sadgop, Goala and Kaivarta), dolichoid-mesorrhineus element—the largest element amongst all castes, dolichoid-chamorrhineus element, brachy-mesorrhineus element which is 18 p.e. with the Kaivartas, 15 p.c. with the Brahmins, 7 p.c. with the goalas. Thus we find 5 elements more or less strongly represented in Bengal and there is no room for the acceptance of a “Mongolo-Dravidian” complexity here. Now when and where from these elements came to Bengal? If the dolichoid-chamorrhineus element be the autochthone element when do the other elements come in? and which element has left what trace in the language and ethnic life of Bengal? An analysis of the language and ethnic life of Bengal may give some clue to it.

The people of Bengal ethnically are not different from the rest of India. The life all over India is the same with some local variation. Bengal linguistically is Indo-aryan, though Pater Schmidt and Sten Konow from philological standpoint have tried to trace the influence of Mon-Khmer race in eastern India upto the foot of the Sewatik hills. They maintain that the substratum of the society in this part of India comes from the remnant of the Mon-Khmer race which is to be found in Cambodia, Cochinchina, etc. Newly Sylvan Levi from the philological standpoint has spoken of a “pre-dravidian and pre-Aryan” race in India and thinks it had affinity with the race of trans-gangetic valley. But the physical characteristics of this hypothetical race as described by Sten Konow bears agreement with “Dravidian”, i.e., the autochthone race as found by Risley! But in our analysis we do find a brachy-mesorrhineus element in Bengal which is certainly an eastern-asian characteristic.

Thus it is evident that different racial elements have composed the Indian peoples, and the people of Bengal are a part of it only. There is nothing strange in it. Every nation or a linguistic group has in the course of ages undergone such a mixture and evolution. The primordial hordes have coalesced together into one people, which have either invaded other

people's territory or been invaded in turn and they have again amalgamated. The amalgamation has created a new evolution. And through force or through imitation or adoption new ideas, new manners, new religions or new languages have been introduced. Thus from the original primordial horde to a nation various process of social *Kaiyo karnesis* have taken place. Archæology finds out the evidences of these racial elements from the remains of the past, the linguist from the composition of the language, the sociologist from an analysis of the said social institutions, the ethnologist from the evidences of the life of the people, the physical anthropologist from the differences of physical characteristics. We have already spoken of the differences of physical characteristics of whole of India and of the province of Bengal. We have found out that there are differences of physical characters amongst the people of Bengal. Here a question may be raised that “whether this difference does not fall within the range of breadth of variation?” That is, amongst a given group of people there will be a great width of the range of variation so that a long-skulled man and a broad-skulled man may belong to the same group of men by having a common ancestors. But the biological laws as evinced in the zoological experiments do not warrant a great width in a homogeneous group. A long-skulled long-nosed element and a broad-skulled middle form of nosed element cannot be counted as members of a close homogeneous group. Therefore we must take them as independent racial elements.

But the question comes when they appeared in history and were they homogeneous ones? That is, were the pre-Aryan speaking and the Aryan-speaking peoples closed homogeneous stocks and when did they appear in the history of Bengal. There is no record to tell us definitively. Rather through an empiric reasoning it may be said that all the historical peoples have been heterogeneous ones and there is no supposition that contrary has been the case in Bengal. If the “Bengalees” are the product of the mixtures of two different racial stocks, Dravadians and the Mongolians, as maintained by Risley, then we must find the traces of these two elements not only in the features of their mixed products but also in language, manners and customs.

These two ethnic units must have left some traces in the society of Bengal. The sociology

of Bengal must bear some testimony of these influences in some part of the history of the life of the people of Bengal or if the different racial elements found in our analysis have appeared in the history of Bengal as homogeneous peoples with languages, ethnic customs, religions and cultures of their own, then we should find their traces in the life of the people of Bengal. In the social life of Bengal these various strata of migration must have left their traces, and in making an analysis of our social life we should

find these traces. In this paper the subject matter of discussion will be the nature of different sociological phenomena as depicted in Bengali literature which have appeared in Bengal society due to different cultural influences and to make a sociological analysis of these influences. Literature is the mirror of a people's life and therefore in Bengali literature we should find the traces of different influences in the social life of Bengal.

(To be continued).

RUPEE AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

By MR. P.B. JUNNARKAR, M.A., L.B.

The question of the 'stabilisation' of the Rupee has again become prominent. The public opinion demands an immediate examination of the problem as there were signs indicating a definite movement towards normality in the economic world and the principal difficulty of unstable world conditions could no longer be urged as a reason for postponing the enquiry. The Indian Government has already indicated its acceptance of these premises and announced its decision to appoint a committee as soon as the world factors on which the decision must be based are more settled. According to the anticipation of the Finance Member, it should be possible to appoint the committee not later than twelve months hence. The pound sterling has nearly attained a precarious parity with gold. The policy of the Finance Member would appear to be to wait till this parity has been definitely established.

The goal of the Indian Currency policy has been defined as a gold standard. There is however a fundamental difference as to the means by which this policy must be given effect to, apart from the particular ratio to be adopted between gold and the rupee about which there will be some controversy.

The Indian demand is for a gold currency and a gold mint as the normal accompaniment of a gold standard. The buttress of the scheme

recommended by the Fowler Committee was to have been twofold—a gold currency and a gold reserve built up out of the profits from coining. The chief criticism of the policy actually pursued was that the recommendations of the Fowler Committee, though formally adopted, were never carried out in practice. The Reserve which should have been held in gold in India had been transferred to London and held in sterling securities, and nothing was done to establish an effective gold circulation. The result was that instead of endowing India with a gold currency and a subsidiary token coinage, the vast bulk of the metallic circulation was in rupees. Though the standard was gold, the circulating medium was silver. The Indian opinion in effect demands that the entire problem should be now thoroughly examined and India should be placed on a sound gold basis, especially as the Government control on which the gold exchange system rests had failed lamentably, the disastrous experiment of the year 1920 being cited as an instance in point.

The exponents of the gold exchange system on the other hand have urged that a gold standard need not carry a gold currency with it, that the people of India neither desire nor need any considerable amount of gold for circulation as currency and the currency most generally suitable for the internal needs of India consists of rupees and notes, that the aim of

the Government had always been to give the people the form of currency they need whether gold rupees or notes, that gold in a reserve was a better safeguard in a crisis than gold in circulation, that the system which India had developed was akin to Ricardo's theory of a perfect currency consisting of a cheap circulating medium for use at home maintained at par with gold which was concentrated in a reserve and was available for settling international debts, that so long as gold performed the function of the standard of value, it was immaterial, nay, a distinct advantage that it was not a medium of exchange and the active circulation was carried on in a cheaper medium and consisted of token rupees.

The controversy conducted on this ground misses the real issue which is, whether the gold exchange system placed India on the gold basis in the important sense that gold became the standard and the value of other forms of currency subsidiary to it.

Apart from the question whether the circulation ought to have consisted mainly of gold or rupees, did the standard become gold and the value of the rupee subsidiary to it, when the gold exchange standard was inaugurated in the year 1899? Was the rupee ever a 'token' in relation to gold?

Tokens are subsidiary coins, their value being based upon the standard and having no existence apart from the standard. The value of a token is independent of its intrinsic worth and is due its having been declared legal tender at a definite relation to the standard.*

The value of the rupee on the other hand has existed independently of the sovereign, though both the sovereign and the rupee have been legal tender since the inauguration of the gold exchange standard. Far from its purchasing power being derived from its being a fraction of the sovereign, it has quoted the sovereign itself as it has quoted other commodities. Far from enjoying the status of standard money the basis of the value of its token, the sovereign has been 'priced' in terms of rupees on a level with goods in general, throughout the effective

régime of the gold exchange standard from 1899 to 1914.†

Tokens are a subsidiary currency, needed for ordinary transactions, legal tender at a definite relation to the standard. Provided their issues do not exceed the demand, they will pass in circulation at the declared value in terms of the Standard.

The gold exchange system is also worked upon the assumption that the value of the rupee is maintained by regulating the quantity in relation to the demands of trade. Even conceding the contention of the exponent of the gold exchange system that the issues of the rupee currency had been strictly in accordance with the demand, *the rupee was not related to the sovereign in a manner which was even legally effective.*

The status of the rupee and the sovereign is defined by Sec. 11 and Sec. 12 of the Indian Coinage Act of 1906. To quote the sections.—

Sec. 11.—Gold coins whether coined at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England or at any Mint, established in pursuance of a proclamation of His Majesty as a branch of His Majesty's Royal Mint, shall be legal tender in payment or on account at the rate of fifteen§ rupees for one sovereign ;

†The 'fixed' relationship between the sovereign and the rupee supposed to have been brought about by the initiation of the gold exchange system existed only in the statute-book. Actually the 'price' of the sovereign has ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 15 As. 5. The following fortnightly 'quotations' of the sovereign for the year 1902 may be taken as a type

Jan. 3	15 0 0	May 9	15 3 0	Sep. 12	15 3 6
17	15 0 0	23	15 3 6	26	15 3 6
31	15 0 0	6	15 3 6	10	15 3 6
Feb. 14	15 0 0	20	15 4 6	21	15 3 6
28	15 0 0	4	15 4 6	7	15 3 6
Mar. 14	15 2 6	18	15 4 0	21	15 3 0
27	15 3 0	1	15 3 6	Dec. 5	15 3 0
Apr. 11	15 2 6	15	15 3 6	19	15 2 6
25	15 2 6	29	15 3 6	30	15 2 6

See the list of current quotations in the Annual Reports of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce from 1899 to 1914.

§Altered to ten by the Act of 1920. There is an insistent demand by the Indian mercantile community to reverse this legislation and restore the old ratio. Sir Purshottamdas, while moving his bill for the restoration of the old ratio, argued that the experience of the past four years had proved that the ratio recommended by the Smith Committee was unsuited to the conditions of the country, as exchange had been much more in proximity of the old legal ratio than the existing one during all these years with the sole exception of 1919-20 when world conditions were abnormal everywhere.

*Apart from the standard money, there is generally in all countries a fairly constant demand for tokens in ordinary transactions. So long as the issues of tokens are regulated in relation to this 'demand', redeemability is not essential to maintain their value in relation to the standard

Provided that such coins have not been called in by any proclamation made in pursuance of the Coinage Act of 1870, or have not lost weight so as to be of less weight than that for the time being prescribed for like coins by or under the said statute as the least current weight.

Sec. 12.—The rupee and half-rupee shall be a legal tender in payment or on account ;—

Provided that the coin

(a) has not lost weight so as to be more than two per cent. below the standard weight and

(b) has not been defaced.

It will be noted that, Section 12, which makes the rupee a legal tender, is altogether silent about its relation to the sovereign; while Section 11 had the effect of making the sovereign a legal tender at the rate of fifteen rupees for one sovereign.

As the section stood the tender of a sovereign in payment or on account was a legal tender at the stated rate. But law cannot enforce such a tender. If the holder of a sovereign chooses to use it as bullion,* law cannot enforce its use as currency.

It is the token whose value has to be declared in terms of the standard money.† To ensure

*The sale of the sovereign as a commodity has nothing to do with the 'bullion' habit of the Indian people about which there is so much criticism. It was an incident in the normal functioning of the gold exchange standard itself. I may take another opportunity to explain this.

†The value of the anna is thus declared in the section which makes the anna a legal tender. To quote the section.—

Section 13.—The nickel coin specified in Section 6,

the circulation of the rupee as a token, the ratio ought to be declared in Section 12, which makes the rupee a legal tender. The difference is material. The use of the rupee as bullion would be impossible. It could be used only as currency, and as currency it would have been a legal tender *only at the prescribed rate.*§

What is important to realise is that the 'statutory' ratio was never effective in practice. All the prominent features of the gold exchange system which have raised so much controversy lend themselves to an easy explanation if the effect of the other measures which are associated with the working of the system is analysed in relation to this.

What should be the future ratio to be established between the rupee and gold? It is already realised that the ratio recommended by the Smith Committee is impracticable. Experience would suggest that the old ratio was easily maintainable. The adoption of the gold standard for India, however, must stand the only test which has a practical significance, that the value of the rupee must be definitely harnessed to gold; and the one indispensable step to achieve this is to declare the rupee itself in terms of gold, apart from other measures to ensure that gold functions as a standard of value.

shall be a legal tender in payment or on account for any sum not exceeding one rupee, at the rate of sixteen for one rupee.

The 'quotation' of the rupee in terms of annas would be *illegal*. The rupee has never been 'related' to the sovereign by law, in the way in which the anna has been 'related' to the rupee. Examine further the manner in which bronze coins have been declared legal tender.

§The 'sale' of the sovereign in terms of rupees simply recorded the fact that the rupee did not circulate at the legal ratio.

IDEALS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION.

By PROFESSOR J. N. SAMADDAR.

Whatever may be the *exact* ideals regarding the various aspects of Education in Ancient India, it cannot be denied that the ideals inculcated in the Literature of Ancient India

regarding this important question were of a very high order. Knowledge *only* was considered as the highest thing and as Chanakya has observed, "If the King was honored in his own Kingdom,

the learned were honored throughout the world." That theoretically the position of a learned man, even of a student, was superior to that of the king was best explained by Manu when he said that, "If the King and a *Snataka* meet, the latter received respect from the King." "Way is to be made for one in a carriage, one in his tenth decade, a sick person, one carrying a load, a woman, also for the King, and a student who has returned home, and for bridegroom. But of (all) those (if) met together, the student who has returned home and the prince are to be honored (with the right of way) ; but of the prince and the student who has returned home, the student receives this honor from the prince." (1)

Exceptional, indeed, were the privileges which a student in ancient India enjoyed. He could not be a witness (2), because as a commentator has well explained, he had to attend to his duties (3) and his being a witness, would naturally have stood in the way of his studies. The King himself was to guard the property of a student which descended to him by inheritance until he could return from the house of his preceptor (4). What was gained by a scholar from a third person was considered as the acquisition of the scholar only and could not be divided among co-heirs. What was gained as a fee for answering questions or for ascertaining a doubtful point of law or what was gained as a reward for displaying knowledge or for victory in a learned contest or for reading the Veda with transcendent ability, was not subject to distribution, but other things were the joint property of co-heirs.

PERIODS OF STUDY.

Different are the opinions expressed regarding the periods of study. Svetaketu Aruneya was sent to school in his twelfth year and returned when he was twenty four, having finished the three Vedas. Manu suggested that the vow of studying the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty six years or for half that time, or for a quarter, or until the student has perfectly learnt them (5). Apastambha was, however, of opinion that a student was to sit at the feet of his *Acharya* for forty-eight

years, if he was to learn the four Vedas. There were, however, according to this teacher, exceptions. For forty-eight years (if he learns all the four Vedas) ; (or) a quarter less (*i.e.*, for thirty-six years), (or) less by half (*i.e.*, eighteen years). Twelve years (should be) the shortest time (for his residence with his teacher) (6)."

Baudhayana (7) also has the same orders. "The term of studentship," according to this authority, "for learning the Veda, as kept by the ancients in forty-eight years (or) twenty-four years, or twelve for each Veda or at the least one year for each *khandā*, or until the Veda has been learned, for life is uncertain."

In one instance, at any rate, we find a student becoming a lifelong teacher (8). We find Indra living with his teacher as a pupil for not less than one hundred and five years (9) and on another occasion we find the Sastras enjoining not only life-long study—but through different lives. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana* we read (10) "Bharadvaja lived through three lives in the state of a religious student. Indra approached him when he was lying old and decrepit, and said to him, "Bharadvaja, if I give thee a fourth life how wilt thou employ it?" "I will lead the life of a religious student," he replied. He (Indra) showed him three mountain-like objects. From each of them he took a handful and calling him said, "These are the three Vedas. The Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast studied during these three lives. Now there is another thing which thou hast not studied ; come and learn it. This is the Universal Science." That would of course show the longest length and the highest ideal of studentship.

DISCIPLINE.

The discipline aimed to be observed was of a very high order. As Manu noted (11) :—

"A student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit. Every day having bathed and being purified, he must offer his libations of water to the gods, sages, manes, worship (the images) of the gods and place fuel on (the sacred

(1) Manu II, 138 and 139.

(2) Manu VIII, 65.

(3) Medatithi.

(4) Manu.

(5) Manu III.

(6) Apastambha, I, 1, 2.

(7) *Ibid* I, 2, 3.

(8) Brh. Ar. II, 23, 2.

(9) Chhand Up, IV, 4, 4.

(10) III, 10.

(11) II, 175 &.

fire). Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances used for flavouring food, women, all substances turned acid and from doing injury to living creatures; from anointing his body, applying collyrium to his eyes, from the use of shoes, and of an umbrella (or parasol), from sensual desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing and playing musical instruments; from gambling, idle disputes, backbiting, and lying, from looking at and teaching women and from hurting others. Let him always sleep alone, let him never waste his manhood: Let him fetch a pot full of water, flowers, cowdung, earth and kusa grass, as much as may be required by his teacher." Vishnu also lays down that: "He must avoid Sraddhas, salt, food turned sour, stale food, dancing, singing, women, honey, meat, ointments, remnants of the food (of other persons than his teacher), the killing of living beings and rude speeches. He must occupy a low couch. He must rise before his Guru and go to rest after him. He must salute his Guru after having performed his morning ablution. Let him embrace his feet with crossed hands, the right foot with his right hand and the left foot with his left."

Another teacher, Apastamba⁽¹²⁾, has laid down the following rules regarding the duties of the students. "He shall obey his teacher (except when ordered to commit crimes which cause loss of caste) he shall do what is serviceable to his teacher, he shall not contradict him. He shall not eat food offered (at a funeral oblation or at a sacrifice). Nor pungent condiments, salt, honey or meat. He shall not sleep in the day-time. He shall not use perfumes. He shall preserve chastity. He shall not embellish himself (by using ointments and the like). He shall not wash his body (with hot water for pleasure)."

The student's actions were restricted in every way. "Let him not look at dancing. Let him not go to assemblies (for gambling, &c.), nor to crowds (assembled at festivals). Let him not be addicted to gossiping. Let him be discreet. Let him avoid dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, the use of perfumes, garlands, shoes (or), a parasol, applying collyrium (to his eyes), and anointing (his body)"⁽¹³⁾.

Professedly, it was a very hard life. For,

"one should not sit down on a bed or couch or being approached by a superior and one sitting on a bed or couch should arise and salute him. For at an old man's approach the vital breath of youth goes out upwards; by rising and saluting he gets it again"⁽¹⁴⁾. In the Jataka also we find a student (a well-born lad) bringing wood, pounding rice, cooking, bringing all that was needed for washing the face and washing the feet" (IV, 474, P. 125). It was indeed, discipline of the mind, discipline of the heart, practice of self-control and self-denial, cultivation of virtues like humility, modesty, reserve and charity.

Even corporal punishment was restored. "As a rule," as Gautam has observed⁽¹⁵⁾, "a pupil shall not be punished corporally. If no other cause is possible he may be corrected with a thin rope or a thin cane."

Very high reverence was paid to the teacher. And the reason ascribed was, that of the natural father and the giver of the Veda, the more laudable was the teachers. "Let the student consider that he received a mere animal existence when his parents begot him through mutual affection and when he was born from the womb of his mother"⁽¹⁶⁾. But in the case of the birth which the teacher procured for the student, it was real, it was exempt from age and death⁽¹⁷⁾.

It was evidently with this ideal in view that the student was to fetch water daily in a vessel. Daily was he to fetch fuel from the forest and place it on the floor in his teacher's house. Indeed, whenever a student wished to become a pupil, he had to approach the teacher with fuel in his hands, as a sign that he would help the teacher in maintaining the sacred fire⁽¹⁸⁾. In the Atharvaveda⁽¹⁹⁾, there is a hymn the object of which, evidently, is to describe the sun under the figure of a Brahmana student who brings firewood and alms for his teacher. In the Buddhist age, 'let him who is going to choose an upajjhaya adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, salute the feet of the intended upajjhaya, sit down squatting, raise

(14) Manus II, 120 and 121.

(15) Manus also observes, "A pupil may be corrected when he commits faults with a rope or the small short of a cane." "If the teacher, however struck the student with any other instrument he was to be punished by the King." (Gautama II, 44).

(16) Ibid II, 47.

(17) Ibid II, 148.

(18) Mund Up. I, 2, 12.

(12) I, 1, 2.

(13) Baudhayana, I, 2, 3.

his joined hands, and say, "Venerable Sir, be my *upajjhaya*." This was to be repeated three times, and if the *bhikkhu* who was addressed expressed his consent by word or gesture, then the choice was complete and the relationship of preceptor and pupil began. After having kindled the fire and having swept the ground around the altar, he was to place the sacred fuel on the fire every morning and evening. He was also to sweep the place around the fire'(20).

A similar injunction was laid down by Manu(21). "Let the student collect fuel, go abegging, sleep low on the ground, and do what pleases his teacher." "Every day," another teacher observes, "he shall put his teacher to bed after having washed his (teacher's) feet and after having rubbed him. He shall retire to rest after having received the teacher's permission. And he shall not stretch out his feet towards him. He shall not approach his teacher with shoes on his feet, or his head covered or holding implements in his hand. He shall approach his teacher with the same reverence as a deity, without telling idle stories, attentive and listening eagerly to his words. He shall not sit near him with his legs crossed. If on sitting down, the wind blows from the pupil towards the master, he shall change his place"(22).

And we may add, that the period of student-ship was looked upon not only as a time of learning, but as a period of discipline. In the leisure time left from the duties of working in the house and in the field or attending to the guru's sacred fires(23) or to look after his cattle(24) or even to collect alms for the guru's maintenance(25), that the Veda had to be studied.

The Mahavagga has given us a beautiful description about the regulation regarding the teacher and the taught. "Let him arise betimes; and having taken off his shoes and adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder let him give to the *upajjhaya* the teeth-cleanser, and water to rinse his mouth with. Then let him prepare a seat for the *upajjhaya*. If there is rice-milk, let him rinse the jug and offer rice-milk to the *upajjhaya*, when he has drunk it, let him give water to the

upajjhaya, take the jug, hold it down, rinse it properly without damaging it by rubbing, and put it away. When the *upajjhaya* has risen, let him take away the seat. If the place is dirty let him sweep the place." After this he was to help the preceptor to dress and get his alms-bowl ready if he wished to go out to beg. If the preceptor desired it, the pupil was to follow him as his attendant on the begging tour, keeping not too far away and not too near him. If the preceptor speaks, he is not to interrupt him. After the begging is over the pupil was to get back quickly to the monastery, prepare a seat, get water for the washing of his feet, a foot-stool, and a towel. Then he must go and meet the preceptor and take his bowl and robe from him. He must fold the robe and attend to the clothes of the preceptor. If the preceptor wishes to eat the food in the alms-bowl, he must bring him water and then offer him food. After the meal the pupil must wash and dry the bowl and put it away and also put away the robe. After the preceptor has risen the pupil must take away the seat, and put away the water for the washing of feet, the foot-stool and the towel. If the place was dirty he was to sweep it. Then he was to help the preceptor to bathe, getting for him cold or hot water, or accompanying him to the bathing-place if he wished to go there. The pupil also bathed at the same time, but had to dry and dress himself quickly so as to be ready to help the preceptor. After the bathing was completed he was to ask the preceptor for a discourse, or ask him questions(26).

DUTIES OF THE TEACHER.

The duties were reciprocal. A good teacher was he who, like the powerful sun, shows every object in its true colors and by means of discipline and practice protects the powers that lie hidden in his pupils. He must have a respectable character, and should be good-looking as well as true and faithful, should have a happy soul and a retentive memory(27). The teacher had to love his student like his own son and full of attention he was to teach him the sacred

(20) Apastambha, I, 1, 4.

(21) II, 10, 8.

(22) Apastambha, I, 1, 4.

(23) Chhand Up, IV, 10, 1.

(24) Ibid. IV, 4, 5.

(25) Ibid. IV, 3, 5.

(26) I-Tsing thus states: "The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes, or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. Then having examined water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. Thus, if there be anything to be done, he does all on behalf of his teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior."

(27) Rig Veda, I, 63, 2.

science without hiding anything in the whole law(28). "And he shall not use him for his own purposes to the detriment of his studies, except in times of distress"(29) for, a teacher who neglected to instruct his pupil was no longer to remain a teacher(30). The Mahavagga lays down that the teacher ought to consider the autavasika as a son: the autavasika ought to consider the acharya as a father. Thus these two, united by mutual reverence, confidence and communion of life was to progress, advance and reach a high stage in doctrine and discipline(31).

As the Mahavagga has observed, "the *upajjhaya* ought to observe a strict conduct towards *saddhiviharika*. Let the *upajjhaya* afford spiritual help and furtherance to the *saddhiviharika* by teaching, by putting questions to him, by exhortation, by instruction." The teacher was to see that the pupil possessed an alms-bowl, a robe, and the other simple articles which a student was allowed to possess. If the pupil was sick the preceptor was not only to nurse him, but to wait upon him and attend to him, just as the pupil was required to wait upon himself in health(32).

Hardy in his Manual of Buddhism(33) has thus well summed up the question. "He must be continually solicitous about his welfare; appoint the relative portion of time in which he is to work, to rest and to sleep; when he is sick he must see whether or not he has such food as is proper for him; encourage him to be faithful, persevering and erudite; divide with him what he has received in the alms-bowl; tell him not to be afraid, know who are his associates, what places he frequents in the village and how he behaves in the Vihara; avoid conversing with him on frivolous subjects; bear with him and not be angry when he sees a trifling fault in his conduct; impart to him instruction by the most excellent method, teach him in the fullest manner without any abridgement whether it be relative to science or religion, try each fond endearment to induce him to learn as with the heart of a father; with an enlarged mind teach him to respect the

precepts and other excellent things; subdue him to obedience in order that he may excel; instruct him in such a manner as to gain his affection; when any calamity overtakes him, still retain him without being displeased when he has some matter of his own to attend to; and when he is in affliction soothe his mind by the saying of bana. By attending to these rules, the duty of the master to his scholar will be fulfilled"(34).

CLASSES OF TEACHERS.

It appears that there were at least three classes of teachers(35).

First, there was the acharya who initiated a pupil and taught him the Vedas, with the Kalpa and the Rahasya. But he who for his livelihood taught a portion only of the Veda was the sub-teacher or upadhya. The third was the guru who performed according to rule the rites on conception(36).

Patanjali has, however, mentioned four kinds of teachers—Acharya, Guru, Siksaka and Upadhya. The first title was applied only to those of the highest type of teachers while the three others applied to the ordinary teachers(37).

In addition to these, there were assistant teachers (II, 100) who were the most advanced or senior pupils, while on one occasion a teacher appointed his oldest disciple as his substitute (I, 141). These senior pupils becoming then associated with the work of teaching, became afterwards teachers themselves.

FEES.

Manu condemned the habit of taking fees from students. Teaching the Veda for wages, according to him, made one lose his caste(38). Both the teacher who taught for a stipulated fee, as well as the student who was taught on that condition, were to be carefully avoided(39). It seems that during Manu's time only presents—and even those after the completion of study—were allowed(40). Indeed under the Brahmanical system, the general practice was

(28) Apastambha, 1, 2, 8.

(29) *Ibid*

(30) *Ibid*.

(31) I, 321.

(32) I-Tsing also has said, "In case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed and pays attention to him as if he were his child."

(33) P. 479.

(34) Manual of Buddhism, p. 479.

(35) It was forbidden to a Ksatriya to teach Manu X, 77.

(36) Manu II, 149, ff.

(37) There were also women teachers—upadhya. (Vartika IV, 1).

(38) Manu XI, 6, 7

(39) Manu III, 150

(40) II, 245. Also Vishnu, 48, 44

to pay the fees when the Brahmacharin became a *Snataka*.

But Apastambha insisted on a fee. "After having studied as many (branches of) sacred learning as he can, he shall procure in a righteous manner the fee for (the teaching of) the Veda (to be given to his teacher), according to his power"(41). But that the acceptance of any fee was considered ignoble, is evidenced from the fact that the student having paid the fee, he was not to boast of having done so(42).

The system of paying fees was more in evidence during the period of the Jataka(43). There we find mention of a fee of a thousand pieces(44). It must however be admitted that even then there were students who did not or could not afford to do so. The teacher asked of his student, "Have you brought a teacher's fees or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you." Those who brought the fee were treated like the eldest sons in his house, while those who could not afford to pay any remuneration had to perform menial duties. Occasionally fees were paid after completion of education(45).

No. 252 of the Jatakas gives us an insight into the atmosphere of learning and culture, while the educational system and organisation they bring to light are very well indicated in that. It places before us the chief features of the educational system of the times. "Once on a time Brahmadata, the King of Benares, had a son named Prince Brahmadata. Now Kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries far off to complete their education, that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and high-mindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. So did this King. Calling his boy to him—now the lad was sixteen years of age—he gave him one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves and a thousand pieces of money with these words, "My son, get you to Takkasila and study there." The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasila. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling and reached it at the time when the teacher had

finished his lecture and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad had set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the newcomer. The lad ate, and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him.

"Where have you come from?" he asked.

"From Benares."

"Whose son are you?"

"I am the son of the King of Benares."

"What brings you here?"

"I come to learn," replied the lad.

"Well, have you brought a teacher's fee or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you?"

"I have brought a fee with me" and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces."

The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and at night they learn of him.

SELECTION OF STUDENTS.

Some consideration was made regarding the selection of students. Here also Manu's words have to be noted. "Ten are legally to be instructed—the son of one's teacher, an obedient youth, one who communicates knowledge, one who is virtuous, one who is pure, one who is trustworthy, one who is able, one who gives wealth, one who is good, and one's own relative(46). And again, "where merit and wealth are not obtained by teaching, nor due obedience, in such soil sacred knowledge must not be sown, just as good seed must not be thrown on barren ground"(47). Even in times of dire distress, a teacher of the Veda was to die with his knowledge than sow it in barren soil(48).

SUBJECTS OF STUDY.

The Chandogya Upanishad(49) refers to a conversation when Narada speaks of the subjects which he had learnt. Rig Veda, Yayur Veda, Sama Veda, Atharva Veda, Itihasa, Purana, Grammar Pitrya, Rasi, Daiva, Nidhi, Vakovakya, Ekayana, Devavidya, Brahnavidya, Bhutavidya, Kshatravidya, Nakshatra Vidya,

(41) I, 27.

(42) *Ibid.*

(43) *Ibid.*

(44) I, 55; IV, 445; IV, 522.

(45) IV, 478.

(46) II, 109.

(47) II, 112 ff.

(48) *Ibid.*

(49) VI, 1, 2.

Sarpavidya, Devagana Vidya. In the Vishnu Purana we find how a student (generally in the evening) spent a few hours daily in receiving lessons in the secrets of religion and in the various sciences and arts(50). In the Brhadaraanyaka Upanishad we find a somewhat similar list, viz. Rig, Yayur, Sama, Atharva, Itihasa, Purana, Vidya, Upanishads, Slokas, Sutras, Anuvyakhyanas and Vyakhyanas”(51). In the Ramayana we find the young princes learning Vedas and the art of archery.

In the Jatakas we find that the three Vedas were learnt by heart while 18 branches of knowledge were also taught(52). Five knowledges (whatever these were) and eight attainments were taught at Takashila(53). Science also was taught there(54) while there was also specialisation(55), while students had to travel to master local customs. An instance is found of a student's exhibiting before his parents a practical demonstration of the knowledge he had acquired with his teacher. Teaching was also practical.

Hieun Tsiang has given as an idea as to the Course of Study in the University of Nalanda “In beginning the education of their children and winning them on to progress they follow the twelve chapters.” When the children are seven years old, the great treatises of the five sciences are gradually communicated to them. The first science is Grammar, which teaches and explains words and classifies their distinction. The second is that of the skilled professions concerned with the principles of the mechanical arts, the dual process and astrology. The third is the science of medicine, embracing and exercising charms, medicine, the use of the stone, the needle, moxa. The fourth is the science of reasoning by which the orthodox and heterodox are ascertained and the true and false are thoroughly sought out. The fifth is the science of the Internal which investigates and teaches the five degrees of religious attainments (*lit.* the five vehicles) and the subtle doctrine of Karma.

In concluding this question, I make no apology in referring to the courses of study as laid down by Kautilya, the author of the

Arthashastra, regarding the education of a prince. All the four sciences, viz. *Anvikshiki* (which included the Sankya, Yoga and Lokayata philosophies), *Varta* (i.e. agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade) and *Dandaniti* (i.e., the science of Government, including a knowledge of criminal law). These sciences, according to him, were to be studied and their precepts strictly observed under the authority of specialist teachers. The prince was to learn first the alphabet and arithmetic. After investiture with the sacred thread, he was to read the triple Vedas, the science of *Anvikshiki* under teachers of acknowledged authority, the science of *Varta* under Government superintendents, and the science of *Dandaniti* under theoretical and practical politicians. Strict discipline had to be maintained and in maintaining efficient discipline, he shall ever and invariably keep company with aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline had firm root.

Kautilya also planned the hours of study.

The prince was to spend the fore-noon in receiving lessons in military arts concerning elephants, horses, chariots and weapons, and the afternoon in hearing the Itihasa. During the rest of the day and nights, he shall not only receive new lessons and revise old lessons, but also hear over and again what has not been clearly understood.” Thus we see that the order for the princes was indeed a big one.

UNIVERSITIES.

Takshila, as we see in the Jatakas, was the most famous seat of learning which attracted scholars from every part of India, just as Nalanda and Vikramsila drew students from all parts of Asia. The teachers of all these three Universities were ‘renowned throughout the world.’ At Taxila, we read how “youths of the warrior and the Vralman caste came from all India to be taught the arts by him”(56). At the two other Universities also as at Taxila, there were specialists teaching their special subjects. The three intellectual centres at different times were flocked by students who wanted to complete their education they had in their native schools. We have no idea so far as Taxila and Vikramsila were concerned as to the number who could get admittance into these universities, but thanks to Hieun Tsiang we have got a fine description showing the working

(50) III, xi, 96.

(51) Brh. Ar. Up ii, 4, 10.

(52) I, 50 (P. 126).

(53) V, 426.

(54) IV, 38.

(55) III, 115.

(56) III, 158.

of the Nalanda University. The priests there numbered several thousands though at Taxila the individual teacher's maximum number of pupils was 500. "If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers have to show their ability by hard discussion, those who fail compared with those who succeed are as seven or eight to ten"(57).

The above statement shows that Nalanda was a University where students flocked to complete their admission, the matriculation examination being a hard one. Taxila also gave higher education, for students went there at sixteen or when they were of age(58).

The Universities, further, were more or less of residential types. Day scholars however, were admitted, and in one instance we find of a Prince living in a house of his own(59), while in another, a married Brahman at Benares came from his house to listen to his master's teaching two or three times every day(60), and the expenses of the students were borne by the people and often by the Kings. We know of an instance where the people used to give day by day commons of food to the poor students so that they might not be inconvenienced. Entertainments to the students were given by villages(61). The Monasteries in the days of Fa-hien were endowed by Kings and merchants with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards. In addition to these the annual tribute from the harvest was given. For the Nalanda University the King of the country remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the University. 200 householders in these villages, day by day, contributed several hundred piculs (1 picul = 133½ lbs.) of ordinary rice and seven hundred catties (1 catty = 160 lbs.) in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students being so abundantly supplied, did not require to ask for the four requisites which were clothes, food, bedding and medicine. Hieun Tsiang was given daily 120 Jambiras, 20 puga (arecanut), 20 nutmegs, an ounce of camphor and a peek of

rice. At Taxila we read of rice gruel(62), while occasionally sugarcane, molasses, curd and milk were given(63).

There were evidently denominational colleges, for though in many instances we find Brahmana and Kshatriya students, sons of merchants and tailors and of fishermen(64) all reading together, we also note that some teachers had only Brahman students (I.307, 407) while one teacher had only princes as students.

The reputation of these schools and universities must have gone out of the limits of India with the result that there was an influx of students from other outside countries and which continued for a very large period. And it was for this search of truth to get imbued with the learning and culture of India that overtook all obstacles. In the words of Fa-hien, "that I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places without thinking of or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped."

From the time of the Rig Veda, when the Aryans were living in the land of the Five rivers, their educational system began. That was the nucleus. It developed from time to time, the introduction of the teachings of Gautama Buddha gave it a great impetus what was further developed because of the patronage of a number of Buddhist Kings. The three Universities of Ancient India, Taxila, Nalanda and Vikramasila,—all belonged to the Buddhistic age. The last two as we have said already disappeared more or less due to Mohammedan incursions as well as to the teachings of Sankaracharya's Brahmanic education. The long struggle with Buddhism ended in a triumph for the Brahmans, but not without their own system becoming modified. "Meaningless and trivial as many of these regulations seem to us, they were no doubt regarded as of great value by those who used them in those far-off days. They must have been intended to emphasize the great solemnity of the work in which pupil and teacher were engaged, and to impress upon the pupil the mysterious sacredness which, was

(57) For accounts of the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila, see "*The Glories of Magadha*."

(58) V, 162, 210.

(59) IV, 96.

(60) I, 463.

(61) III, 171.

(62) I, 318.

(63) I, 448.

(64) III, 171.

supposed to characterise the knowledge which was being passed on to him by his teacher(65).

We cannot but conclude by repeating the Parting Instructions as given in the Taittiriya Upanishad(66): "Say, what is true, do thy duty, do not neglect the study of the Veda. After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward do not cut off the line of children. Do not swerve from the truth, do not swerve from duty. Do not neglect greatness. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda. Let thy mother be to

thee like unto a God! Let thy father be to thee like unto a God! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a God! Whatever actions are blameless those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, should be observed by thee, not others. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith, with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct, in that case conduct thyself as Brahmans, who possess good judgment, conduct themselves therein."

We do not think there could be a better ideal.

(65) Keays, *Ancient India Education*, p. 37
(66) I, 12.

THE SYMBOLISM OF BIRDS AND WINGS IN RELIGIOUS ART.

By MR. W. G. RAFFE, A.R.C.A., F.I.B.D., F.R.S.A.

Through all the nights and days of history the artist has been closely concerned with the invention and use of symbols, which have, when originated in wisdom, included in their learning the meaning of many things in heaven and earth. Ancient symbols are found prominent in the art of every part of the globe, indicating that the greatest importance was attached to them by the sculptors and artists of those far-gone days. That most often met with is the swastika or spiral, two renderings of the same idea of the ancient conception of inter-etheric energy; of the "boring of holes in space" which ultimately formed matter at the perillelion of its force. Among the most important of these metaphysical symbols is that of the bird as the soul, first as the egg, having no wings, and then later by development a free-flying bird of the air, the symbols of which pervade all the greater religions. Whether graphic or pictorial, a symbol is something more than a mere letter-form or picture-sign; it is a static condensation of knowledge, a veiled presentment of facts. But it is never a definite presentment of the facts themselves and consequently can be comprehended only by those who have, in some

other manner, been enlightened as to the particular mysteries of that symbolism. We can however, understand something of the general nature and use of religious symbols in art or language, even though we cannot devote thought to their elucidation, by examining our modern symbols of a more material character. In science we have symbols such as the mathematical figures and letters; in chemistry conglomerations of letters meaning nothing to unfamiliar eyes; in civil engineering graphs which require explanation and understanding; a notation of music which represents real sounds when properly rendered by the right instrument; in astronomy other star symbolism, more complicated than the Assyrian astrology, and so on in everyday life. Symbolism extends far past vocal language and includes it, for all ideas are made visible and audible by some sort or kind of symbolism, *all of which are learned only by experience*. Our very language, written or spoken, is derived ultimately from symbols of sound and forms, which now have lost their original meanings. They contained not only physical but mental, emotional, and spiritual ideas so that symbolism, like other things of

thought or matter, is subject to the principle of relativity.

The path of literary symbolism has long departed from that of the artists, but so powerful is the analogy that it is still common for those familiar with the different arts to speak of one in terms of another, as, "poems of colour"; "colour" of musical tone and so forth. The pictorial symbolism of art was retarded only for lack of easy physical means to record such things. Plastic form and pure colour were needed to tell parables in paint and inscribe mysteries on stone. Now the pendulum has swung to the extreme and symbolism endures its Ragnarok, hoping that with the return of the gods will also return their ancient glories. Most religious symbols are now not properly used but usually abused by unintelligent artists who have not the faintest conception of any of the meanings. Art to-day is egoistic, chaotic and eclectic, because it has lost all understanding of symbolism, except where a conventional tradition endures in the vacant church-shell of former life. Art of to-day, seeking to express itself, finds it has no content to express; technique is perfect but the inner motive life is gone.

Since the artist escaped from the shackles of a dead religionism he has acquired in some ways, perhaps, material power, but has lost his real link with "home." The escape from prison was essential, but the flight into the wilderness was perverse. There is an urgent necessity for a new "school of the mysteries" to teach the artist anew the use and meaning of the rich symbolism of the world, for no artist should be turned loose without such thorough knowledge; without training in the science of colour and form, as well as the craftsmanship of expression and a knowledge of the high motive of its use, without which all great art fails.

It has been thought that only recent centuries have given artists the power to represent similitudes of natural things. This appears to be as great an error as the applied scientific attitude which assumes—on what foundation it does not appear—that modern science has exclusive possession in the history of the world of knowledge now in use. There would have been no prohibition against the making of "graven images" if the power had not been well known and established, and if the debasing effects of the imitation of the *external* forms of nature for their own sake had similarly not been well

known. For, on the other hand, the production of symbols and the designing of ceremonials was encouraged, and thus art became a true ornament of life, and not art for its own sake, but for the sake of the gradual uplifting of the people.

It is possible to reintroduce gradually the production of the finer type of art, even out of the chaos of the present, if we study the meanings of the ancient symbolism, and then build up an art language that shall embody the enlarged meaning of true religion and not be restricted to the worn-out conventions of any one professional institution. Their brick-walls are cages for the spirit of religion even as the body is the cage of the soul, and thus we shall take for our study the bird-symbol as the miniature of the spirit symbol, yet "cribb'd, cabined, and confined" in its motion.

Our consideration of the bird and wing symbols may well commence with the first art of which we have any knowledge.

In the Egyptian religions in their successive phases, various bird-symbols are intimately connected with the main ideas about the soul; the resurrection, the divine afflatus or spirit, and the paradise of Osiris. It is necessary for us to ascertain something as to those general ideas and doctrines of the soul, the spirit, and the resurrection, which led the artists and priests to treat of such subjects in this particular symbolical form.

In the mysterious paradise of Osiris, dead men became the living god. This dogma, rather startling to the normal modern mind, is not so unintelligible in its origin as may at first be supposed. Iamblichus, in his treatise on Egyptian mysteries, says that in the invocations of the god (to contribute an oracle) the invoker himself "became a sort of divine person." Again he says, "in the contemplation of blessed visions, the soul 'assumes' another life, operates in another manner, and justly esteems itself no longer man: it often exchanges its own life for the most blessed life of the gods: for the gods are immediately present with and united to all those who make the least approaches to them."

It is easy to understand how the natural decline of such religious doctrines might become confused with some vague idea that the mummied forms of the dead, ferried over to "Osiris" or the inponderable souls which had energised these bodies, became Osiris himself.

But the soul which translates itself to the gods, —whether often or only once,—in the true sense indicated by Iamblichus, was that of a normal human being who for a few brief hours exchanged his earthly life for “the life of the gods” and hence no longer possessed his own life while so translated, and was therefore “dead” to the world of sense. In actual fact he was “dead in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit,” to use an expression from an Egyptian oracle: he was no longer the invoker, but the invoked: his dis-ensouled body was “god-possessed”; his soul had been wafted, upon angel-wings, into the blissful paradise of entrancement and repose, and the divine spirit had taken his place in the body of the oracle, and become the man, with a divine player on the human instrument, as the man was said to have become the god. So also when Castor and Pollux “shared an immortality between them, by each “exchanging” or “laying down his life for the other’s sake” alternately; Pollux was dead while Castor lived, and Castor was dead while Pollux lived: each had his Proserpine-like half existence. The exchange was mutual: the human became divine and the divine human. But still more precise, there was a sense in which the divine became human. This was spoken of by the Egyptian hierophants when, as initiators into the mysteries of the temple, they taught that *the soul was once winged* and dwelt in a celestial home, whence it often descended to earth; but that ultimately its desire for wisdom became so confined to the earth, that its physical centre also became its chief residence, and its heavenly home was but seldom reached, and finally in its ascent, the prodigal “drunk of a lethean cup” of partial bliss (the oblivion of normal sleep) midway only in its true celestial “home” and “rest”: and then completely lost all memory of its divine origin, and lost for ages the knowledge and the very means of ascent—its glorious wings. The grand purpose of initiation, according to the hierophant, was to restore to each soul its lost use of its pinions and to renew its celestial flights, so as to more and more frequently attain the old splendour of the life of the gods, or the celestial life of divine entrancement of the real.

Such being the hierophantine doctrine, we see that the Egyptian priesthood must have at one time themselves possessed the knowledge of and frequently practised these winged ascents of the soul to the paradise of Osiris, which was

its only proper place of rest. The invocations and the following descents of the gods, in the idea of the hierophants, were simultaneous with these entrancements and ascents of the soul to bliss, with which the passages quoted from Iamblichus, are in perfect accordance.

Plotinus taught essentially the same doctrine when he said,—

“You can only apprehend the infinite by a faculty superior to reason; in which the divine essence is communicated to you: this is ecstasy: it is the liberation of your mind from its finite consciousness.....but this sublime condition is not of permanent duration: it is only now and then that we can enjoy this elevation, mercifully made possible for us above the limits of the body and the world. I, myself, have realised it but three times as yet, and Porphyry hitherto but once.”

St. Paul was once caught up into this heaven but whether in the body or out of the body, he could not say. The theurgy of Proclus was no other than the magical pas-word, which caught the soul up to the highest hierarchy of heaven, where it became intoxicated with the nectar of Olympus, inspired, inbreathed by a deity who was the “repose” he gave. This doctrine of repose is taught by Buddhist priests to-day as man’s highest good and final aim, and by “repose” they mean the entrancement of Nirvana.

Hierocles, in his “*Golden Verses*,” said,—“Philosophy is the purification and perfection of human life. . . . by leading it back to the divine image. . . . We must first become men, and then gods.” It was the pursuit of this divine apotheosis of man which was taught in the Egyptian mysteries; but an apotheosis in which “the life of the gods,” or the spirit-life, did not exclusively supersede once and for ever, the merely human or soul-life. On the contrary, it is clear from what Iamblichus and other philosophers say, that what was contemplated as the ideal of perfection, human and divine in reunion, was a mastery of location, in the body or in the divine life of poised entrancement, for the advancement of the human or natural life. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that what was aimed at was the possibility of a regular rhythmic alteration and interchange, like that between sleep and waking

consciousness of these two states of existence—natural and spiritual—human and divine—by the willed adoption of the divine life of entrancement as the only true state of rest, “repose,” or sleep; thus “daily dying” to the natural outward and sensuous life of the embodied soul, while protected within the death-like “sacred sleep”; followed by the call of the world to a daily resurrection with the soul “new every morning.”

The allusion to Castor and Pollux may now be defined. As the natural life is “dead” when regarded from the view point of the spiritual or divine life, so the divine or spiritual life itself is “dead” when dimly seen from the natural life of the soul in the physical body; and when the divine thus became human as in the mystical wing-borne journey, the human became divine; for these two are contrary one to the other, and are logically necessary antitheses, just as positive and negative electricity, or darkness, and light. In the symbolical interpretation of the Brahminical *Dream of Raven*, these two extremes of existence are indicated:—“Man is a duality: he comprises two modes of existence, —one is natural and one is reversed”; and Heraclitus clearly shows the same antitheses in saying that “mankind live the death and die the life of disembodied spirits.” Pythagoras taught that “what is beheld during our waking moments is death, and during our sleeping moments a vision”; and hence Plato said that “the body is the sepulchre of the soul.” The divine or spiritual life, in so far as the greater part of humanity believes, is dead in the human or natural life, just as the human existence is dead when the self is in the divine.

In considering birds as symbols of the soul, and particularly in relation to the Platonic doctrine of contemplation, in that power or faculty above reason which hurls the soul by the still energy of the divine will into the divine abyss; surely if any one bird denoted the soul in the Egyptian mysteries, it was the Ibis. The flight of the soul into the heavenly paradise of Osiris was symbolised by the actual flight of the living Ibis to the resting place in the adytum or inmost sanctuary of the Egyptian temple, the earthly and visible symbol of that celestial and internal paradise of the human temple or tabernacle. This flight of the Ibis took place when the veils or gates of the sanctuary suddenly opened after he had patiently waited, motionless and still on the altar in the vestibule, an

obvious living type of the soul’s contemplative power,—relaxed in perfect concentration, yet dynamic in energy as the bent “bow of the soul,” which sends it like a winged arrow, into the divine abyss of entrancement. Plato taught that the “office of contemplation is to make the soul,” which sends it, like a winged arrow, into the light of divine being. In the Egyptian rites the unmoving Ibis on the altar, gazing towards the sanctuary, was surrounded by a ring of linked priestesses, moving in the rhythmic step of the sacred dance, slowly round and round that fixed and contemplative centre,—an artistic and dramatic symbol of the connective faculty of the soul, or the mental body constituting the *comparative* soul, yet surrounding the *superlative* intuitional central eye of contemplation, the ego of identification by “a faculty superior to reason.” A considerable part of the ritual was designed to gradually lead up to the accumulation of forces necessary for the “bending of the bow.” Suddenly the great gates of the illuminated sanctuary were thrown open, and the veils withdrawn, and swift as an arrow the Ibis immediately flew in, followed by the watching worshippers, and all disappeared behind the closing gates in a moment, leaving the uninitiated waiting in the darkness of the night, whilst the mysteries were enacted within to their hidden end. These rites are clearly illustrative of the hierophantine doctrine of the soul with its wings, and its flights into paradisaical rest, by night—the fitting time for “rest.” The priestesses in the train of the flying Ibis were those in whom, usually, the sybilline oracles of “the divine life of the gods” and “the midnight sun” were induced in “the temple of sleep” which is spoken of by Iamblichus, and during which the particular god invoked was believed to have taken possession of these forms as his true temples, and to have sounded his teachings through the obedient lips of their entranced bodies, or to stand near and project his thoughts into the quiescent mind thus made ready as his mouthpiece.

Knowledge of such rites and doctrines as these throws much light not only on the use of birds or their wings as symbols, but on the significance of architectural arrangement of temples the careful placing of their altars, vestibules, and the dark adyta, or holy of holies, as emblems symbolic in position and use the true temple of the Lord, the human body with

its "heavenly house," and its "earthly house," in one dual tabernacle possessing also its intervening veil—the veil of sleep—closed as the shadow of death, to be suddenly transcended:—for knowing that the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, the Egyptians did their best to teach this grand, primitive, and universal truth, to the few who were then capable of comprehension and fit for initiation.

The objective mental bias of the mass of the Egyptian peoples demanded of their leader-priests an understandable symbolism in graphic and in verbal expression.

Hence in the early Pyramid texts we find strongly stressed the bird-like motion of the soul; like "a bird the dead flies up to heaven:" "He goes to heaven like the hawk and his feathers are like those of a goose, he rushes at heaven like a crane, he kisses heaven like the falcon, he leaps to heaven like the grasshopper. Thus he flies away from you, ye men: he is no more upon earth, he is in heaven"—"He ascends to heaven, to thee oh Ra, with the head of a falcon and the wings of a goose, and flaps his wings like a bird." "He who flies, oh ye men, and this one flies away from you." He journeys to the east side of heaven, to the place where the gods are born, renewed, rejuvenated."

All this symbolical analogy is by way of comparison and not of identity; it is "like" and not the "same" as flight. A notable emphasis is laid on the "rushing" character of the motion with which we may compare the Christian taking "of the kingdom of heaven by force:" or, more correctly translated, by effort, since it is rather the inertia of personal ignorance that is to be overcome than an opposing enemy outside to be defeated. This essential timelessness, or "swiftness" is inherent in all divine action, since time is only of the lower orders of existence. A bird in actual flight can hover, itself motionless, in the moving air, supported by external motion of the air that renders its own action unnecessary, after once it has adopted the correct poise or balance. There could not be a better symbol chosen to indicate the peace-enwrapped soul, high above all earthly things, able to see all, equally interested, equally indifferent.

This idea of the bird-symbol has been familiar with inspired teachers and prophets of all ages. We are told of the mystical inspiration of Moses, the leader of Israel, when in the significant passage in Ex. 19, he "went up

unto God" in the same mysterious ascent of the soul described in various ways by the later prophets, yet all similar. "Ye have seen how I bare you on an eagle's wings, and brought you unto myself" which clearly refers to the individual Moses and not to the mass of the Israelites since they had not been "brought unto" God.

The bird-symbol is again used with understanding in Psalm cxxiv, in a song of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the soul from dangers, which is "not given as a prey to their teeth" for "our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers."

The mystical way of ecstasy taught by Plotinus was also urged by Isaiah (Ch. 40) in teaching of the wondrous divine power: "Them that wait on the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles"; while the eagle itself, a later external symbol for the imperialism of Rome, was in places credited, like the more fabulous phoenix, (itself the classical symbol of the soul birth in fire) with the gift of renewed youth, while yet another phase of power in the wings of birds is told of the dragon-persecuted "woman" of Revelations, who was given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly away "into the wilderness."

The reason why the dove, the chief Christian bird-symbol, denoting the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of Rest as well as "the Spirit of Glory, and therefore of rest in glory," and symbolising the "Holy Ghost" as the "Comforter," appears to have chosen, is indicated by Scriptural passages such as these:—"Oh! that I had the wings of a dove, that I might flee away and be at rest!" and "As a dove to her windows."

The Ibis was taught to "flee away" into the emblematical place or state of holy rest, in the mysterious inner sanctuary of the Egyptian temple; but the dove, or pigeon which instinctively flies direct to its home, even over long distances, is surely a natural symbol, not requiring teaching to justify its use as a symbol of the prodigal, white-pinioned, flying soul returning "from a far country" to its divine home. Here indeed do we observe that the dove, as symbolical of the "I" who longed for "rest" from the conflict of life, might certainly be an adequate symbol for the soul, even though we know it to denote, in general usage, the Holy Spirit, in other Scriptural references. Apparent divergences of detail, even differences,

can be reconciled. The ovoid form of the body of the dove might itself well denote the compact and regular form of the soul in flight to the heavenly rest, but it was the strong wide-spread wings that were so ardently desired by the real being, the ego which possessed, subdued and at last caused its thoughts to rest on a balanced peace.

This same peace is indicated by Malachi who, promising the day of burning, says "Then shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings" which also makes it clear that the

spiritual wings are of course not the same in form as any bird's wings, which is but the symbol of an analogous type. The wings of the soul are marvellously pulsating roads or whirls of energy; a divine bridge between the inner "courts" and the world of mind.

These wings were the desired instrument of flight into the rest desired by that longing, contemplative soul, and still denote the spirit, the comforter, the giver of that "peace the world can neither give nor take away," on whose wings the soul was borne into ethereal bliss.

DANCING AMONG THE TAMILS.

By DR. K. N. SITARAM, M.A., Ph.D.

Among the various Indian races that have contributed to the sum total of Indian art, a prominent place has always been occupied by the Tamils, though this part of India's Cultural history of Art is very little known to or studied by scholars. Those whose linguistic forte lies only in Sanskrit have always their faces turned north, while those whose strength lies in Tamil have not yet acquired the synthetic mode of thought, or are not possessed of sufficient working knowledge of other branches of Indian linguistics without whose help a proper appreciation of Tamil artistic culture is well nigh impossible. Therefore when one, who possesses a thorough knowledge of the North and Aryan Culture, combines with it knowledge of the South as revealed to him not only by the living specimens of its art, but also by its literature, he finds that the Tamil country could boast of a period of artistic development extending over a millenium and a half. Among the contributions of this virile South Indian stock to the grand totality of Indian Art a prominent place is occupied by the Dance, whose early manifestations are fairly co-eval with the beginnings of Tamil Culture. The earliest literary references to this art are found in some of the earliest of their Sangam works, even as the earliest references to Dance and Dancing among the Aryans is found in the Rig

Veda, where the typical dancing gentlemen are Indra and the Maruts, and the lady par excellence who indulges in this is Usha. Of course the Tamils learnt a lot from their northern friends, the Aryans, but at the same time, they laid over it the rich mantle of their own peculiar culture and particular outlook on life and very soon absorbed what they learnt and made it a part of their own national inheritance, and added to it also several rich varieties of their own invention. Thus very early in their national history they divided the dance then in vogue in the Tamil country into four categories. These were the Tamil dance, consisting of both the refined and the crude varieties, the Dance borrowed from the Aryans, the Dance borrowed from the Vadukar, or the Andhras and the Dance adapted from the Sinhalese. These again they divided further into two classes, namely, those that were high browed or classical and those that were practised chiefly by the lower order of the community and hence called Desika, or the country, as distinguished from the civilised or those in vogue at court and high society circles. The Desika was also known as the Kuttu, as it consisted only of developments from the simple country or rude dances of the common folk, and did not require that use of practised limbs, which could only be cultivated by a steady

system of disciplined and rhythmic exercise practised when a person's limbs were as yet young and pliable, even in the same way as is still the vogue among the professional dancing girls of the Tinnevely District, or among those that still delight the theatre goers of Europe by means of their Swedish and Russian ballets.

Broadly speaking every dance (Kuttu) was divided into two categories, as either Vasai-kuttu, or Pukal Kuttu, Vetthial or Pothuvial, Vari Kuttu, or Vari Santi Kutta, Santi Kuttu or Vinoda Kuttu, Eyalu Kuttu, or the ordinary folk variety of the Aryan and the Tamil. Since most of these divisions practically overlap each other, it is enough if a few typical varieties are described.

The Santi Kuttu was one in which the hero (this is a typical male dance, though the professional dancers also rendered it to perfection) indicated his satisfaction after a victory in battle, or success in a love scheme by means of gentle gestures, in strict consonance with the words and the music of the dance orchestra. A more animated variety of it was the Sokkam, of which probably there were one hundred and eight different poses of the body, and especially of the limbs, most of which resembled the favourite modes of what was known as the Tandava. This was a kind of semi-religious dance, sharply opposed to which was the variety known as the natural (Mai Kottu) or the ordinary expressing the ordinary feelings or emotions of men, and was expressive of the usual three Gunas, namely, the Satwic, the Rajasic and the Tamasic. Another subdivision of this was the dance known as the Alhinaya, and which corresponded practically with those still in vogue in Malabar, and known as the Sokkiar Kuttu, wherein the dancer indicated the song or the story that was recited by his gestures without himself saying or singing anything. A more difficult variation of this was when the actor reduced into gestures the themes and words of a drama, like the one by a Sanskrit poet like Kalidasa, or Bhasa. The Mai Kottu was also divided into three other different varieties, known as the popular or the indigenous, those in which the steps and poses were strictly patented in the Tamil country itself, those which were borrowed and assimilated by the Tamils from Simhala (Ceylon) and those that were adapted from the Telugues or the Andhras (The Vadugus). As contrasted with this serious variety, or the Santi,

was the one called the Vinoda Kuttu, which was rendered so as to yield fun or frolic, and did not obey the hard and fast conventionalised rules of the Santi. It was very popular and was far from being high browed or classic, and was divided into several classes, the chief of which being, Kuravai, Kalinadam, Kudam, Karanam, Nokku and Tholpavai. The last was something like our present Marionetts, or puppet dance, as in it the chief dancer was not a human being but only a doll made of leather (Tamil, *Thol*), which was made to caper in all sorts of ways as suited the skill of the one who pulled the strings. This form of entertainment is still popular in a few of the Tamil villages, though its exponents have been reduced to the last stages of hunger by the general artistic and comic apathy of the so-called educated classes as well as the ordinary villagers, whose one passion now-a-days is only to imitate the educated classes, not so much in their virtues but only in their weaknesses and costly modes of life. The doll is called 'The Sinni' and the few who earn a living by this art are treated more as a variety of beggars than as those who provide fun, and their presence is becoming rarer and rarer now-a-days though occasionally they put in an appearance at some of the annual festivals, where, inside crude and tattered tents, they give an exhibition of their skill in this game, called also the Pommai Attam, for a few coppers. The clientele generally does not include even one man who knows English. Some Tamil wags derive the name by which their ladies are called, (Pommanatti) by saying that originally they were the inventors of this art and that their husbands were the earliest puppets or the marionetts, and that even now no lady, who does not make her husband dance truckling to her Sari's ends, deserves that name. The Kuravai was a group movement roughly corresponding to the Rasa of Upper India, though in this the number of participants is strictly limited to either seven, eight or nine, and no more. Very often it was performed as a lustration dance for the safety of cattle and the increase of the cows and their products, like the ghee, curds, etc. It was also performed as a propitiatory dance to ward off evil and bring in good luck. Thus when Kannaki, the wife of the Pukar merchant prince Kovalan, stayed with the simple shepherdesses of Madura, they gave a performance of this

dance to ward off evil from their guest as well as to bring prosperity on their own cattle. Since they were Shepherdesses, they danced that variety of it which was favourite to Krishna, their national and tribal hero, in a way which, these simple souls imagined, he would have regaled himself with the Gopis (Shepherd girls) on the banks of the Jumna. In this so charmingly described in the *Acchiyar Kuravai* section of the *Silappadikaram*, we find that no males took part in the sport, but that the girls themselves made some of their friends to personate Krishna, Balarama and Narada, while the others assumed the role of Subhadra (The Pinnai) and Yasoda, the sister and mother of the heroes respectively, while the rest posed as the simple Gopis and the sporting playmates of their national hero, Mayavan (Krishna). The dominant note of this variety was Sringara and Bhakti, i.e., amour of a deeply spiritual sort, and the devotion of the simple minded, for the favours received and the dangers rescued from. It had a peculiar, soft, voluptuously melting music of its own, in which all who participated, except Krishna, sang in chorus the praises and the glorious achievements of that Lord of the Cow World (Goloka) to the accompaniment of the flute or the lute, or of both. Generally, the divine Narada, or one personating as such, supplied the lute music from his celebrated divine harp, the Mahati, and the Lord of the Gopalas (Cowherds) Krishna himself supplied the music from his flute, as well as led the whirling movement of the Jazz, the part of Yasoda being merely that of a passive spectator, heartily rejoicing in the happiness of her children. Another variety of this, and one from which it probably derived its name, was sacred to the god of the Hill tribes (Kuravar), namely, Muruga, who probably was only a Tamil version of the Aryan God Subramanya, or Skanda. The folklore of these jungle-people whose tribe is still numerous in the hilly tracts of the Southern districts and Travancore says that this God became enamoured of one of their own native beauties, Valli (She who had her birth under a creeper of that name), and solemnised his marriage with this maiden by a group dance of this name, namely, the *Kuravai*. In fact this was a most popular marriage dance with the Marvars and other ancient Tamil warrior or maurauding tribes, whose national God was Murugan, or Subramanya, a god whose functions have a close resemblance to the ancient

God of wars, namely, Mars. He was also the patron deity of robbers, cut-throats, and cut-purses not only in Upper India (*cf.* The invocation of the thief in the *Mritchakatika* before he starts to open a hole in Charudatta's house) but easily became the patron deity of the same fraternity in the South also, and as such most of his old shrines are still either situated on the seashore or on the mountainous tracts. So, no wonder, we find in the ancient literature of the Tamils, typical woes and victories after sanguinary fights are generally celebrated by all the warriors participating in this kind of dance, a form of entertainment which was very popular with the young Tamil gallants and maids, when their elders had given their consent for them to live as man and wife. The *Kuda kuthu* (*literally* one performed with a pitcher on one's head, or simulating similar action) is still popular in the South. In this case it is a dedicatory dance, a dance which some one offering a Kodai (an unburnt sacrifice of a strictly non-Aryan nature) fees somebody else to perform either for his own good, or for that of the public. This is specially indulged in by the non-Brahmans, though the Brahmins also subscribe for it liberally, in places where yet the poison of communal hatred distilled into the body politic of the South by a few interested office seekers has not penetrated. At present there are some seasons in the South when this is the fashion, as after the harvest, or during a season of epidemics, like the cholera, smallpox or fever, or if a bad year of drought threatens the cattle and the crops. Till recently it was so paying an amusement that a professional class arose to specialise in this, called the *Komar-thadis*, as this feat required a highly specialised technical skill, and powers of endurance beyond the strength of normal men, or of men who had strong objections to get drunk. Generally, the Sudra priests of some of the Madan Kovils (Devil temples) played this role, after getting themselves excited by the amount of animal blood they had drunk, or shed, and suddenly exclaimed that they were possessed by the Sami. The toddy pots nearby, the strong perfume of the incense, as well as the haunting wild martial music of the drums and the pipes, added their own quota of auto suggestions and intoxication and very near at hand lay the consecrated Kudams (pitchers) covered over with the leaves of the Margosa and the mango and garlands, containing also a decent amount of fresh river

and to steady the pitcher on the head. To it the priest rushed followed by others, who also bore on their heads the other Kudamis, representing other brother Madans, beside the most powerful one, or the one at whose temple this Kudai was on. Steadying this on their heads, and wearing suitable dancing gear, caste marks, leaves and garlands, they begin to spin and dance round the various localities of the place, followed by another among the crowd who carries on a tray some holy sacred ashes (Vibhuti) which he distributes to householders, also in most cases receiving from them small bits of copper and rice. A more refined variety of this, but danced instead of a Kudam with a Kavadi on one's shoulders, to music of a more pleasing sort, is the Kavadi, a form of dancing vow which is carried out by his votaries to god Musuga. The chief centres of attraction for this dancing cult in South India are the temples of Muruga at Tiruchendoor (Tinnevely Dt.), the temple at Palani, and the temple at Syami Malai (near Kumbakonam). Of late, a temple near Kodambakam (Madras) is also coming into favour with the Subramanya worshippers of the Metropolis, thanks to the efforts of a local Swami, who has very kindly named it as the northern Palani. The strictly Brahmanic variety of this religious exultation ending in a kind of dance is the popular festival known as the Sasta Priti, which, though an importation from Malabar, has still strongly taken root, in the southern Districts of Madras, like Tinnevely and Madura, although this has neither the charm, nor the grace, nor the vigour of movement characteristic of the non-Brahman manifestations of religious ecstasy. Besides these which are now popular in the Tamil country, and which have been a favourite with the lower orders of the society for ever so long, the ancient Tamils preserve in the Silappadikaram a memory of the eleven or so favourite steps in dance which was taught to them by the deities partly Aryan in origin. One of these is a dance called the Kodi Kottu, which is attributed to Siva. It is said that when in deference to the wishes of the deities, Siva had set fire to the chief stronghold of the Asuras (Avunars), Tripura, and converted it into practically a cremation ground, this sight of carnage and arson moved his wife Bharati or Durea to sing, beat Talas and to dance in merriment at this destruction, since she herself was the greatest dancer of the ball room, called the Sudali or the

Mahasmasana. The contagion spreading, her husband Siva too remembered that himself also was the greatest dancer of the world and that the ball room of the cremation ground was as much his Ranga, or dance hall, as it was of his wife. So agreeably to the Tala of his spouse, he too began his Dance of Death or Mrityu Tandava, and since, instead of feeling pity for the Asura wretches whose bodies were being broiled in the heat of the fierce conflagration, he clapped his hands (Kotti) and waltzed the Mrityu Tandava, this became known as the Kodi Kotti Dance. Another dance of his was the Pandaranga, so styled because Siva executed this in front of the Sun and other deities assembled before the Solar car, with his body rendered white (Pandu) by being coated with the holy ashes, assuming the attributes of his wife, the Bharati, or Parvati. The third among this cycle of eleven dances is attributed to Krishna, and is called the Allia Tokuti, waltzed on the occasion when he killed the maddened elephant sent against him by his wicked uncle, Kansa, and is specially styled the Tohuti, as in it the Lord did not show any gestures, by means of his face, chest, hands and legs, but danced it without conveying any meaning, as he kept these prominent limbs neutral, as if they were the limbs of only a eunuch (Tamil, *Ilili*). Another also which is attributed to him is the one when he caught hold of the Asura, Bana, and squeezed the life out of him by dancing him to death. Two Dances are attributed to Muruga or Subramanya, in one of which the Tudi performed the dance when opposed by the armies of the Asura Padmasura, making the ocean itself to serve him as a Hall of Dance. The other is called the Kudai (*literally* Umbrella) because, Muruga performed this dance in the front of an umbrella when his army was standing opposed in battle array against the forces of the Asura, the Asura Padmasura. A jocular variety of the dance attributed to Krishna is the Kudam (*literally*, a pitcher), a dance which he waltzed in the streets of Bana's capital, when he came there to rescue his grandson, Aniruddha, from the chains into which the Asura monarch had put him for secretly enjoying the love of his daughter, Usha, and was so named because Krishna performed this with a Kudam or water pot on his head. Another dance which the capital of the Asura monarch Sonitapura witnessed was the one in which the father of

Aniruddha (in a previous birth), the Cupid, or Madana (Kama) waltzed dressing himself up as a lady. Hence this variety is called the *Pedi*, or the womanish. The ninth among this cycle was the one called the *Marakkal* (Tamil, a measure, or wooden vessel of capacity for paddy) as armed with this the *Mayaval* or Durga, danced and vanquished the Asuras, collecting all of them who changed their shapes into snakes, cockroaches, and scorpions and thus accomplishing their destruction. The tenth claims as its inventor, Lakshmi or

Tirumakal, who by means of this dance called the *Pavi* (Tamil, a beautiful woman), literally mesmerised into inactive impotence the forces of the Asuras, when they came out to fight against the Devas, decked out in all their shining panoply of war. The last of the group was the one called the *Kadayam*, so-called because, *Indrani* (Tamil, *Ayirani*), danced this in a field near the Northern gateway of Bana's City, so as to indicate that his end was come, he was soon to be reckoned among those that had joined the majority.

THE FOUR YUGS OF THE HINDU CALENDAR.

By MR. KEDAR NATH, B.L.

The Hindu method of calculating time has been a great puzzle and since the right clue has not been found it has been considered expedient to declare the entire system as wholly faulty, if not grossly fantastic. It strikes me, however, that we are ourselves to blame if we are unable to grasp the wonderful discoveries of the master minds of Ancient India and reject their conclusions on most insufficient grounds. The following line of thought may be of some use, at least in the sense, that it may stimulate further research and it is in this hope that I seek the hospitality of your columns.

2. The Hindu idea of time is a most complex idea and in as much as it professes to survey the whole creation with its innumerable planetary chains in the entire area of the starry firmament, it, naturally, covers a vast expanse stretching almost into infinity and starting with a system of computation which may well be regarded as the very basis on which the science of arithmetic itself is founded. For my present purposes, however, it may be sufficient to note that, so far as the world we live in and the planetary chain we belong to is concerned, the *Rishis* divided time into four (4) Yugs and laid down the following periods as the respective duration of each Yug:—

Satyug	...	17,28,000 years.
Treta Yug	...	12,96,000 ,,

Duapur Yug	...	8,64,000 ,,
Kal Yug	...	4,32,000 ,,

How they arrived at these apparently well-considered figures is the great problem to be solved but it appears quite easy of comprehension provided the right end of the thread is caught.

3. It is always easy to form some dynamic conception of energy, but it is very difficult to sense it as a psychological fact. This seems to be, however, quite within the range of possibility if we take the freshness of vigour experienced by us at any particular moment and await its recurrence at some succeeding moment and, then, regard the intervening space as one unit of the duration of human energy. Such a phenomenon is best possible if we take from morning to morning and denote the time-limit of 24 hours, coming in between the two as the extent during which one particle of the energy, of which we can become conscious, begins, grows, and dies away.

4. But what is this energy really made up of? It can safely be presumed to be the outcome of the propelling energy of the various planets which affect the human body and a visible indication of which we, at least, find in the fact that if, by some process, either the sun, or, the moon, or, say, both, could be eliminated, life on this earth would become simply

impossible. Now, by astronomical calculation, the Hindus found or, at least they believed—that the planets of our solar system take, in all, 120 years to complete their various *dashas* or, in other words, in 120 years one phase of their activity on one plane is exhausted. On this basis, it may be laid down that this is the period during which all the activities, which one human life is capable of putting forth, are to be ordinarily exhausted either with the help of this body which we, at present, possess or with the supplementary aid of some succeeding ones, possibly, the etherial bodies—call them ghosts or anything you will—of which we read in almost all the Scriptures of the world, particularly the Hindu Scriptures.

5. One life, however, is not sufficient for the complete effacement of the latent material potentialities of all the lives in one unit of human energy. This can only be possible when the sense of unit disappears altogether, or, in other words, when unit merges into digits, or, in still simpler language, when the figure 1 becomes the figure 10. Having got this idea, we can safely come to the conclusion that if the period of 120 years which, we have just seen is required for the activities of one life to be expended, be multiplied by 10 the figure resulting from this process, i.e., 1,200 years represents the extreme limit for the duration of all the potentialities of which one unit of human energy is capable in one phase of the planetary activities to which we happen to be attached.

6. We might have stopped at this figure but for the fact that we have to pursue the activities of the planetary chain itself a little further before we can have a reasonably accurate idea of the sum total of their potentialities. We are dealing, so far, with only one phase of their existence but this is not enough. They too, after all, represent a form of motion and, as such, have a tendency of rotating in a circle,—and one manifestation of their influence, therefore, is, thus, really, the sum total of their influences on one quadrant of the circle. Naturally, then, as they move on to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th quadrants the unit of human energy with which we have started exhibits the following phenomena:—

If for the 1st quadrant it requires 1,200 years, then for the 2nd it would require another 1,200 years, or a total of 2,400 years; on the 3rd, another 1,200 years, or, a total of 3,600

years; and for the 4th, another 1,200 years, or a total of 4,800 years.

7. This completes, no doubt, the journey of one unit of human energy on all the quadrants of the planetary circle but our research will not be complete until we form some notion of the intensity with which such unit must equip itself before undertaking the task so that its strength may suffice for the whole circle and be not exhausted somewhere, on the way, on any particular quadrant. Now, if it starts from a certain centre, which may be called the unknown, the Divine energy, or, by any other name, then, on the same principle that a change of existence is impossible unless the sense of unity appertaining to that existence lapses into digits, the essence, out of which this unit of human energy sprang forth, must have functioned 10 times at the centre itself before it became an unit and if 10^0 be taken to represent its strength at the centre, it must possess a potency of $10 \times 10^0 = 100^0$ for completing its journey of ten rotations on the first quadrant, a potency of $100 \times 10^0 = 1000^0$ for the second journey of another 10 rotations on the second quadrant, a potency of $100 \times 10 \times 10^0 = 10000^0$ for the third journey on the third quadrant and a potency of $100 \times 10 \times 10 \times 10^0 = 100000^0$ for the fourth journey on the fourth quadrant. In other words, the potency on the first quadrant is $1/10$ th of that on the second, $1/100$ th of that on the third, and $1/1000$ th of that on the fourth.

8. Having got these ideas, about one unit of human energy we have next to see if they help us in any way in forming an accurate, or at least nearly accurate, idea of the energy of the earth. It can safely be postulated that what we, human beings, perform in 24 hours or in other words, in one day the earth performs in 365 days and after completing one solar year, it makes a fresh start with renewed vigour. This would make the Earth's energy 365 time larger than the human energy but since we are dealing not with the question of the Earth's journey round the sun but with the question of its energy which is visibly dependant upon the combined influence of both the sun and the moon, it appears that the Hindu *Rishi* took the mean of the 365 days occurring in a solar year and of 355 days occurring in a lunar year which comes up to $\frac{365 + 355}{2} = \frac{720}{2} = 360$ and gave this figure a decided preference over the

figure 365 in measuring the Earth's energy as compared with the human energy. The result is that the number of years required by the human energy for each quadrant shall have to be multiplied by the figure 360 and the figures we thus get are:—

$1200 \times 360 = 432000$ for the 1st quadrant designated by the *Rishis* as the age of the Kal Yuga.

$2400 \times 360 = 864000$ for the 2nd quadrant designated as *Dwapur*.

$3600 \times 360 = 1296000$ for the 3rd quadrant designated as *Treta*.

$4800 \times 360 = 1728000$ for the 4th quadrant designated as *Satyug*.

As regards potency the relative strength of one quadrant as compared to the successive quadrant will remain the same, *i.e.*, if 10^0 be taken to represent the potential strength at the centre, 100^0 will represent the strength required for the 1st quadrant, 1000^0 that required for the 2nd quadrant, 10000^0 that required for the 3rd quadrant and 100000^0 that required for the 4th. In other words, the potency of the Earth in the 1st quadrant will be $1/10$ th of that in the 2nd, $1/100$ th of that in the 3rd and $1/1000$ th of that in the 4th.

10. These figures go not only to show that the figures given by the Hindu Shastras as representing the age of each Yuga rest on a sound basis but they also disclose the further fact that we have no right to dis-believe them when, taking the potency of each Yuga into consideration, they affirmed that the span of human life in Kal Yuga is 100 years, that in *Dwapur* was 1000 years, that in *Treta* 10000

years and 100000 years in *Satyug*, with which quadrant they begin—although it is immaterial which point we make our starting point on a circle—because this quadrant represents Nature in its grandest manifestation with all its potency fully revealed. Instead of disbelieving a body of writers who had absolutely no selfish motive for distorting truth or indulging in hideous exaggeration and led a life of absolute renunciation and selflessness we had better accuse our own mentality that is so imperfect. If even now, we find such matters to be beyond our comprehension and if we still desire them to be expressed in terms which we are capable of understanding, perhaps the best thing would be to reduce them to a smaller scale and follow the process adopted for shortening maps, now that we know the relative potency of one Yuga as compared with that of another.

11. In conclusion, I may point out that this article deals only with the age-limit of the various Yugas connected with this world but the Hindus proceeded further and went right up to the beginning and end of creation itself by making still subtle uses of the mystic zero which we have seen developes unity into a digit—until all the nine zeros which may be presumed, on analogy, to constitute their own separate and independent entity of one unit, are exhausted finally. Working on this line, the grand figure reached by them was 4320000000 years which they called one day of Brahma when creation began with the fullest output of the Divine energy and after which space of time it will, by the reverse process of dissolution, again, come to an end.

IMPRESSIONS OF TRAVANCORE—II.

By MR. N. K. VENKATESWARAN, B.A.

His Highness the young Maharaja *Prince Chitra Thirunal* who has just been installed in the Ancient *Musnad* of his illustrious ancestors is a prince of promise. He has already become the hub of attraction by his suavity and simple manners. His intelligence assures his future.

His urbanity endears him to his people. His personality is imbued with charm. His diligence points to a bumper harvest of achievement. People have learnt to turn their eyes to him with high expectation.

His Highness is still in his teens. He

is an extremely handsome boy. He looks the picture of simplicity but has no lack of splendour. He is somewhat conscious of the high estate to which he has been called. His kingly bearing is proof of it. He does not, however, forget that he is a boy. This eaps his kingly bearing.

The prince has a pose for public occasions. It is evidently meant to impress his people. Mere gentility doesn't take with the average man. When, for example, the average man is on the move to have *darsan* of the Maharaja, he means business. A mere boy is not likely to quench his curiosity. The pose is, therefore, assumed for the sake of the average man. Behind the pose is the real prince. The eyes are alert. The face is crystal clear. Hungry observation makes it beam with quick activity. Men and things flit by. The prince allows none to escape. He snaps them all on the camera of his mind. The world cannot keep its old ways from him. His shrewd eyes study them assiduously, avidly. A promising boy to be sure.

It is a pretty hard job that the prince has got on hand. His age is in stont contradiction with his office. Nature has invested him with healthy, intelligent, wide-awake boyhood. The Fates have installed him as the Maharaja of Travancore. The two are apt to cannon harshly of course. But he cleverly avoids the collisions. There is the Maharaja for those who want to see the Maharaja. There is the boy for those who want to see the boy. Hundreds bend low and bow to him. Others stand all eyes. The former are satisfied with their loyal obeisance. The latter are assured that the little prince who sits so erect in the coach and four and observes with steady gaze all sorts and conditions of people and never fights shy of the stare of endless crowds, not a whit, will, when age gathers unto maturity, become a ruler worthy of the illustrious line to which he belongs. He plays the part well and remains, despite, the little prince.

The Maharaja of Travancore is *Padmanabhadasa*, the servant of Padmanabha, the Lord of the temple. The Kingdom belongs to the Lord. The Maharaja administers it for the Lord as his servant. Therefore His Highness is an attache of the temple. He has sundry functions to perform there. On ceremonial occasions when the Lord goes a hunting or on a short excursion to the seaside, the Maharaja has to

attend on him in the obedient and humble attitude of true servant. On such occasions large crowds gather to see the Lord and His royal esquire. The little prince goes through them all with dignified piety and makes a charming picture into the bargain.

The other day what is called the Sastamangalam Procession came off. Every year the Poti Brahmin of Sastamangalam who lives close by the capital is honoured with a visit from the Maharaja. This is done to commemorate a glorious bit of service rendered by one of the ancestors of the Poti to a former ruler. The procession is made an imposing ceremonial and the burden of it on the principal personage is heavy. The prince bore it with becoming elegance. His demeanour on the occasion was infused with the simple dignity and mild lustre that are so peculiarly his own. The milk-white steeds seemed proud of the precious little soul sitting so majestically in the magnificent carriage. The prince who so worthily bears the burden of a heavy round of ceremonies will, no doubt, when he comes of age, worthily bear the high responsibilities of ruling one of the foremost states in the Indian Empire.

The Prince's educational attainments are already high for his age. He talks English fluently. He has a keen love of books and is said to absorb their contents omnivorously. He has a broad forehead and seems to possess sharp intelligence. Physically he is agile and looks his age. Years and education with a wide margin in it for play will make him a man and Maharaja to whom Travancore will have good reason to be proudly loyal.

6. THE MAHARANI REGENT.

"During the ministry of His Highness, the control of the State has happily vested in Her Highness the Maharani Regent, the Senior Rani of the ruling family, who is so well-known for her great gifts, wide sympathies and high ideals." Her Highness's name is Sethu Lakshmi Bai. She is going thirty. The late Raja Kerala Varma of Kilimanur, her father, was a nephew of the great artist Ravi Varma of world-wide fame. She and Her Highness the Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai, the queen-mother, were adopted into the Royal House of Travancore in the year 1900. The Prince consort is a nephew of the late Valia Koil Thampuran, C.I.E., who is celebrated throughout Travancore and indeed

outside it as having brought about a renaissance of Malayalam literature. This great litterateur has not inaptly been styled the Kalidasa of Kerala.

The Maharani Regent has a good knowledge of Sanskrit, English and Malayalam. She has simple manners and a sweet disposition. She is unassuming to a fault. Her modesty is an exemplar to womankind. She is the fairest of her sex in a land of fair women. Her queenly bearing comes natural to her. Her gentleness and charm compel allegiance. She holds progressive views but acts with the calm thoughtfulness of mature age. Take the Vaikom Satyagraha Movement for example. Her personal sympathies are on the side of the Satyagrahis who have been with rare patience fighting against heavy odds to establish the right of the so-called *unapproachables* to the use in common with the rest of her subjects of certain roads in that place. She made this clear in the course of the interview which she so graciously granted to Gandhiji during his recent tour in Travancore. But, at the same time, she is quick to recognize the anomalousness in the absence of clearly expressed public opinion of an executive ukase even for the purpose of buttressing the claims of reason and humanity. She holds to the view that the business of a constitutional sovereign is to carry out the will of the subjects. Such informed moderation in a hereditary ruler deserves more than praise. Indeed it is worth a whole code of hurdles on autocracy.

The Maharani gave the other day a striking illustration of her courage and nobility by receiving Mahatma Gandhi as a State-guest in Travancore. By honouring this high-souled prophet of peace, she has greatly honoured herself and Travancore. It was a signal act. The young Maharani has in abundance the courage of her opinions and will not let red-tape easily get the better of her. Travancoreans may well be elated that their Rani had the largeness of heart to recognize that the great hero of young India is above the ephemeral politics of the time.

In one of his stirring addresses in Trivandrum, Gandhiji said, "I have fallen in love with the women of Travancore. Their spotlessly beautiful and white borderless dress has captivated me. Its whiteness to me is an emblem of their inward purity."

Who but the Maharani could have been the

cause of this resurgence of symbolic love in the Mahatma?

It is only about eight months since the overscership of the administration fell into her hands. But within this short time she has won the golden opinions of a highly educated and intelligent people who are, if anything, positively parsimonious in the employment of praise. They have given Her Highness great credit for firmness, sympathy, tact and moderation. And no doubt she has no lack of these qualities. In fine she bids fair to impress her personality in the history of Travancore as she has already impressed it on the imagination of her people.

7. MR. T. RAGHAVIAH.

The present head of the administration is Diwan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, C.S.I. While writing about him, this writer remembers the opening day of the Twentieth Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. The summer season was then at its height. Under the sweltering sky the city lay languid amidst its fading but still exuberant vegetation. In solemn conclave the representatives of the people sat listening to the "Speech from the Chair" in the Jubilee Town Hall, the Parliament House of Travancore. Electric punkas were spinning above the peoples' heads.

On the dais were the government. Mr. Raghaviah was reading his speech. It was a resume of the work done by the government in the year under review. It listened well and showed considerable skill in composition. But the person was more interesting than the paper. A rather short but not exactly squat figure with an exiguous moustache, bright face and keen eyes that peered occasionally at the audience to see how they felt about it all. This is the picture on the canvas of memory. The writer has seen him several times since but the picture that persists in his mind is that of the person who like a "good boy" was saying his "lesson" before the spokesmen of the people not a few of whom coquetted with slumber under the fierce heat of the noon-day sun. The Diwan was rather indisposed on the occasion and his medical pals would have had him hand over his 'speech' to some one else but no, however remonstrative the pundits of medicine looked. He has an inconvenient sense of duty and is ultra-busy at all hours of the day.

None denies that he is a safe and steady pilot at the helm. A quiet, little man, he seldom acts the Kaiser and still less attempts anything like eloquence. When the gods made him and gave him his portion they evidently forgot to include in it the gift of the gab. He has however a fine head for facts and figures, and other details of administration and this more than compensates his lack of rhetoric. He generally lets his facts orate for him.

The Diwan Bahadur has already to his credit a number of important reforms which were hanging fire for several years past. He touched them off. He effected the long overdue separation of Devaswam (Temple management) from Revenue so that now the portals of the latter are thrown open to all alike. In combination with Devaswam, the Revenue Department was hitherto a close preserve of the caste-Hindus much to the chagrin of all the others. Quite a good start has been made in the direction of severing the judicial from the executive as a result of which no *Thasildar*, as the Revenue officer of a Taluq is called, can now coerce the people, as he formerly could and often did, in virtue of his magisterial powers. When one has a giant's strength one oftener than not uses it like a giant. The Reformed Legislative Council with its low franchise and large privileges bears eloquent testimony to Mr. Raghaviah's liberalism. "The work of this council is one on which it can well congratulate itself." The discussions on the floor of this council have always been marked by tolerance, urbanity and insight. It has fathered a volume of useful Regulations which under their combined pressure have hatched a new outlook in Travancore. Several noteworthy resolutions have also been carried by the council. Besides, education under his fostering care has made long strides. Mr. Raghaviah found the "Travancore University" on the shelf. Now a knowledgeable smith is beating it into shape hammer and tongs. By what has been called "the bifurcation of the old Arts College" he has nearly doubled the facilities for collegiate education at the capital and almost obviated the sorry spectacle of Travancore youth pouring over the borders in search of University pabulum. It is perhaps unnecessary to traverse the whole catalogue of Mr. Raghaviah's achievements. To be sure, he has made things hum in Travancore.

Mr. Raghaviah is a prominent friend of the

depressed and the poor. He has introduced a system of agricultural loans which has proved such an effective escape for the penniless tillers of the soil from the clutches of the *sowcar*. This together with his land policy must be regarded as the outstanding achievements of his cautious statesmanship. "Five years ago, the depressed classes in Travancore owned no lands worth mentioning and the few lands registered in their names were being exploited by capitalists of other communities." The depressed classes number about four lakhs in Travancore. "The Land Assignment Regulation was passed for the express purpose of preventing the exploitation of lands given to members of the depressed classes on concessional terms, and the Puduval Rules were so revised as to remove the obstacles that lay in the way of the acquisition of Government lands by these communities." A new officer called the Protector of the Depressed Classes has been appointed. Under these progressive arrangements the depressed classes are fast ceasing to be rack-rented and poverty ridden. If the success of an administration is to be judged by its active solicitude for its depressed and backward subjects, then the Government of Travancore under the wise guidance of this seasoned statesman must be deemed to have been highly successful.

There is to-day a tendency in a section of the Indian press to maul public servants and call them by all manner of names such as "brown bureaucrats", "swelled heads" and so on and so forth. It is one thing to attack a government. It is quite another to hold up to ridicule particular persons composing it and when these persons happen to be Indians it is certainly a case of malice prepense. Indian talent in the art of government must be given its due meed of praise particularly at the present time when we so badly need to establish our fitness for self-rule. To throw cold water on such talent is to cut the ground from under our feet. Men like T. Raghaviah are the most convincing testimony of the capacity of Indians to rule themselves.

A few days ago I went to *Bhaktivilas*, the official residence of the Diwan of Travancore. I remained kicking my heels in the magnificent waiting room for a pretty long time. On every side of me I saw more than one former Diwan lowering upon me. These 'Diwans' are presumably kept there to scare away importunate

visitors. I had taken care to pack whatever importunities I had in decent-looking cases of respectable outsides. I was therefore spared the fright. I fidgetted about to escape from the host of mural likenesses surrounding me to the real presence. At last an over-dressed, important-looking personage (they call him *peon* in these parts) cried my name and ushered me in. My knees smote together to see the Diwan coming forward to meet me. I gathered my nerves as best as I could. Nonetheless I did not know what to say to him; nor had I the gift of polished speech. He therefore cornered me at every step by his superior conversational ability and managed to give me short shrift to the immense joy of the numerous crew biding their time in the waiting room. As I edged away from him I said to myself, "That's a practical man. He has no stomach for tosh."

Nor has he any for show. A calm thinker, a quiet worker, a cautious minister anxious to avoid leaps in the dark, Mr. Raghaviah fights shy of the lime-light and has no aptitude at all for political window-dressing. He has not thus far dazzled the eyes of the Travancore public by any administrative fire-works. His policy contains no catchy promises and his performances are not calculated to grip the imagination of the people. He has had therefore a bad press and fair-weather popularity. Yet he has never been known to give way to despair or to sully his sanity with doubt. Like the patient pilot that he is, Mr. Raghaviah has been plodding along and to-day time and effort have rewarded him with an open book of eloquent achievement. His administration has been a visible example of "nothing succeeds like success" and if Mr. Raghaviah continues to guide the destinies of Travancore for a couple of years more, he will, no doubt, gather a fresh harvest and lead this beautiful land further onward.

8. THE BACKWATERS OF TRAVANCORE.

Reader! you are possibly bored stiff by this endless trifle about personalities. The remedy is to bathe your brains in the contemplation of natural beauty. And you can do this to the end of the chapter in pretty, little Travancore.

The loveliness of the land is enhanced by the prosperity of its people. Of late, however, the insistent discontents of modern times have found their way even into Travancore and shaken its

equanimity. The Trivandrum Express that nightly burrows through the Ghats to Travancore has imported heaps of politics into the country. Its traditional tranquility is therefore considerably perturbed but the backwaters remain to this day the restful patches of beauty that they have been through the centuries.

These sheets of quiet waters on whose breast is borne the traffic of the land give Travancore the piquant beauty of a variant landscape. The yon hills rear their wooded heads in calm majesty. The waters seem to lap their very footholds in rippling repose.

Geographically Travancore can be divided into two sections—the highlands over which spread the greenish offshoots of the Ghats and the lowlands across which intersect the bluish offshoots of the sea. While the former are wrapped in luxuriant vegetation, the latter are hedged with promiscuous clusters of cocoa-nut trees as far as the eye can see. These innumerable groves that incline with the burden of their excessive productivity seem to literally scramble for the mild brackishness of the backwaters. So thickly they huddle on their shores!

The following is roughly the sequence of things in Travancore.

The backwaters bear the cocoa-nut trees. The cocoa-nut trees bear the cocoa-nuts. The cocoa-nuts cross the seas and send back the sinews of prosperity of which Travancore is proud.

Somebody has said that Travancore is the finest country in India. Even supposing that the verdict was made under the compulsion of a sudden hysteria of admiration, it does not seem to lack that tincture of truth which gives swift currency to falsehoods. For in Travancore are the backwaters which so happily combine idyllic picturesqueness with brisk utility. They ripple by day and twinkle by night. Country craft without number span on them their quiet careers. Occasionally a steam or a motor boat whisks across with its precious load of busy passengers. The boring breeze shakes the air. The disturbed waters settle down to quiet again. Shoals of fish emerge to the surface with their wee little mouths wide open, wondering, wondering. The cocoa-nut trees that lean over the lakes peer at the flashing boat in mute surprise. May be a squall may spring up and make the waters dance. But brief will be that hour and repose cometh again. And when the moon shines like a frozen flame in a speckless

sky the backwaters seem to be decked in robes of stars streaked with the rays of the sun.

Is Travancore after all the finest country in India?

9. VARKALAY BY THE SEA.

By the side of one of the backwaters lies Varkalay the seaside resort of Travancore. It is the high edge of an undulating headland some twenty miles north of Travandrum. It has a wonderfully bracing air. But the sea is its glory.

Some days ago I visited Varkalay. It was sundown. The sea shone like a sheet of silvery sheen. Beyond it was the horizon loaded with a tawny mass of stolid clouds heaped one upon another like giant peaks of snow.

I saw the wonderful procession of the clouds at the foot of the sky on the serene sea. Nervous man whirling like a giddy top heeds not the lesson of the clouds marching with invisible steps—the very idealization of quiet work.

Indeed the Book of Philosophy lay open before me and if I was tempted to read the headline of a chapter or two, pardon me kind reader.

But more glorious than Nature's bookshelf was the magic scene that was lying unfurled before me. The heady Arabian Sea looked here like a sane sheet of water. It gently lapped upon the foot of the huge cliffs overhanging the sea with a gaunt suggestion of hostility.

With extreme repudiation the sea approaches the land with gentle steps lured by its beauty, while the cliffs overhead with their hoary hoods appear to hiss at it in high dudgeon.

The throbbing waters flap their folds far below—more than a hundred and fifty feet. The precipitous cliffs stand sentinel to Mother Earth against the amorous sea-god. I sit on this barrow. A false thought or an unwary step and I would plunge headlong on the rocks. The deepening gloom is gathering round me. What thoughts may lurk under the darkness? Who knows? I must seek shelter in a safer place.

The next morning I went to the foot of the cliffs and walked away the whole bright morning alongside of them by the edge of the sea with the crumbling laterite and ochre of varied hues above my head. When my 'understandings' were quite exhausted, I plunged myself into the brine to search the sands for the

hidden stores of the strength of the sea. Vain search, you think. Not so. The sea put a little of its strength into my limbs although I could not see where the hidden stores were. It was enough for me. At last I emerged from the sea and edging to the overhanging wall sat under the mineral waters perpetually spurting out from it for the delectation and purification of whosoever listeth to go thither. These salubrious springs are locally known as *Papanasam* or the *destruction of sin* and many a pilgrim goes satisfied after a prolonged bath under them. Sceptical people like me cannot shake off the burden of their sins so easily. Faith works wonders, truly.

The next place of my visit was the temple, a couple of furlongs from the springs. A quiet neat place where everything looks holy. Many consider the shrine almost as great as Gaya and pilgrims from all parts of India resort to it. If it is believed, as they say, that, in days of yore, Brahma performed a *great Yagam* (sacrifice) here and that the strata of lignite and the mineral waters are the results thereof, there is ample warrant for the belief in the quiet repose and hallowed appearance of even present-day Varkalay where rattan-works, railway and coffee-clubs are leading a determined assault on the sanctity of the place. The work-a-day world will get the better of it no doubt.

I also visited the canals that cut through the Varkalay cliffs and connect Trivandrum with the backwaters of Central Travancore. The canoes propelled by the primitive poles quietly wend their way through the underground waterways. The sea rises and falls just a few yards to the west. Far above along the surface of the headland the grimy drivers make the engines puff furiously and whirl along with their long lines of bogie-cars and waggons. The passengers crane their necks to catch a glimpse of the magic scenery. Here and there is an overbridge along which a solitary carter drives his heavily loaded vehicle. This is a place where many arms of civilization meet.

When Varkalay gets sufficiently well-known, its holy repose will certainly be broken by the influx of tourists and holiday-makers.

10. THE COCONUT-TREE.

But the time for it is not yet. You can still have Varkalay all to yourself if you so wish. And to see the beauty of this place in blossom, you must stand on any little prominence on the headland and look. You will find spread out

before you a most enticing expanse of cocoanut-trees whose bound the eye cannot reach. It is the earthly paradise. These clustered columns of the palm outstrip your ken and lose themselves in the far haze.

Indeed the most remarkable topographical feature of Travancore is the cocoanut-tree. The cocoanut-tree is the King of the palm trees because it is the greatest, being the servant of all. This regal palm with its circular crown of rustling fronds and clustering fruits has a use for everybody and everything in it is useful. Verily is it an incarnation of usefulness in the shape of an unpretending palm. It grew in an age of pure philanthropy and continues to adorn and enrich the East with especial solicitude. The industrialized West enslaved to competition and overrun by the almighty dollar is perhaps too unromantic and ugly a place for the beautiful, benevolent cocoanut-tree: It shrivels in an atmosphere of jealousy and withers amidst armaments, hypocrisies and the inhumanities of war. It thrives best in the earth of peace and goodwill with the breeze of love gently shaking its long, slender leaves. That is why it is so plentiful in pretty Travancore.

The following, I ween, is the origin of the cocoanut-tree. Would you believe it!

When Parasurama of old reclaimed Kerala (Malabar) from the fluid waste of the Arabian Sea, Varuna the sea-god in great distress fell at his feet begging him to let him have at least a

place here and there in the reclaimed area. Taking pity on the poor King, the puissant priest granted him his wish and the ocean cuts the land by many a long, winding, shallow inlet to this day. When the sea became salt (through the inadvertence, it is said, of a certain sailor who to save his good ship threw overboard a magic mill which started making huge quantities of salt at his bidding but deigned not to stop making it at his bidding) these inter-sections commonly called backwaters became brackish. So the canoe-wallahs who plied their little crafts over these sparkling patches of water set up a cry for drinking water. Mother Earth heard the cry and said, "Ye my children, ye shall have water to drink. And in a little while, hey presto! on the banks of these undrinkable backwaters grew the cocoanut-trees with their bunches of tender nuts filled with the most delicious beverage. And the mother said to the thirsting ones, "Behold the tender nuts whereof ye may drink deep and slake your thirst." The brackish backwaters hung their heads in shame and for very shame, to this day, they have remained silent and still, never flying into foaming tempers or swelling into heaving waves. Little fish, like arrows of remorse cleave the repentant lakes and rivers roaming about in search of chivalry hurry down to their aid and purge them of the offending salt from time to time.

That is the cocoanut-tree, the tree of true philanthropy!

THE BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

King Edward VII. A Biography. By Sir Sidney Lee. Vol. I: From Birth to Accession, November 6, 1841, to January 22, 1901. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E.C.) 1925.

"It is at the request of King George V, King Edward VII's son, that this biography has been undertaken.

"The work, while it incorporates much information which has already been published, is based on documents in the royal archives to which King George has given me access, and on numerous collections of letters addressed to the late King, to personal friends and to men of prominence in official life which I have consulted with His Majesty's sanction. . . .

"Beyond this assistance, King George is in no way responsible for the book. For its plan

and execution, to which I have devoted four years of thought and labour, I am alone responsible. . . . I have sought to give practical application to principles which I defined twelve years ago in these terms: 'Biography is of no genuine account unless it makes for thoroughness and accuracy of statement, for an equitable valuation of human effort, and above all for honest independence of judgment.'

Extracts from Sir Sidney Lee's Preface.

We extend a most cordial welcome to Sir Sidney Lee's biography of the late King Edward VII, which has just been published. It is a worthy and notable record, not only of the great monarch, but of the times in which he lived. The outstanding features of the volume are, first of all, the story of the Prince's early life, the restraints of his education and outlook in public affairs, and secondly his relations with ex-Kaiser William II. Concerning the latter, Sir Sidney Lee states in his Preface:—"My account of Kaiser William II's character and conduct is my own unaided interpretation of tested evidence drawn from very varied sources, both published and unpublished. The co-ordination of the *pieces justificatives* in chronological order renders imperative, I believe, the conclusions which I have reached." This claim is well-founded.

"Read biography," said Disraeli, "that is the only true history." The saying, like most sweeping aphorisms, is open to challenge, but it contains a strong substratum of truth, and no one can pretend to know the social and political history of Great Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century without understanding the part played therein by King Edward VII, as Prince of Wales; as justly emphasized by Mr. J. B. Firth, a well-known writer. The appearance, therefore, of the first volume of Sir Sidney Lee's biography, on which he has been engaged for many years, is a most welcome event, specially as it satisfied every reasonable expectation with which it has been awaited. This book gives us the authentic Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, in so far as his public activities were concerned, and in so far as he influenced the course of events during a period of over a third of a century. The private life, of the Prince is dealt with so far as it affected his public life. The gallery portrait is full length; what he was among his intimate associates the biographer is content to

indicate by means of a few lightly, subtly, and delicately drawn sketches, which stand to the main canvas in the same relation as the little studies with which some engravers decorate the margins of their proofs.

There is no phase of the Prince's character which is not illustrated in this volume, and the passages in question are extraordinarily well done, but this is the official *Life*, and discretion throughout has guided the biographer's pen, as was expected when the biographer is none other than Sir Sidney Lee. When a dozen or so years ago he wrote for the *Dictionary of National Biography* a sketch of the career of King Edward VII it was agreed that he had done a difficult task remarkably well. He gave a candid and credible picture of his subject. In some quarters it was regarded as too candid; but evidently King George did not share that view, for he requested Sir Sidney to write the official life of his father. These facts have been given publicity by Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the well-known publicist, who adds:—"Edward's influence on domestic affairs was on the whole sensible and wholesome. He felt and understood, as his mother did not, the impact of the modern movement, and his freedom from exclusiveness warmed the atmosphere of the Court, and brought it into touch with the general life." It may be accepted as stated by Mr. Gardiner that Edward VII was the first monarch who really appreciated the social problem, and saw that the Court could not continue to remain in icy aloofness from the condition of the people. There was nothing perfunctory in the temper of his public services, and his genuinely democratic habit of mind may be said to have established a new relation between the monarchy and the people.

No one who has read carefully this large volume can fail to recognise the enormous labour which the author has put into his eight hundred closely printed pages. For one thing he has cited a hundred authorities, most of them accessible to the public but some of them hitherto unpublished, and from their combined testimony has constructed a consecutive narrative which bears little sign of patchwork, and we fully agree that it is "a most meritorious achievement," as declared by Mr. J. E. C. Bodley. The first nine chapters of the book, narrating the childhood and boyhood of the Prince of Wales, are of surpassing interest

They lay bare the abnormal system of education which the Prince Consort, with the uncompromising support of Queen Victoria, imposed on the heir to the British Crown. These early chapters go to show Prince Albert as a doctrinaire German pedant who might have been an efficient tutor of a Teutonic princeling but was quite unfitted to be the guide and guardian of the heir to the British throne. The Prince of Wales had been born in a German-speaking, German-thinking atmosphere, and his chief need was to be brought up among surroundings purely British. Sir Sidney Lee brings out that instead of this we find the young Prince leading an isolated and secluded life, with practically no companions of his own age, submitted to educational codes prescribed by his earnest father, who, even when he allowed him to travel, sent him to see the world under the tutelage of elderly men pledged to carry out the programmes drawn up by the assiduous Prince Consort. To those who have been brought up to reverence Queen Victoria and to honour the memory of her husband this scathing requisitory of the character and methods of her Consort comes rather as a shock, even though they recognise the reaction that has set in against the legend of Albert the Good which the widowed Queen propagated, with the support of her subjects. This may be regretted, but Truth must be faced. The tone of this book is hostile not only to Prince Albert but also to the Queen, and even in the face of irrefutable evidence it is hard for Victorians to think of their beloved Queen as a shrewish German whose chief diplomatic aim was to carry out the policy of Prince Albert in all matters, and particularly in that relating to her children.

We may extract Sir Sidney Lee's account of how, as Prince of Wales, the late King Edward at last gained permission to see State papers in order that he might have a full knowledge of affairs of State. The author writes as follows: "Mr. Francis Knollys, the Prince's private Secretary, and Sir Edward Hamilton, Mr. Gladstone's private secretary, took up the cudgels in the Prince's behalf, and both urged on Sir Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's private secretary, the need of some modification of her attitude. At least she might allow the Prime Minister to choose the confidential intelligence for the Prince's eye. The Queen answered that the Prime Minister 'can only report to the

Sovereign, and it would not be desirable that W. G. (Gladstone) and H. R. H. should have discussions which she knew nothing about. Whereas, on the other hand, it would be natural and constitutional that she should communicate with her son and take counsel with him on questions of public interest.' This was as far as the Queen would go. Mr. Gladstone's Government resigned office a few weeks later, and for the time the dispute dropped once more. The struggle, however, was not ended, and in the final rounds the Prince won an almost complete, if belated, victory. Both foreign despatches and Cabinet reports were communicated to him. When his personal friend, Lord Rosebery, became Foreign Secretary for a short time of five months in Mr. Gladstone's third Ministry of 1886, he, without the Queen's specific authority, caused the foreign despatches to be forwarded from the Foreign Office direct to the Prince in the red leather boxes which habitually circulated among Ministers. The boxes were of two kinds, graded according to the confidential nature of their contents. The most secret documents were enclosed with others in boxes, keys to which were alone in the hands of the Sovereign, the Prime Minister and the heads of the Foreign Office. The second class of box had another kind of key, known as 'the Cabinet key,' which was in possession of all Ministers and their private secretaries. Lord Rosebery accorded the Prince the most exclusive right by making over to him the special gold key (of the first class) which had belonged to the Prince Consort and was now discovered to be lying forgotten in the Foreign Office. Lord Rosebery also handed to the Prince a 'Cabinet Key' which opened the second class of boxes. The Queen was disinclined to continue the strife, and although she protested against the Foreign Secretary's concession of the Prince Consort's key, the privilege of access to the foreign despatches was not withdrawn. Lord Salisbury, when he became Foreign Secretary, qualified the situation by sending boxes of the second class only, and the Prince complained to him (April 6, 1880) that they could only be opened by his 'Cabinet key'. Finally, all restrictions on the Prince's access to foreign official papers were authoritatively removed, although he had occasion now and then to complain of "accidental miscarriages or delays." How interesting it all is!

In summing up Sir Sidney Lee writes:— "When his (the Prince's) hour struck, experience had given him exceptional qualifications for the hereditary burden.....Lord Beaconsfield's description of him in 1880 as a Prince 'who really has seen everything and knows every body' was truer of him 20 years later than when the words were written. He had become in a supreme degree a man of the world, in whom shrewdness mingled with benignity..... His vitality was not effectually impaired when his mother died, and he was physically fitted to take advantage of the enhanced repute which the English monarchy had acquired under her sway." This is a just and fair estimate. The eagerly anticipated second volume, which will deal with the reign of the late King Edward, is to be published during the course of the year. Enough has been said to show that this book is one that no student of affairs can afford to neglect, written by one of the most famous and scholarly contemporary men of letters wielding the resources of the English language, and dealing with the career of the first truly constitutional Sovereign of the British Commonwealth. The book will leave a landmark in biographical literature. It is a monumental work and will take rank with the greatest and most famous biographies in English. We cannot bestow on Sir Sidney Lee's *Biography of King Edward VII* higher praise than by saying that it deserves to stand on the book-shelf alongside of Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.

S.

HINDU POLITY: A STUDY.

A Constitutional History of India in Hindu Times. By Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, (Butterworth & Co., India, Ltd., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1924.

By DR. GANGANATHA JHA.

Mr. Jayaswal's book comes out at a very opportune moment. Everyone in the country, from the highest to the lowest, who happens to know the meaning of the term 'constitution,' is busy in his own way manufacturing the future constitution of this ancient land. At such a moment a book that gives information

based upon original sources regarding the constitutions that prevailed in the country during the earliest times must serve a distinctly useful purpose. The book under review is a very full treatment of the subject. It is divided into two parts. The first part begins with a highly interesting introduction in which the scope and the sources of the book are presented in the lucid language of Mr. Jayaswal. The second part deals with Vedic assemblies, where we are told, that the sovereign assemblies of Vedic times consisted of the Samiti, which represented the whole people, and the Sabhâ, which was a distinct popular body. Then we have an account of what the author calls the 'Hindu Republics,' whose rise and history is traced through their various developments. These 'republics' we are told were of later origin. The author calls them 'post-vedic institutions.' Next follows a learned dissertation on the exact significance of the two words "*gana*" and "*sangha*." The author regards *gana-râjya* as standing for Government by assemblies or parliament; and finally he comes to the conclusion that the term 'gana' stands for the 'republic' and the term 'sangha' signifies the State. We have an interesting chapter dealing with republics in Panini which is followed by an account of republics in Buddhist literature; Republics in the Arthashastra; Hindu republic in Greek writers; followed by a constitutional survey of these last. In Chapter X, we have an account, brief though interesting, of no less than 8 or 10 technical Hindu constitutions concluding with the dictum that the sacrament of rulership was essential in every constitution. Chapter XI deals with the procedure of deliberations in the republics; where we have an account of such institutions as the motion, the resolution, the quorum, the whip, the consequences of breach of procedure, votes, voting by ballot, irrelevant subjects, delegation Committees, number of representation, res judicata and such others as the modern constitutionalist is in the habit of regarding as essentially his own. The next chapter deals with franchise and citizenship followed by an account of judicial administration and the laws of the republics. We have a further Chapter dealing with the characteristics of the republics of leagues and confederacy. Chapter XVI deals with the decline and disappearance of the older Hindu republics. This is followed by an account of republics under the Mauryas, i.e.,

republics functioning under the imperial sway of Asoka and his successors. In Chapter XIX we read of the disappearance of these republics. Chapter XX supplies us detailed information with regard to the following:—details of the Hindu republican system, moral assets, military system, industrial system, republican theories, individualism, social contract, weak points, personal rivalry and dissension. All this is followed by 3 appendices: first on the Mahabharata, an account of particular sangha, (2) containing a list of Indian republics and (3) dealing the arthashastra, its authorship and date and also the later works dealing with the subject.

The Second part of the book deals with Hindu monarchy, where Chapter I deals with antiquity and theory of its origin; Chapter II of Vedic King and his election; Chapters III, IV, V and VI of the coronation ceremony and its constitutional significance; wherein we have an account of the theory of the divine origin of the king. The next chapter deals with such institutions as the realm assembly, the assembly of the capital city, territorial monarchy, Municipal administration (with special reference to the administration of Pataliputra). The next chapter provides a highly interesting account of the way in which public opinion was ascertained and treated. This is followed by a description of the Council and Ministers, the inner cabinet, the designation of ministers, the civil list and king's salary. This is followed by a Chapter on law and administration and justice, wherein we read of the judiciary and the executive as separate, the composition of the jury, the king in the council being the judge and of the law-court and its position. The next chapter deals with taxation, its divine theory and canons, followed by a highly instructive account of the theory and the ownership in land, state, industries, indirect taxation. The next chapter deals with the position of the king, who is described as constitutionally a servant, but morally the master. The character of Hindu monarchy is next discussed; followed by an account of imperial systems, specially under the Gupta, which latter is represented as a compromise after what the author calls the 'second and third empires', *i.e.*, after 700 A.D. After this followed a period of darkness and destruction during which popular institutions decayed and Hindu traditions dwindled. The reasons for this however are not discussed and the author wisely remarks that these are "yet to be investigated".

The historical account ends with a brief reference to what the author calls the "Hindu revival under Sivaji and the Sikhs." The gifted author is not content with his retrospective effort. In the last chapter he assumes the role of the prophet also, and provides us with a glowing account of the reformation of the Hindu, culminating in what he calls the golden age of the Hindu polity in the future. Towards the end we have a full index, a list of the original sources consulted and the inevitable errata.

From the above it will be seen how indebted we are to Mr. Jayaswal for a highly interesting and instructive book on a much debated question. We cannot help feeling however that in the present age the book is likely to be misleading. At this stage we have come to attach definite connotations to such terms as 'republic', 'election', 'senate', 'assembly', 'council' and so forth. When the author talks of 'Hindu republics' in ancient times, the idea that the unsophisticated reader will form will be that we had, about 5000 years ago, a system of government as highly organised as that of modern France or of the United States of America. While as a matter of fact all that we, in my humble and uneducated opinion, are justified in inferring from the sources available is that, like several primitive societies, Hindu society was a 'republic', in the sense that there was no organised government at all and each individual was free to do what he liked, subject of course to the all-impelling influence of *force*, which after all is the sole sanction for all forms of government. For instance, the very essence of modern democracy of which we hear so much is government by majority, which only means that the majority by reason of their numbers possess the force to insist upon their will being carried out; the large number of men being physically in a position to enforce their will against the minority. In this sense not only the Hindu society but all primitive society was a republic and it was only during those times that the principle of 'self-determination' was carried to its logical sequence. It was only when the struggle for existence, which is the essence of all social organisation, developed that either one individual or selected individuals came to assert their superiority and thus 'monarchy' or 'democracy' came into being, so that these latter are only evolutions of Government; whether they are higher or lower evolutions—that is a matter of opinion.

Similarly when we read of the 'election' of kings in ancient India, we are naturally led to think of the election of the American President or that of a member of the Indian legislature ; where several candidates present themselves for election and one is elected and the others rejected. Is there any historical instance in ancient India of any candidate for kingship being rejected?—or not securing a sufficient number of votes or of any case or any instance when more than one candidate offered himself for the kingship? Of course we read of the king seeking the sanction of the people for his kingship ; but this is very different from the king being elected by the people. There are some cases recorded of a king being dethroned, but that is only a form of rebellion ; the people rebelled against the king ; the king was not able to maintain his position and had therefore to go.

This may be only the opinion of a fossilized pandit ; but it cannot be denied that this is at least one way of looking at things and if I can claim the privilege of an old friend I would make bold to advise Mr. Jayaswal that in a later edition (which I hope will be called for early enough) he will give the above suggestions some consideration and see if he may not make his picture of our ancient constitutions less misleading to the ordinary reader who is not expected to be as discriminating as the learned author seems to regard the readers of his volume to be. I know that Mr. Jayaswal is a deeply read scholar and as such is in a position to have an idea of the true perspective of the subject. But the ordinary reader is not equally well equipped and endowed and is therefore apt to be misled.

The Challenge of Asia. By Stanley Rice.
(John Murray, London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

This book has been written in answer to the school of writers on Asiatic problems, of whom Mr. Lothrop Stoddard is a leading exponent.

This school gloomily prophesies that the Asiatic, having steeped himself in the science of the West, will retain enough of his Eastern economies to supplant the white man in many parts of the world which the latter is at present exploiting to his advantage. Further, that when E. Africa and such places have absorbed Asia's overflow, the superior fecundity of the brown races will cause them to flow Westward over Europe.

Mr. Rice, with a lifelong experience of the East, will have none of this. He examines the whole history of the impact of West on East, and formulates his ideas about a possible reversal of the process. He dwells, in light of his experience, mostly on India. He points out, very clearly, the difference between the national movements of that country and the renaissance of Japan which was primarily a military awakening. The sub-continent of India has had no call to repel invasions. Defence has been left in the hands of the Imperial organisation, and the would-be law makers are never found in military service. But Mr. Rice goes deeper into things. He shows the difference in mentality between East and West. The Oriental will think along Western lines, in order to "show that he can do it." He would have preferred not to be stirred up to this change of heart.

Mr. Rice ably argues that the increased science and political power of Eastern countries will be devoted to the development of their own waste spaces, and not to the foundation of colonies. The efforts will be centripetal, not centrifugal. A post war argument, he might have added, is the increased standard of living demanded by the Indian overseas. This is an important factor in preventing the deluging of the lightly exploited lands. But the author has argued his case not only with ability, but with the experience of a lifetime, wherein his vision has extended far beyond his office walls. As a companion volume to the "Rising Tide of Colour," it is to be strongly recommended.

H. E. H. T.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

ECONOMICS.

The Science of Public Finance. By G. Findlay Shirras. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924. 16s.

Mr. Findlay Shirras—formerly Professor of Economics in Dacca College and Reader in Indian Finance in the University of Calcutta, afterwards on special duty in the Finance Department of the Government of India and Director of Statistics and at present Director of the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay—is by his knowledge and experience fully qualified for producing a text-book of Public Finance. True there are available to the student a number of British and American text-books, amongst which Professor Bastable's book—the first of its kind in Britain—is the best-known. But the great war has wrought such revolutionary economic changes throughout the world that a new and up-to-date exposition of the subject—such as is now made available in Mr. Shirras's book called *The Science of Public Finance*—was badly needed by the student, and the desideratum is now completely removed by the publication of the book under notice, which will fully meet an urgent need. Though not a big book, it nevertheless deals comprehensively with the whole range of Public Finance and offers a complete and systematic study of its data and the principles deducible therefrom. It is highly informative and renders accessible to the student vast bulk of valuable material, both by way of statements and statistics. In its treatment of the subject the method employed is both historical and analytical. It is difficult to speak too highly of this highly meritorious work. The result of the author's rich and rare scholarship and ripe experience, it is written in a remarkably lucid style for a book on a dry subject, and it presents a graphic picture of financial administration and the principles governing it in modern states. There are frequent references to Indian economic conditions and financial system and the book should, therefore, appeal to a large circle of readers in this country.

The Economics of Welfare. By A. C. Pigou, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924. 30s.

The first edition of *The Economics of Welfare* by Professor Pigou of the Cambridge University appeared

in 1920 and was justly hailed as a standard treatise on the subject. We extend a cordial welcome to the second edition, completely revised and judiciously enlarged, which has recently appeared. The new edition is very opportune, as owing to the numerous economic changes brought in the train of the great war all over the world, the principles underlying the Science of Economics are being subjected to careful scrutiny, and Professor Pigou's invaluable work is bound to influence for the better such analysis and examination. The author has completely overhauled his work, which differs considerably from the previous edition, both in treatment and arrangement. The work is not intended to take the place of the ordinary text-book of Economics. It aims at a much higher object—to subserve the welfare of society through a rational play of economic forces. As such this scholarly and comprehensive work covers, at places, ground which some would regard as appertaining to the domain of Philosophy. Nonetheless the work, as a whole, has a great practical value and no student of contemporary economic problems can afford to neglect it. We commend a careful study of Professor Pigou's *Economics of Welfare* to all earnest students of the Science of Economics and of current economic problems.

History of the Bank of England. By A. Andreades, C. B. E. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., 2-4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London) 1924.

Mr. A. Andreades is a Greek and is the Professor of Public Finance in the University of Athens. He wrote (in French) the *History of the Bank of England* when quite young and the first edition of the English translation appeared so far back as 1909. It was commended to the reading public by Professor H. S. Foxwell, of the University of London, in the course of a long preface which he contributed in introducing the English version, and declared that "no complete history of the Bank (of England) existed before the appearance of this book." The book in its second edition is an improvement in some respects on its predecessor, though the author regrets that he has not been able to revise and recast it, as much as he would have liked to do. That may be, but the book nonetheless merits welcome on its second appearance in its English rendering, not only because it sums up the results of considerable research, but because

(though the work of a foreigner), it is a marvellously accurate, impartial and comprehensive survey of the great and important subject it deals with.

Everyone's Economics. By Robert Jones, D.Sc. (Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., London) 1924.

Economics for Everyman. By James Edward Le Rossignol. (Henry Holt and Company, New York, U. S. A.) 1924.

It is a curious coincidence that the two most recent popular text-books on Economics—one British and the other American—should both bear, if not the same name, at least, practically the same title. *Everyone's Economics* is not far removed from *Economics for Everyman*. Of the two we prefer the former designation, as it includes—which the latter does not—women also, unless we take the use of the word “man” in the expression “everyman” in the legal sense of the term! Both are popular books, mainly for students—Mr. Robert Jones's *Everyone's Economics* is particularly so. In addition to the matters treated in the ordinary text-book of Economics, this volume deals with such subjects as Credit, Banking, the Exchanges, etc. It is written with a lucidity and an abundance of familiar illustration which will commend it to the general reader. A special feature is the Student's Appendix, consisting of over 130 items, including definitions, statistics, tables and other supplementary matter, designed to equip the student preparing for examinations. Mr. Le Rossignol's *Economics for Everyman* is not quite so elementary or so well adapted for the requirements of students preparing for examinations, but it too is meant for the general reader. It may be commended, in particular, to students of business administration. The author does not indulge in pointless abstract reasoning divorced from concrete problems, with the result that its discussions are not theoretical or removed from the realities of life. The style of the book is clear and graphic and it deserves attention at the hands of lay readers.

Karl Marx's Theory of Value. By H. W. B. Joseph. (Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay) 1924.

What is Socialism? A Symposium. Edited by Dan Griffiths. (Grant Richards, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1924.

Mr. H. W. B. Joseph's *Karl Marx's Theory of Value* is an instructive study. The author tries to

make the points that Marx's theory (of value) was anticipated by previous economists and is thus not original, that it is inconsistent with facts, that its law or principle is not borne out (as Marx alleges) by the facts of a pre-capitalistic society, and that it confuses value with price. Further Mr. Joseph holds that the doctrine that all value is derived from labour is irreconcilable with fact and is self-contradictory in conception. One may not accept all the contentions of the author or his reasoning, but no just critic can withhold from him praise for his knowledge of the subject and critical acumen. In striking contrast with Mr. Joseph's recondite work is the popular compilation put together by Mr. Griffiths. In it he has brought together hundreds of short definitions or expositions of socialism written by men eminent, prominent and otherwise. Many are instructive and informing, but some others valueless—it could not be otherwise in so heterogeneous a collection. Nevertheless the compilation has a value of its own and the editor may be commended for having done a useful piece of work. A short bibliography of Socialism is a good feature of the book.

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

Economics of Shipping. By S. N. Haji, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law. (Sudama House, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Fort, Bombay) 1924.

Mr. S. N. Haji—Manager, Scindia Steam Navigation Company—has written a highly meritorious work called *Economics of Shipping*. While it is—what it purports to be—a study in Applied Economics and the treatment of the subject is general enough to appeal to readers in all countries interested in shipping, it has especial interest to educated Indians. Mr. Haji deals admirably in his book with shipping in all its ramifications, from the point of view of ship-owners, shippers and laymen, both in its theoretical and practical aspects. But it is the last chapter dealing exclusively with Indian mercantile marine that would be naturally of particular interest to the author's fellow-countrymen. In it Mr. Haji pleads earnestly for the establishment of an Indian mercantile marine, which (he rightly contends) would open to Indians fresh avenues for employment, and to India for prosperity, apart from the vindication of national self-respect. This will be clearly understood when it is remembered that out of the total shipping earnings from India amounting to 57 crores every year, no less than 50 crores goes out to foreign

countries. Without committing ourselves to the remedies suggested by the author, we may say that they require very careful consideration. The author is an acknowledged master of the subject he has dealt with and has practical experience of it. His work which is thus the result of knowledge deserves serious attention at the hands of the Government and all well-wishers of Indian progress.

Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India. By K. T. Shah and K. J. Khambata. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1924.

Of the younger generation of Indian economists, Professor K. T. Shah is about the best known for his many valuable works on Indian Economics and Administration. We have noticed in terms of appreciation his earlier works—*Sixty Years of Indian Finance* (1921), *Indian Currency, Exchange and Banking* (1922), and *Trade, Tariffs and Transport* (1923), and we now extend a cordial welcome to his latest work—written in collaboration with Mr. Khambata—called *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*. It is an important work of research, contains facts as well as opinions on many economic problems, discusses thoroughly, accurately and with the aid of statistics, such problems as the Net Wealth of the people, the sufficiency or insufficiency of food grains, the distribution of the wealth between the classes and the masses, the tax burdens of the people, their ability to bear them and the possible readjustment of those burdens, and (most important of all) the possible improvements and expansion of the material resources of the country. Invaluable alike to students economists, politicians, and all well-wishers of India, the book deserves careful consideration at the hands of the Government, who are likely to derive much sound and useful information from its pages.

The Wealth of India. By P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1925.

The authors of *The Wealth of India* are members of the staff of Wilson College, Bombay, and belong to the band of the younger generation of Indian economists, who are coming to the front mostly in the Western Presidency. Their object in writing the work under notice is "to reach to the root of things in the discussion of economic problems and to follow the truth in a disinterested manner, no matter where

it leads." This is no doubt a highly commendable object, but the authors themselves suspect that "the conclusions of this book will not be accepted by all." If so, it will be due to their rather markedly political bias both in their collation of data and the expression of their opinions. Alike their presentation of facts and collection of extracts from their authorities seem opposed to a scientific treatment of the subject and the book assumes, at places, the aspect of political polemics. We draw prominent attention to this patent defect in the book, as apart from it, it is one of considerable merit. The book is a serious attempt at formulating a definite economic policy for India based on a careful study of economic data and principles. The authors discuss with great lucidity in successive chapters such Indian conditions and problems as physical environment, population, income, social institutions, irrigation systems, forest development, water power, economic life, production, agriculture, roads, postal and railway systems, industries, factory labour, industrial capital, business enterprise and cottage industries. The range of the book is thus fairly exhaustive and it would have been an invaluable treatise on Indian Economics, but for the betraying of the political bias, mentioned above. We hope that in a second edition the authors would carefully suppress the polemical spirit and that it will not be allowed to appear in their promised work on distribution and exchange. For the rest the book is highly stimulating and should find, as a compact sketch of the vast unexploited resources and possibilities of Indian agriculture and minerals, as also of the many modern industries, a large circle of readers, alike for its wealth of materials judiciously presented in a systematized form and the many selections from standard works in support of the view propounded by the authors. An "index of authors cited" is a useful feature.

Commercial Relations between India and England (1611-1757). By Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, 68-71 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) 1924.

It is a notable work that has been written by Dr. Bal Krishna—Principal of Rajaram College at Kolhapur. The want of a comprehensive and systematic history of the East India Company, of the rise and progress of the most extensive branch of commerce ever known in the annals of mankind and reared up with a marvellous tact and tenacity by a body of London merchants is at last removed by the publication of Dr. Bal Krishna's book. The romantic

creation of an Empire greater than that of ancient Rome, the extraordinary magnitude of the Indo-British trade, the wonderful ramifications of British capital in India, the complete monopoly of the carrying and shipping trades of the major part of the Orient, the political domination of the British in the two continents of Asia and Africa—which demand a serious study of the beginnings of the English relations with the East, are now rendered available in Dr. Dal Krishna's scholarly and pioneer book. The work opens with a detailed description of the commercial, industrial and economic conditions of India at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and afterwards traces the changes wrought in them by the Anglo-Indian relation during the century and a half following. Then an attempt has been made to construct—based on a study of and research in original materials—a consecutive history of the Indo-British trade in all its essential aspects. The book deserves wide appreciation.

History of Indian Tariffs. By N. J. Shah, B.A., Ph.D. (39 Shroff Bazar, Bombay, 2; and also Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay) 1924.

Yet another book from a Bombay economist—*History of Indian Tariffs*. Dr. N. J. Shah—Sir Ratan Tata Professor of Indian Economics in the Benares Hindu University—has embodied in it the result of the researches done by him on the subject under the guidance of Dr. Gregory at the London School of Economics and Political Science during 1921-23, for the Ph.D. degree of the London University in Economics. Dr. Gregory opines that the book under consideration "will be of permanent scientific value." We gladly endorse this view of Dr. Shah's book, which is not only based on original researches but is fair, accurate and comprehensive. It is a highly creditable work considering that it is about the first attempt at presenting a compendious sketch—alike systematic and authoritative—of the evolution of the fiscal policy of the British-Indian Government from the earliest times till the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission—whose report (says the author) "should properly be excluded from the scope of this work." For our part, we should have preferred his surveying and analysing it. However that be Dr. Shah's *History of Indian Tariffs* is invaluable as providing a complete and continuous and withal non-partisan sketch of the development of the tariff policy in India and the political and economic forces that have shaped and determined its course so far.

System of Financial Administration in British India. By P. K. Wattal, M.A., F.S.S., Assistant Accountant-General, Bombay. (The Times of India Press, Bombay) 1924.

Though admittedly a compilation Mr. P. K. Wattal's *System of Financial Administration in British India* is a highly useful and meritorious work of its class and kind. It has been compiled entirely from official records and describes in plain language the present financial machinery of the Central and Provincial Governments and the financial powers of the reformed legislatures. In addition, it contains a lucid account of the system of accounts and audit, Government cash balances including the Gold Standard Reserve and Paper Currency Reserve balances. The work is intended for the use of members of the Legislative Councils, Ministers of Indian States and students of economics and Indian finance generally, and to all these classes it can be unhesitatingly recommended as the best text-book on the current system of financial administration—alike in the Central and the Provincial Governments. The volume opens with a general description of the financial machinery. Three chapters are devoted to the preparation, the voting and the execution of the budget. Provincial finance is dealt with in seven chapters. Altogether there are 19 chapters and 17 appendices which in a systematic and convenient form give practically all the information necessary for understanding the complicated financial machinery of Government. The author—who is a member of the Audit and Accounts service—deserves to be congratulated on bringing out so highly informative a publication which is well-worth the price of Rs. 10.

Financial Developments in Modern India 1860-1924. By C. N. Vakil, M.A., M.Sc. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) 1924.

In the course of a "foreword" contributed to Professor Vakil's book (called *Financial Developments in Modern India*) the Hon'ble Sir Basil Blackett, Finance Member of the Central Government in India, commends the industry with which the author has conducted his researches and the skill with which he has marshalled his results. We endorse this commendation, as the book gives an exhaustive, critical and historical account of the expenditure, revenue and debt of the Government of India, since the Mutiny up to the present day, and also treats of the important problems of War Finance, Taxable Capacity, Incidence of Taxation, and the task before the Taxation Committee. An important feature is the specially prepared statistical tables

illustrated by graphs. This is the first of a series of volumes on the "Economic History of Modern India" planned by the author, who has rendered a distinct service to the country by collating and systematizing data relating to Indian finance since 1860 and by inviting attention to the significance of an accurate and clear presentation of its data.

Reverse Councils and other "Organised Plunders"

By T. S. Krishnamurthi Iyer. (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1925.

In spite of its rather truculent name and more or less polemical character, Mr. Krishnamurthi Iyer's *Reverse Council and other "Organised Plunders"* is an important work on Indian Economics, and it is one which cannot be ignored. It contains a comprehensive survey of the twin problems of currency and exchange, capital and finance, after 1919. It deals in detail with the Government of India's currency and exchange policy and its results. It also traces the full effect of their transactions on the financial and economic condition of the country. A study is made of the Budgets of the Government of India after 1919-20. The book also treats on such varied problems of the hour, as the Future currency and exchange policy, money market, Bank rate, capital resources, Deflation and effect of deflation on both merchants, and agriculturists, Debt redemption versus repudiation, Separation of Railway Finance from General Finance, Taxation, Retrenchment and War Office Capitation rate. The book is replete with relevant facts and figures. It contains a reply to the *Economist* and to the books of Messrs. Rushforth and Jevons, and making allowance for its occasional polemics, a study of the book will be of advantage in enabling the reader to grasp the Indian view of Economics.

The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt. By M. L. Darling, I.C.S. (Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay) 1925.

Few Indian provinces are so well supplied in the literature of provincial Economics as the Punjab. To the works of Mr. Thorburn, Mr. Calvert and others, Mr. Darling has (in his *Punjab Peasant*) "made a notable contribution"—in the words of Sir Edward Maclagan in the course of his foreword—"to the economic literature of India." We agree with the late Governor of the Punjab in his estimate of Mr. Darling's work, which presents a graphic picture of the attitude of the Punjab peasantry towards the supply and use of capital. It discusses, without

being betrayed into partisanship, the complicated economic problems of the Punjab, the most important of which is that of the indebtedness of the peasantry. But while emphasising the abuses incidental to money-lending in the Punjab, the author does not overlook its great utility in rural economy and its necessity for agricultural purposes. While not sparing in exposure of the abuses of this system, Mr. Darling gives a fair and unbiassed account of its effect and working, which he considers absolutely necessary in some form. The result of the author's judicial frame of mind is a work which is not only informative and instructive but also highly interesting, and it will justly take a high place in the literature of Indian Economics, as a most valuable contribution to the study of that subject.

INDIAN LABOUR AND INDUSTRY.

Labour in India. By Janet Harvey Kelman. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London W. C. 1) 1924.

Labour in Indian Industries. By Lady Atul Chatterjee. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times. By D. R. Gadgil. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

Factory Labour in India. Factory Legislation in India. The Labour Movement in India. All by Rajani Kanta Das, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D. (Walter De Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig) 1924.

Janet Harvey Kelman's *Labour in India* is mainly a study of the conditions of Indian women in modern industry. But though confined to a branch of the subject the book will prove useful as an introduction to the study of labour in India. The author's first object is to investigate the conditions of work and life of women employed in cotton and jute mills. It was found, however, that the position of women could not be considered apart from that of the whole body of labour, and that no satisfactory result could be obtained without some knowledge of the social and agricultural background of the communities from which most of the factory workers are drawn. Consequently the scope of the study has been enlarged. While the original subject retains a central place, the book touches on wider interests and includes chapters on wages and methods of payment, trade unions, migration, and co-operation. The book is a highly useful contribution to the subject.

Lady Atul Chatterjee (*nee* Broughton) wrote her *Labour in Indian Industries* as a thesis for the degree

of Doctor of Science (Economics) in the University of London. Written with a first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions, it is accurate, up-to-date and fairly comprehensive in its scope and treatment. The author served as an investigator under the British Board of Trade from 1910 to 1912, as a Welfare Officer in the Ministry of Munitions from 1916 to 1918 and as Adviser in the Labour Bureau of the Industries Department of the Government of India from 1920 to 1922. Her experience, therefore, of the working classes in Great Britain and India is wide and her knowledge unrivalled. The result of these is a work which is highly meritorious, and should have a large circulation amongst well-wishers of the labouring classes, as also amongst legislators, publicists and social reformers. A select bibliography should be appended to the next edition, which we feel sure will be called for before long.

Mr. D. R. Gadgil's *Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times* is an important work which deserves commendation at the reviewer's hands. In it the author reviews the recent economic history of India, dealing with the alternating periods of agricultural depression and prosperity, and the decline of the old and the progress of the new forms of industry. He then estimates the nature and extent of the economic transition, giving an account of the process of urbanization, the changes in the methods of marketing crops, the effects of the pressure of population on land, the condition of the village artisans and the evolution of higher forms of industrial organization in urban handicrafts. Thus a complete picture of the changes in economic condition and organization of Indian agriculture and industry since 1850 is presented, which is equally instructive and interesting. The book should be carefully studied by all students of Indian Economics.

The three books by Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, late Lecturer in Economics, New York University and at one time Special Agent in the Department of Labour of the United States Government, form a very useful contribution to the literature on Industry and Labour in India. The first is a comprehensive work dealing with (1) The Rise of Factory Labour, (2) Factory Discipline, (3) Hours of Work, (4) Health and Safety, (5) Industrial Efficiency, (6) Remuneration, (7) Standard of Living, (8) Factory Legislation and (9) Labour Organisation. The last two chapters have been amplified into the last two books. The author is a distinguished Indian in the field of Economics and his books merit serious consideration. They suffer, however, from two defects. The first is that of

sufficient want of touch with the present conditions in this country. Owing to his long absence he is not so intimately acquainted with our labour conditions of to-day as is, for instance, Lady Chatterjee, whose work we have already commended. Secondly, because the last two books are expansions of the subject-matter of the last two chapters of the first book, there is in the two former a good deal of repetition. We trust the talented author would be able to bring out one condensed work and thus avoid repetition. But in spite of the defect of reiteration, inevitably incidental to the treatment of one subject in parts, the three books of Dr. Das contain valuable information and deserve careful perusal, as they offer within a reasonable compass accurate data of factory and labour conditions in India and render accessible material not generally available to the average student of the subject. We especially commend the extensive bibliography appended to *Factory Labour in India*. No student of the Indian labour problems can afford to neglect the study of Dr. Das's masterly works under notice.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND ADMINISTRATION.

The Government of India. By A. Eggar, M.A., Bar-at-Law (Secretary, Legislative Council, Rangoon) 1924.

Mr. Arthur Eggar's *Government of India* will ultimately form the third part of his completed work to be called *A Treatise on the Laws of India*. As such it naturally seems fragmentary and issued as it is even without a table of contents, it does not conduce to facility for reference or study. Nevertheless it is a very useful work. Besides comprising the text of the Government of India Act and of many of the rules framed under it, the book deals systematically with the sovereign powers of the East India Company, the prerogatives of the King (or the Crown) and the constitutional rights of the subjects, the powers of the executive, revenues and expenditure, contracts and grants, the legal responsibility of officers and their exemption from civil and revenue proceedings, acts of state, the supremacy of law, the enforcement of martial law and other war measures, the powers of the Indian legislatures, the constitution of the legislative bodies, the electorate and franchise, and the procedure and the privileges of the legislative institutions. The book thus traverses a fairly large ground in Indian Constitutional and Administrative Law and its statements of fact, and its digest of case-law are sound and accurate, with the result that it forms an excellent text-book of the subject it deals with.

The Growth of Indian Constitution and Administration. By B. G. Sapre, M.A. (Willingdon College, Sangli) 1924.

It is a significant sign of the times we live in that the study of the Indian Constitution and Administration is receiving wider attention alike amongst our public men and educationists. Of the many efforts successfully made in this direction in recent years, the most notable is the exposition of the subject by Professor Sapre in his *Growth of Indian Constitution and Administration*, which is an almost ideal textbook, being accurate, clear and systematic. It gives an account of the formation of the East India Company, its territorial expansion in India, the system of Double Government under the Company, the Bureaucratic Government until 1920, and the Semi-Responsible Government since. It deals fairly exhaustively with the Reforms of 1919. It also contains adequate treatment of subjects like Indian Defence, Finance, Education, Fiscal Policy, Local Self-Government, and Land Revenue Policy. The book, in short, covers the whole ground on the subject of Indian Administration, and it also contains in an abridged form the consolidated Government of India Act of 1919, which materially enhances its value alike for purposes of study and reference. Taken as a whole, Professor Sapre's book is highly instructive to the student of Indian constitutional progress. It is to be hoped that in revising it for the next edition the talented author would utilize the ample materials now made available in the Reforms Enquiry Committee's two Reports.

The Governance of India. By K. T. Shah and Gulestan J. Bahadurji. (N. M. Tripathi & Co., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay) 1924.

The first edition of Professor Shah's *Governance of India* appeared before the Reform Act of 1919. The second edition—brought out in collaboration with Miss Bahadurji—forms a highly elucidative commentary on the Government of India Act as amended and consolidated till 1919 and contains additional chapters replete with useful information on local self-Government, army, finance and the Indian States. The book is exceedingly well put together and is an excellent handy manual of Indian Constitutional and Administrative Law. Its statements of fact, however, require closer revision in the next edition. We are informed on p. 297 that "a High Court was established for the new province of Behar and Orissa at Patna in 1915, and another at Dacca in 1922." Now the Patna Court was inaugurated in 1916, but there is no High Court at Dacca. Such mistakes, though minor,

should not be allowed to disfigure an, on the whole, creditable work like the one under consideration and should be carefully excised. For the rest, we repeat our appreciation and commendation of the first edition of Professor Shah's admirable work.

Crime in India. By S. M. Edwards, C.S.I., C.V.O. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

It is not often that we get so qualified a writer to deal with an Indian subject as Mr. S. M. Edwards in his recent work on Indian criminology. The recent sensational crime in Bombay has roused the interest of everyone in the matter of Indian crime. Here is a book which will tell you all about this fascinating subject. Mr. Edwards, as Commissioner of Police in Bombay, amassed an unrivalled knowledge of the character and methods of the modern Indian criminal. There is not a single branch of crime that is not brilliantly delineated in his book—called appropriately *Crime in India*—and it deserves careful consideration at the hands of police-officers, magistrates, judges and leaders of public opinion interested in the maintenance of law and order. The book is comprehensive and instructive. It is a pity, however, that the author has imported into the treatment of the subject some extraneous considerations which detract to some extent from the value of his book. He seems to be obsessed with the political agitator and he clamours for "a stern policy of repression," and "a little more determination to grapple sternly with lawlessness, a little less attention to immediate schemes for the political millennium in India." In spite, however, of these occasional aberrations, Mr. Edwards' book is a mine of useful information on Indian criminology and deserves acknowledgment.

Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes. By Tarakanath Das, Ph.D. (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1924.

Dr. Tarakanath Das's book called *Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes* is a stimulating study of the problem of the semi-independent States of India. It is an attempt to define and to find a solution for the question—what will be the place which the States of India should occupy in the larger dispensation of Indian polity in the near future? This is a question which is already attracting serious attention. In this booklet the author makes a probing enquiry into the position of the Indian States and examines the significance of recent events in Asia and shows how they affect the question of our States in India. Studied as the question is here from the view point of a student of International Law, it forms a valuable

contribution to the study of the problem and merits attention. One may not agree with all that the author says on the subject he so ably deals with; his suggestions may be challenged but can not be ignored.

SOCIOLOGY.

Community A Sociological Study. By R. M. Maciver, D.Phil., (Macmillan & Co., London, 1924) 15s.

Community as a focus of social life reveals to a synthetic mind tendencies and movements which deserve a systematic study. Perhaps in the domain of post war letters nothing is so prominent as the increasing attention paid to Society and its fundamental laws, and the large number of serious books on the subject testifies to the need which is felt of reconstructing out of the chaos of shattered dogmas and conventions—the after-math of War—a better, more stable and less brutal scheme of communal living.

Dr. Maciver's book on *Community* has reached its third edition, having been published first in 1917—testimony alike to the learning of the author and the essential soundness of his analyses. Dr. Maciver's work is the more engaging as he now frankly detracts his earlier thesis that "there was no definite science of society beyond that contained in such specific studies as economics and politics."

Community, according to our author, is social life which transcends barriers both geographical and national, even racial. It is a resultant of "willed relations" and the laws which govern such relations "reveal the inter-relations of the purposes of living beings, their conditions and their consequences." Institutions, associations and such like—e.g., the State, Church, a trade Union or a K.K.K.—are but phases of different aspects of social life; they are but parts and do not form the whole. To study man in social or communal living we need a synthetic study of those laws which interpret and govern his individual as well as his social actions. Dr. Maciver has developed an elaborate and erudite thesis round the laws of communal development. One may not wholly agree with his conclusions but his arguments are well-reasoned and provoke thought. The fundamental basis of communal development according to our author, is the correlation of what we call individualisation and socialisation: there is no antithesis here but co-operation for communal good is revealed in each successive stage of greater development in either aspects, and an advance connotes a scheme of communal economy which is quite in harmony with progressive realisation of individual worth and values.

Of necessity Dr. Maciver's thesis is abstract: he writes of fundamental principles and does not stop to comment upon the topical problems that face modern society. Where he has chosen to elucidate by illustrations his sympathies are in line with advanced liberal thought. We commend this learned work to all those who are interested in social and civic problems. They will derive inspiration from Dr. Maciver's keen and shrewd judgment, his thoughtful and incisive analysis and his progressive ideas of betterment and human welfare.

Studies in the Theory of Human Society. By Franklin H. Giddings, LL.D., (The Macmillan Company, New York).

Dr. Giddings is a well known writer on Sociology, who has earned an international reputation. But he is difficult, abstruse and occasionally incomprehensible. Possibly it is the result of his great learning that ideas and thoughts flow from his pen in an unmeasured, crypt and involved series. The present volume is no exception. The author writes not for the layman but for advanced students of psychology and social philosophy. Environment and collective action form the bases of social phenomena, in the words of the author, "Situation and pluralistic behaviour" govern the community's life. Dr. Giddings's analysis of history as a study in human behaviour, his discussion of the fundamental instincts and ideas behind group-making tendencies, his masterly address on social theory and public policy—all these are brilliant renderings by an active and erudite mind. Dr. Giddings concludes with a pointed reminder that "society is comprehensible only if we know what it does, and that what it does is to convert a biological survival of the fit for the jungle into a historical survival of the better for human purposes. In other words the function of society is to develop and safeguard the higher types of human personality."

Society and its Problems. By G. S. Dow (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London) 10s. 6d.

This volume is primarily intended for use in the college. Avowedly as introductory volume to sociology it does not attempt any deep analysis of the fundamental theories of human life. This author proposes to introduce the subject to laymen and he goes no further. An exhaustive or critical treatment is therefore not permissible. Nevertheless it is a comprehensive book, both informative and instructive,

particularly for American students. Theoretical bases are merely mentioned, but attention is directed to the vital problems of society and the many complexities of modern life. Outstanding questions of the day like race immigration, poverty, family, movement of populations—all are dealt with in a comprehensive survey. It will interest Indian readers to find under the caption "Position of Women" the author's idea of Hindu woman: "She is in theory and often in practice a servant or rather a slave of her husband, not being allowed to eat at the same table or to cook her food at the same fire (*sic*). She is kept upon a low intellectual plane, seldom being allowed to learn to read or write." Again regarding Indian population in America the author says that "if it increases in numbers it will be very serious, for the Hindu brings with him a low standard, lower in fact than that of the Chinese. He is also haughty, and considers his philosophy of life superior to ours." Our readers must not however judge the entire book by the above quotations. Much can be excused where ignorance is almost too patent. We accord a welcome to Prof. Dow's book as an omnibus treatise on elementary sociology which should be of real service to students. An ample bibliography enhances its value.

Man and Culture. By Clark Wissler, Ph.D., (George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1924) 10s. 6d.

This volume is the first study, we believe, which analyses and co-ordinates the governing factors of cultural types as exhibited during the ages. It is not merely a historical survey from the anthropological point of view but is a brilliant attempt by an expert anthropologist at a reconstruction of the vital trait-complexes which constitute the different cultural types of to-day. Dr. Wissler makes it quite clear at the start that cultural unity is larger than mere political boundaries or a unity of language. Certain distinctive traits characterise a culture—whether Eskimo or Hottentot, the Nordic or the Oriental. There are points of contact and points of differences. By a close study of ethnological and social data alone can we comprehend the essential values of the types. The author lays stress on the growth of culture by accumulation and distinguishes the tendencies which characterise the Euro-American type to spread and enlarge its cultural boundaries. Dr. Wissler's analysis is very incisive and searching; his conclusions derived after careful scientific appraisal deserve close attention. The reading is lucid and clear and the list of bibliography at the end of each chapter both ample and complete. Dr. Wissler has written a most

thoughtful work which should stimulate interest in the study of a subject which has a vital bearing on modern problems.

The Story of Utopias. By Lewis Mumford (George G. Harrap & Co., London, 1924) 10s. 6d.

"Alas! this world needs utopias as it needs fairy stories. It does not matter so much where we are going, so long as we are making consciously for some definite goal. And a Utopia, however strange and fanciful, is the only possible beacon upon the uncharted seas of the distant future." So writes Dr. Hendrik W. Van Loon, the famous author of *The Story of Mankind*, while introducing Mr. Mumford's brilliant study. It is comforting to human mind as well a rare consolation that it can project itself into a golden future or bury itself in dreams of a golden past, framing with the inward eye the details with such picturesque egotism that troubles and worries contingent upon the modern rush of things appear remote and fade away in a haze. Mr. Mumford has critically analysed for us the reputed utopias which the world treasures, from Plato down to the modern age, and to this extent robbed us of our undiluted pleasure in the fanciful picturings of the mind. But our author's survey is essentially constructive, besides being extremely interesting and exceptionally lucid and clear. He has built round his story the magical gossamer-like web of glory and content as idealists of the different ages saw and felt. Convincing reasons are advanced why our author considers that Wells expresses the true idolum, for in him we find the note of reality, the pitch of the daily world from which we endeavour in vain to escape. Mr. Mumford concludes with a sharp criticism of utopias that have been and proceeds to indicate the lines of a new "Eutopia" where good life may be lived. Robert Hythloday may have been a relic of the dark middle ages, but his saying that "as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily; not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable," remains essentially as true to-day as he found it in his era. A full comprehension of the hard economic facts of modern iron age is essential before any beautiful mansion can be built. Mr. Mumford has indicated the plans and designs of such a mansion after a careful and critical deliberation of the art and structure of building as known to past masters. Truly a thought-

provoking, extremely suggestive and stimulating work. Mr. Mumford should go further and elaborate his ideals for the good of the good life we all wish to see being lived in this hard, brutal world.

Evolution at the Crossways. By H. Reinheimer (The C. W. Daniel Company, London, 1924) 6s.

In *Evolution at the Crossways* Mr. Reinheimer has written a powerful polemic on an absorbing scientific question of the day. The author negatives the Darwinian conception of the competition theory and advocates with rare passion the recognition of a co-operative evolution and of the existence of Morality in Nature. He lays stress on the relations of mutuality and communal efforts which characterise every advance in social life and draws the lines of a progressive principle of evolution, to which he gives the name of Symbiogenesis. The author brings data and authority to his aid in proof of his theory, though his enthusiasm and emphasis lead him at times to betray a self-satisfying over-confidence which is poison to scientific analysis. Consequently his book, interspersed so largely with quotations—a doubtful asset—does not dispassionately argue the points to their logical conclusions. It is amusing to read the author's estimate of his own contribution set forth in the mouth of a future historian! But we can overlook these small mannerisms because of the evident zeal and enthusiasm displayed in advocacy of a cause which is, although, not yet scientifically accepted, but is correlated with international ideals of peace and co-operation. It is interesting to find Mr. Reinheimer carrying his arguments of Symbiosis a stage further to include in the book a discussion on the biology of nutrition and claiming that future lies with vegetarianism, which represents a mutual symbiotic relationship between man and plant. A stimulating work.

Towards a Christian Sociology. By Arthur J. Penty (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1924) 6s.

Mr. Penty is always a refreshing writer, provoking thought and suggesting arguments. In the present volume he has written a severe indictment of the modern industrial and commercial system and critically considers the Socialist panacea. His reasoning is impartial and dispassioned and no one will quarrel with him framing his ideals of a better society and a better world. His chief accusation against Socialism is that it possesses an un-moral outlook: "Socialist movement is primarily a moral revolt, but there is no correspondence between its

moral impulse and its official economic theories.... and the discrepancy between the head and heart of Socialism brings to nought all their efforts at reconstruction." Mr. Penty would build his mansion on the Christian principles of Love and Brotherhood, a design which means a return to simpler and more wholesome conditions of life and society, such as existed in the medieval age of the Guilds. In fact our author's utopia calls for a return to regulative and functional guilds of industry, the institution of a fixed and a just price, the evocation of the love of the worker for his toil and craft, the dissolution of capitalistic industrialism coupled with abolition of private property in land. Mr. Penty is a forceful and lucid writer, with powers of eloquent reasoning and a shrewd analytical judgement. One may not agree with all he says yet give him credit for the instructive and well-balanced thesis he has presented in this volume.

Man, The Animal. By Dr. William Martin Smallwood (The Macmillan Company, New York) \$2.50.

It is a good book of the popular science style. Dr. Smallwood has been at pains to delimit and circumscribe the biological data to points of material importance and of layman-interest. He has shown in this survey the conclusions which science has arrived at regarding the embryology of man and has linked up his narrative with general biological data. The author begins his study with the smallest biological unit, the cell, and traverses during his survey the various stages through which life is formed and developed. It is an eminently readable book for the young. There are few better guides than Dr. Smallwood for the instruction of useful biological knowledge to the student which should form a part of the curricula during his or her formative days in the school.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

(1) ALMANACKS, ANNUALS AND YEAR-BOOKS.

Whitaker's Almanack 1925. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1925.

Inaugurated in 1868, *Whitaker's Almanack* for the current year is the fifty-seventh yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-speaking world. It is too well-known and too well-established in popular estimation as the most useful and most comprehensive repertory of information—

well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs to need the reviewer's commendation; and the *Hindustan Review* has now for a quarter of a century noticed in terms of high appreciation the recurring annual publications of this highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The current edition of *Whitaker's Almanac* is indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world to-day. The special features of the edition under notice are an interesting sketch of the great exhibition held at Wembley last year and a most up-to-date account of the Union of the Soviet Republics.

Whitaker's Peerage 1925. (J. Whitaker & Sons, Ltd., 12, Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1925.

There are several well-known annual directories dealing with the Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions in the British Commonwealth, but *Whitaker's Peerage* (which is the youngest of its class) is not only perhaps the cheapest but the most convenient for reference. The current edition contains complete list of Peers, Baronets, Knights and Companions, including full list of the last new year's honours. The careful compilation and methodical arrangement, which have always characterised the work, are still fully maintained, while for ease of reference it can hardly be surpassed. The inclusion of Officers of the Order of the British Empire in the Alphabetical Companionage makes the section the most complete on the subject. The preface rightly calls attention to the very remarkable increase to the Peerage and Baronetage during the last few years. The obituary for the last year is very full and complete. *Whitaker's Peerage* is—as stated above—the cheapest now before the public, while its convenient shape and handy size add very materially to its value and usefulness as an indispensable work of ready reference for all who may have to seek information concerning the higher ranks of the aristocracy of the British Empire.

Of the books of its class and kind, it should, therefore, have a large circulation in India. It is much to be desired that a work of reference dealing with Indian rulers, chiefs, princes and zamindars were compiled and issued annually, modelled on *Whitaker's Peerage*, by some enterprising publisher.

The Newspaper Press Directory 1925. (C. Mitchell & Co., Ltd., 102 Snow Hill, Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C. 1.) 1925.

Having seen the light in 1845, the current edition of Messrs. Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory* is the eightieth annual issue of this, the best and indispensable work of reference to British periodical literature. Its range of information is generally wide and accurate and it supplies the fullest details about the press of the British Commonwealth in particular and that of the other countries in general, with the result that it is of the highest utility to pressmen, advertisers and tradesmen. The current edition has been judiciously revised and carefully overhauled and we have lighted upon few mis-statements of fact. One of the most noticable is that on p. 492, where in the section dealing with Turkey it is stated that "the Caliph continues to reside in Constantinople where he wields a purely religious authority." This should not have been allowed to appear in the 1925 edition. Again, the section dealing with the press of India requires to be carefully revised by some one in intimate touch with the present conditions of the fourth estate in that country. The most noticeable omission is that of the *Searchlight* of Patna (in Behar and Orissa), which is the leading journal of that province. But making allowance for such mistakes, the *Newspaper Press Directory* is, on the whole, a very creditably accurate and comprehensive work of reference.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1925. (Pultizer Building, 53–63 Park Row, New York, U.S.A.) 1925.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is now in the fortieth year of publication. It is a most important annual appanage to one of the leading American papers, the *New York World*, from the office of which it is issued. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and

it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating almost to the whole world. Of the many books of reference, annually issued, it is perhaps the most notable covering within its nearly one thousand pages facts and statistical data about the various political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world.

The Daily Mail Year-Book 1925. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) 1925.

Of the many political year-books that one is familiar with, that associated in name with the *Daily Mail* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet the most comprehensive. Unlike several other annuals of its class and kind—which are only revised and brought up-to-date—the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is completely rewritten for each succeeding edition. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. In fact, the little red book is a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day and is a most informative work of reference. The edition under notice is fully abreast of the latest incidents and events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shilling—and general utility as a meritorious work of reference, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data. The edition for the current year is the twenty-fifth and we congratulate this highly useful annual on the celebration of its silver jubilee.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book 1925. (A. and C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 and 6 Soho Square, London, W. 1.) 1925.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book is now in the eighteenth year of its new issue. It offers literary aspirants and journalistic free lances much sound and useful information which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares with profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of publishers, book-sellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists,

cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information form the standard features of the publication. We have much pleasure in commending it to those connected with either literary pursuits or the press. Though meant primarily for Great Britain it will be found valuable for reference even in India.

The Liberal Year-Book 1925. (The Liberal Publication Department, 42 Parliament Street, London, S. W. 1) 1925.

The three great parties in Great Britain have each their organs in the press and an annual work of ready reference—the Labourites their *Labour Year-Book*, the Conservatives their *Constitutional Year-Book* and the Liberals their *Liberal Year-Book*. The edition of the last, for the current year is the twenty-first of the series and it has thus attained its majority on which its compilers and publishers deserve felicitation. It is carefully revised from year to year—all obsolete matter is judiciously pruned off and information, which may be reasonably looked for in an annual reference book of this kind, is carefully inserted and the whole text is revised and overhauled. The result is that each new edition is not only thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data, but replete with a vast store of information about British politics, not easily accessible to students of public affairs in India. The book though primarily compiled for the use of the members of the Liberal party is thus likely to be of great utility to public men even in this country. Two of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent sketch of parliamentary procedure and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether the *Liberal Year-Book* is one of the most valuable works of reference.

The Constitutional Year-Book 1925. (National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S. W. 1) 1925.

The Constitutional Year-Book is to the British Conservative what the *Liberal Year-Book* is to the British Progressive. For the object it desires to serve, the *Constitutional*—which is now in the thirty-ninth year of publication—is an almost ideal work of reference. Its scope is chiefly political and it offers a cheap and handy reference-book of facts and statistics bearing on topics of current interest to the conservatives in particular and publicists in general. It is

carefully revised and brought up-to-date and its pages may be trusted to supply useful and accurate information on questions of public interest. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political parties in Great Britain should keep on his bookshelf the annual editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book*, each of which is highly useful. The *Constitutional Year-Book* for 1925 is a concise summary of Parliamentary and political activities up to and including the year 1924. Full information concerning the present Government and the recent General Election is included. As a guide and reference for the student of current political problems, the *Constitutional Year-Book* is invaluable because it is complete. The statistical section embraces facts and figures relating to the British Nation's life, right up to the date of publication, and it is thus thoroughly up-to-date.

The People's Year-Book 1925. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., 1 Balloon Street, Manchester) 1925.

The current edition—the eighth—of the *People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about Co-operation. Among its salient features the volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the Co-operative movement throughout the world and of the industrial labour movement as well. Amongst the topics of public interest, the cost of living, the housing problem, and British Finance in 1924 are specifically dealt with; the latest developments in art, science, literature, and the drama are also reviewed, and a mass of useful information is likewise included, which will interest the general reader, apart from the student. As the volume also contains a symposium of articles on Free Trade *versus* Protection—in which the Co-operative leaders of various countries discuss the bearings and workings of the customs policy of their respective States—this feature is calculated to prove of special interest at a time when the customs policy intended by the British Government signifies that the question of Free Trade *versus* Protection is about to become a subject of controversy and a burning topic once again, both in Great Britain and in the Indian Empire. The *People's Year-Book*, 1925, thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and a general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution.

The Manchester Guardian Year-Book 1925. (Manchester Guardian Office, Manchester) 1924.

Though, in a sense, designed to serve local needs and requirements, the *Manchester Guardian Year-Book* is compiled on so ambitious a scale and contains so much useful information that it deserves special commendation at the hands of the discriminating reviewer. Full data about the industries of Manchester is combined with a large range of general information of a practical character. Its appeal is, therefore, not confined to the citizens of the capital of Lancashire. It will be found equally useful to the seeker after general knowledge.

Thacker's Indian Directory 1925. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Esplanade, Calcutta) 1925.

The Times of India Directory 1925. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1925.

Of the many directories annually issued in India, the two—the current year's editions of which are recorded above—are the best-known as standard works of reference amongst their class. *Thacker's Indian Directory*—which is now in its sixty-fourth annual edition—originally and for many years afterwards appeared as the "Bengal Directory." But it slowly covered the other provinces as well, and for years past the *Lal Kitab* ("the red book"), as it is familiarly known in offices, has been justly regarded as the one indispensable work of reference amongst Indian directories. *The Times of India Directory* is even an older publication than *Thacker's*, as its current edition is the seventy-third annual issue. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Basil Scott of the Bombay High Court described it in one of his judgments as "a standard work of reference in Bombay." While *Thacker's* is more comprehensive in its scope in covering the whole Indian Empire, both it and the Bombay publication have much in common. They both attempt at furnishing, amongst other things, a complete business directory of India, industrial concerns, trades and professions, classified lists of inhabitants, street directory, miscellaneous directories of India and an alphabetical list of agents in India for British and foreign firms, alphabetical list of commercial firms and buildings, particulars relating to public societies, institutions and associations, a list of motor vehicle owners and other useful and general information. Both works are carefully revised from year to year, and although no work of reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up-to-date, nevertheless these two hardy annuals are as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of

their class to be. They usefully supplement each other and a sensible businessman should keep both of them on his bookshelf.

The Indian Year-Book 1925. (Times of India Press, Bombay) 1925.

We welcome the twelfth edition of *The Indian Year-Book*—edited by Sir Stanley Reed and Mr. S. T. Sheppard—which has justly come to be regarded as an indispensable work of reference for all in any way connected with Indian public affairs. In the current edition, while all those characteristic features which have made it the standard reference annual on things Indian are retained and developed, the economic and sociological sections are even fuller than usual. Indian trade, currency and banking are fully analysed, with the latest statistics available. An important section is that dealing with Indian Labour, including the official machinery and the growth of the Trade Union movement. *The Indian Year-Book* knows no politics, but it is something more than a dry-as-dust record of statistics; in every section there is an attempt not only to give facts, but to see the forces which are behind the facts. This makes it a valuable and useful adjunct to every Government and mercantile office in India, as also to clubs, libraries and institutes, to business-men generally, and to every one who takes an interest in Indian affairs. It covers a very wide range of subjects and while comprehensive it is, on the whole, commendably accurate.

(2) QUOTATIONS, TECHNICAL TERMS AND HANDBOOKS.

Classified Quotations. By W. Gurney Benham (Cassell & Co., Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, London, E. C. 4.) 1924.

It is strange but none the less true that the best compendiums of quotations are American and not British. Of the former the two best known are Hoyt's *New Encyclopædia of Practical Quotations*—the last enlarged edition of which was commended by us in terms of high appreciation as a monumental collection of classified extracts, drawn from the spoken and written literature of all peoples, ancient and modern—and Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, the tenth edition of which was issued some years back carefully revised and judiciously enlarged. Its arrangement is alphabetical in the names of authors. Of the British works the best is that identified with the name of Mr. Benham, who has now compiled another collection the scope of which is indicated by its title of *Classi-*

ned Quotations. It is on the same lines as Hoyt's but covers smaller ground both in its range of subjects and extracts. Nevertheless it will be found highly useful and entertaining alike by the student and the general reader.

Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary. Selected and Translated by H. J. Woolf. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) 1924.

Dictionary of Socialism. By Dr. A. S. Rapoport. (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London) 1924.

Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary is a classic in French philosophical literature and Mr. Woolf's present selection attempts to show an aspect of Voltaire not usually seen by the English reader, to whom for various reasons *Candide* has nearly always been offered as Voltaire's typical work. But students of French literature know that the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* is the concentrated essence of the "old invalid of Ferney's" entire career, and comprises the substance of much of his original thought. As such Mr. Woolf's selected translations from the French deserve acknowledgment at the hands of all interested in the study of Philosophy.

Dr. Rapoport's *Dictionary of Socialism* is an excellent work of reference wherein the reader will find the most accurate and concise information on virtually any subject connected with the history, origin and development of Socialism. Its purpose is simply to instruct those who are anxious to obtain reliable information on the subject in question, either with a view to defending or criticising the Socialist doctrines. It is absolutely impartial in its treatment and is accurate and comprehensive. A useful select bibliography at the end adds to its value and utility.

Handbook of Trinidad and Tobago. (Government Printing Office, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and also Crown Agent for Trinidad, 4 Millbank, London, S. W. 1) 1924.

Maichuria (South Manchuria Railway Company, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

How to Take the Chair. By John Rigg. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1925.

The Handbook of Trinidad and Tobago—while disclaiming to be an "official publication" is issued by the Government of those countries for the benefit of those who wish to know something about the colony and its institutions. It is not compiled on the

lines of a directory. Rather it is a well-illustrated and comprehensive survey of the physical conditions of the colony, its industries and resources and the system of its administration, and it also includes in a series of appendices a good deal of useful information. Altogether it is a highly useful book alike for study and reference. The maps are excellent.

Like the *Handbook of Trinidad*, the South Manchuria Railway Company's *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities* is an excellent compendium of general information about that country. It covers a large ground and presents accurate and useful information about the physical geography, history, government, natural resources, manufactures and industries, and trade, commerce and finances of that land; while quite naturally full particulars are given about the work and administration of the great railway system, which is responsible for the production of the book. Thus tourists and seekers after general information will alike find the volume useful and informative.

Mr. John Rigg supplements his useful *How To Conduct a Meeting* by his *How To Take the Chair*, which is equally clear and full in all details. It will be found very serviceable by all taking part in public affairs, especially in the India of to-day with its clamour for self-government.

LITERATURE OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

The Vanished Cities of Arabia. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. (Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1925.

Mrs. Erskine's *Vanished Cities of Arabia*, illustrated by Major Fletcher, is a beautifully produced book and deserves appreciation. It is mainly occupied with a graphic description of the little-known region of and around the wonderful old rock city of Petra; of Gerash, the Roman city of the Greek Decapolis, with its temple second only to Baalbec in importance, and its unrivalled street of columns; of Amman, the ancient Philadelphia; of the Crusaders' Castle of Kerah and other places of interest. Petra and Gerash have been photographed and coloured blocks have been made from these photographs, but hitherto no illustrations have been made from paintings made on the spot. The book sets forth the artistic, archaeological and human interest of the ruins of past civilisations, and should appeal to a large circle of readers. Its get-up deserves commendation.

A Springtime in Palestine. By Myriam Harry. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., 5 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

In her *Springtime in Palestine*—which is an excellent example of a book of travel—Madame Harry, the well-known Syrian-French authoress, presents these impressions of Palestine revisited after an absence of many years. The book is practically a confession of her conversion to Zionism, brought about by the realisation of the permanence and nobility of the work of the Jewish settlers. As a revelation of what has already been accomplished in reclaiming the derelict land, in building, in education, in the re-creation of a dying language, these sketches of life in the new Jewish communities will create surprise and discussion. But these apart, it is in the sympathy of her interpretation of the lure of Palestine, in her power to convey the tragedy and beauty of the past, in her vivid portraiture of the multitude of human types—primitive and sophisticated—that crowd into Jerusalem every Eastertide, that Madame Harry shows herself an artist in words, and her book is one which should be read for its own sake as well as for the sidelights it throws on the astonishing progress of Zionism.

Japan From Within. By J. Bryan Ingram, M.A., Ph.D. (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London) 1924.

Dr. Ingram Bryan's *Japan From Within* is undoubtedly a notable acquisition to the extensive literature in English relating to Japan. The book is the most careful and up-to-date survey of Japan's progress in recent years, based on a first-hand study of sources open to few outsiders. In this important work the author gives a concise and authoritative account of Japan's political, economic, industrial, commercial, moral and religious condition and resources, and to indicate her future relations as a competitor with the English-speaking nations. By reason of his long and intimate connection with that country, there is no one in Japan, who seems to be so well fitted and so thoroughly competent to speak on Japanese affairs as Dr. Bryan. His profound knowledge of the people as the result of long residence and work, his excellent equipment educationally and his literary skill, make him an expert in dealing with Japanese and Far Eastern affairs. He not only spent sixteen years as professor in Japanese colleges, but was correspondent for leading papers and reviews, was decorated by the Emperor of Japan with the Order of the Sacred Treasure in recognition of his services to Japanese education, and is at present University Extension lecturer for Cambridge in Japanese History and

Civilisation. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has crowned his distinguished record by producing a work which is comprehensive and encyclopædic in its range and discusses with learning and sympathy all the vast and varied activities of the modern Japanese. Verily, a most valuable work.

In the Land of Art. By Vicente Blasco Ibanez. Translated by Frances Douglas (T. Fisher Union, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London) 1924.

Vicente Ibanez is a distinguished Spanish man of letters, and we welcome the authorized translation into English of his *In the Land of Art*, which is a brilliant sketch of an unconventional tour in Italy and its treasures of art and scenery. The art treasures and scenic beauties of Italy are herein described by an observer gifted with remarkable powers of expression and with clear, original vision. The result is a book of the author's experiences in travelling up and down Italy, written in a glow of generous zeal for his subject; and probably the art treasures and historic beauties of Italy have never before been described in such a whole-hearted, enthusiastic way by an observer gifted with such splendid powers of description, and with such capacity for clear expression. The book gives his Italian impressions with great vigour, vivacity, imagination and colour; he brings the brain and enthusiasm of a novelist to decorating subjects in themselves hackneyed, and the result is very much different from the mechanical exercises of the ordinary tourist-writer. The book justly demands acknowledgment for its many merits.

To Lhasa in Disguise. By W. M. McGovern. (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15 Bedford Street, London) 1924.

Dr. Montgomery McGovern's *To Lhasa in Disguise* is an account of a secret expedition through mysterious Tibet. The penetration of Lhasa, the Mysterious, has long been the 'forlorn hope' of the explorer. Dr. McGovern, a young and far-travelled orientalist, who, in recognition of his Buddhist scholarship, had already been made an 'Honorary Priest' of the largest temple in Japan, joined in 1922 the British Buddhist Mission to Tibet. At Gyantse, in Central Tibet, the Mission was compelled to return to Darjeeling; but Dr. McGovern determined to go on alone. Disguising himself even to the extent of darkening his eyes by the injection of lemonjuice, and passing as coolie to his own servant, he fought his way through blinding blizzards over the mountain passes of that desolate region, and at last, after terrible dangers and priva-

tions, arrived at the Sacred City. Further hardships and difficulties ensued, but in spite of all, Dr. McGovern contrived to interview leading Tibetans, to make friends with Tsarong, the military leader, and even to see and speak with the Dalai Lama himself. For these reasons Dr. McGovern's book adds materially to our present scanty knowledge of Tibet, and constitutes a vivid narrative of adventures that were not without their humorous aspect. It is a unique addition to the scanty literature on Tibet in English and merits appreciation.

In Quest of El Dorado. By Stephen Graham (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1924.

In his *In Quest of El Dorado*, Mr. Stephen Graham records his travels in the footsteps of Columbus and other explorers who sought the New World. "To make a sentimental journey and trail an idea across the world," was the thought of Mr. Stephen Graham when he set out on the journey. He takes us first to Spain, whence the early seekers of El Dorado embarked, viewing in Madrid a modern scene filled with memories of the day when Kings and Queens sent men in pursuit of golden treasures. From Cadiz, like Columbus before him, he sailed on a Spanish ship and followed the explorers' keels over the waters to Porto Rico, Haiti, Cuba, San Salvador (the first land sighted by Columbus). He visited Panama, climbed a peak in Darien, and saw the Pacific for the first time as Balboa saw it. We are invited to follow the fantastic adventures of Coronado to the Seven Cities of Cibola, and the Shaleco Dance at the "centre of the earth." We visit Mexico, following the historical track of Cortes, and finish this quest of El Dorado at the ancient pyramids of the Anahuac plateau and the ruins of Mitla near the border of British Honduras. From the time of his departure from Cadiz in a Spanish ship, till the end of his journey, he offers us a vivid portraiture and a graphic account of the scenes and sights of the various lands he traversed and his book is pre-eminently readable.

The Russian Soviet Republic. By E. A. Ross, Ph.D., LL.D. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1924.

Probably no book in English gives so accurate, and so vivid an account of what the Soviet Republic has done during its first critical years as is presented in Dr. Ross' work under notice, called the *Russian Soviet Republic*. The author preserves the impartiality of the historian: he follows the facts wherever they lead.

He exposes the failure of the Bolshevik land and nationalization policies as impartially as he exposes the crookedness of Allied diplomats and statesmen. He writes with august impartiality and holds no brief for either party. He believes the agrarian revolution which is rolling over the world, breaking up great landed estates, originated with the Russian upheaval; but he thinks that everywhere communist ideas have split and weakened the socialists, and that capitalism is now safer and stronger than it has been in many years. Whatever one may think of the views expressed by Dr. Ross, there can be no two opinions as to the great value of the highly useful data he has brought together in his book, which no student of the subject can afford to ignore.

Spain To-day. By Frank B. Deakin. (The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1) 1924.

Mr. Deakin's *Spain To-day* is a frank—perhaps too frank—discussion of the seamy side of political social and economic conditions of contemporary Spain. The author is fully qualified by personal experience and he writes with knowledge, and in what he calls 'a spirit of friendship.' But Spain will probably declare, 'Spare me from my friends!' He systematically exposes the abuses which are rampant there: illiteracy, corruption of press, politics, and law; insanitary conditions of life, poverty, slums. The book might be—doubtless would be—of use printed in Spanish and published in Spain, but printed in English and published in London what purpose can it serve except to bring into prominent relief the very hopeless condition of things in the Kingdom of Spain. Nevertheless the book has a value of its own and it may be commended to students of contemporary public affairs as well as to all well-wishers of Spain.

In the Land of the Golden Fleece By Odette Keun. Translated from the French by Helen Jessiman. (John Lane The Bodley Head, Ltd., London) 1924.

The *Land of the golden fleece* which is described in the book under notice is that known as Georgia, and which is now one of the union of Soviet States under the dominance of the Russian Republic. The talented lady Mlle. Odette Keun, the author of the book—is a well-known French traveller and writer, whose *Adventures in Bolshevik Russia* is one of the best works on contemporary Russia. Her present book dealing with Georgia is a picturesque and vivid

delineation, written with a distinctive individuality of style, of her experiences in that little known country. The chief merit of the book lies in the highly descriptive sketches of Georgian life and manners, as also of the social and economic conditions of the people. The book is equally instructive and interesting.

The United States of America. By Chandra Chakrabarty. (Susruta Sangha, 177 Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta) 1924.

We have already noticed in terms of appreciation the medical works of Dr. Chakrabarty—an Indian medical practitioner in America. He has now put together a work of the United States dealing with the physiography of the country, its historical background, government, people, industries, education and social organization. Possessing a first-hand knowledge of the great American Republic, the author has written a book marked by insight, and experience. His statements of fact are, on the whole, accurate and unimpeachable, while his conclusions are seldom erroneous. To those who may be desirous of obtaining sound and useful information about the United States of America, we can safely recommend Dr. Chandra Chakrabarty's book bearing that name.

BOOKS FOR LEISURE HOURS.

The Complete Limerick Book. By Langford Reed. Illustrated by H. M. Bateman (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

One cannot be sufficiently grateful to Mr. Reed for his admirable compilation *The Complete Limerick Book*. There is as a matter of fact no literature on Limericks as a recognised verse-form; yet it has been universally used as a vehicle of amusing epigrams and startling clinches. Almost every one acquainted with English verse has had a go at being an impromptu poet, and what more suitable vehicle than this fascinating form of 'metrical frivolity'? Mr. Reed analyses and sums up the essential constituents of a good limerick to be a good last line, ingenuity of rhymes and plot. The conclusion is not derived from an *ad hoc* calculation of merits but from a consideration of the best Limericks. We agree but surely there should not be any rigidity of form or technique about a form of amusement, and we are not far wrong when we say that the elasticity of rhyme and accentuation combined with the catholicity of form and technique

permissible in Limericks furnish the bases of the pleasure we derive from Limericks. Mr. Reed has rendered an invaluable service to our leisure hours; his collection is admirably selective and we join him in repudiating the baseless assertion that no good limerick "can be retailed in public without dislocating the amenities of polite society". Mr. Reed has completely succeeded in 'deodorising' the character of the Limerick and we commend his book heartily to lovers of light poetics.

S'No Fun. By A. H. d'Egville (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1925) 6s.

The sub-title of this amusing volume is "A Book about Winter Sport". It is meant to raise a laugh among lovers of the ice and laugh on the Alpine heights is always welcome. The author is witty without being a bore and his caricatures are drawn with a relish for the fun of the sport. Short and admirably brief in his comments he often achieves a delightful combination of wit with epigram, e.g., "Skating is the art of slithering gracefully or disgracefully over a piece of frozen water on two pieces of steel." The illustrations that accompany the text are vivid and provocative of laughter. Grand Duke Philip writing from Domsik alleged to be in Siberia gives an excellent testimonial to our author and such high commendation does not need any support before a discriminating public. Lovers of the ice will enjoy Mr. d'Egville and those who do not know the ice will begin to long for its fun after having read *S'No Fun*.

The Sorrows of a Fat Man. By Henri Beraud (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., London, 1924) 6s.

Henri Beraud won the coveted *Prix Goncourt* in 1922 for his books "*Le Martyr de l'Obese*," of which this volume is a translation and a historical novel. The conferment of the *Prix Goncourt* placed the author in the forefront of French literary men. The light caressing touch of the French polished style cannot wholly be preserved in a translation, but in the highly amusing *Sorrows of a Fat Man* we can perceive the excellences of an elegant and witty narrative. Fat men are good natured and good humoured; our author despite his real bad luck remains a first class sport. His chronicle of the pursuit of romance will give consolation to many of the readers belonging to the Colossus series and provide a highly amusing sketch to the leaner variety.

Fleeting Follies. By Michael A. Lewis (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1924) 2s.

Mr. Lewis has already earned a reputation for his amusing verses in the *Punch*. In *Fleeting Follies* he has collected some of his best published in that paper and also added several new skits. The author is avowedly a laugh-raiser; he has earned the title—and we welcome the present volume for its collection of wit and humour to while away the blues and the idle hours. Laughter and fun are preservers of life and we recommend our serious minded readers not to feel afraid of a joke. Mr. Lewis is a real benefactor.

Further Sunbeams. (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1924) 2s. 6d.

Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co. have published a companion volume to their earlier issue *Sunbeams* and call it a *further* instalment. They have collected here some of the amusing anecdotes and yarns suitable for all occasions. Really an admirable compendium of good humoured wit. Read it and you will enjoy every line in it.

How to make Love in Six Easy Lessons. By Robin Wise (T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London, 1925) 1s.

We think it is a depressing title. An ordinary average male refuses to learn from books how to make love. Love unless it degrades into lust is above learning and yet Mr. Robin Wise has not been altogether unwise in his catchiness of love. We find a good few stories and anecdotes which are enjoyable, but we can not really enjoy them for we feel that he is pulling our leg. However if there be any shy love-sick swain we recommend the volume to him—may he be cured of his madness!

Drinks. How to Mix and How to Serve (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 2s.

One of the handiest and most useful vest pocket guides for lovers of tasteful drinks. An alphabetically arranged selection of over 350 drinks puts you unerringly with the thumb index on the correct mixer. Hotel and club bars will find the instructions here given exceedingly useful. The little vest pocket guide concludes with a choice selection of toasts for all occasions.

FICTION.

Sailors' Wives. By "Warner Fabian" (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

In *Sailors' Wives* Doctor Bobs continues the tale of *Flaming Youth*—that brilliant novel on sex and society which we noticed in terms of high appreciation last year. It is the tale of Old Dorrisdale and its Dirty Dozen. Dorrisdales are spread all over the world and their Dirty Dozens hold their week-end riots differing perhaps only in degree of density from place to place. The anonymous author maintains in this sequel the boldness and the psychological incisiveness of his first novel. He is as lucid as he is brilliant. He is not squeamish, as Pat, Cary's child-wife, would contemptuously disown. The focus in *Sailors' Wives* is however turned from capricious Pat to the homely and unpretentious girlhood of Carol Trent now turned into lovely maturity of a fetching womanhood. Is a young maiden justified in giving herself to a man she does not love and whom she does not wish to marry by choice or circumstance? The inter-grouping of sexual conflict with its inevitable *clinches* provides a fascinating theme which the author has boldly handled. The characterisation is brilliantly done and the supreme sacrifice of Max Slater makes poignant reading. We look forward to further instalments from the refreshing pen of "Warner Fabian".

Secret Places. By Gertie De S. Wentworth-James (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

We do not know whether the author of *Secret Places* has had any personal experience of the nuptial state but a reading of her book displays in almost canny psychological instinct where conjugal knots are concerned. Mrs. Lily Kesterton is not an individual type; her personality is reflected in numerous households, and it demands courage of a special type in the lady-author to probe so deeply in the problem and lay bare the heart-throbs of a married but discontented woman in a characteristically plain and lucid manner. *Secret Places* is an absorbing tale with a moral which never intrudes, and furnishes a very interesting reading.

Indelible. By Elliot H. Paul.

Heart's Blood. By Ethel M. Kelley. (Jarrolds Publishers, London, 1924) 7s. 6d. each.

It is a healthy sign that American fiction writers are attempting to break away from British traditions and are setting up new and unconventional standards

for their own country's literature. The innovations are bound to be either retrograde or ultra-modern; but the criticism which American fiction usually receives at the hands of the "classical" critics of England emphasises the break-away tendency to an extent which we consider to be prejudiced. A new and growing country has a right to make mistakes, for only through experience can a national literature be evolved. We therefore welcome the experimenting such as we see in the two additions to the new Jay Library which Jarrolds Publishers have initiated.

Indelible by Elliot H. Paul, an almost unknown writer, is a love tale in the old style but set in modern surroundings. For Samuel and Lena the course of true love did not run smooth, but the Victorian happy ending assuages the feelings of pity and tragic sympathy evoked by the narrative. The charm of this story of life, love and music lies in its utter frankness and the naivete of diction which characterises many American literary products.

Miss Kelley on the other hand in *Heart's Blood* breaks away entirely from the Victorian or even Georgian love-story. She writes an autobiography of suicide, a plain colloquial chronicle of heart's troubles and decisions. Suicide as the consummation of a hopeless love is not a very edifying counsel but life's tragic tales furnish many similarities. The author's characterisation is clever and strongly toned; a delicate artistry of language is noticeable in making a colloquial chronicle of the soul a highly readable and interesting document.

Both *Indelible* and *Heart's Blood* are characteristic works of fiction and should command a large public

Avernus. By Mary Bligh Bond (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Avernus is a record of spiritual experience of a most unusual character. We confess we have not been able to comprehend the full import of the book. The author tells us that her motive in writing this confessional is "to bring home to those who cannot or will not realise the mysterious element in the mental life of childhood and adolescence the supreme need of a better and more sympathetic understanding of all those young folks who bear with them such dramatic tokens of a contact with a universe of mind more real, because more vivid and fundamental than most of the petty actualities of this mundane sphere." We can not do better than present the Publishers'

introduction which sums up the trend of this wierd tale: A fallen angel, idolised and defiled by the Magi of Atlantis, is condemned to undergo a series of human incarnations before it can find expiation and release. Yet at the dissolution of each earthly life the Magi reclaims it for their own, defiling and the female body their black art has materialised from the twofold being of the angel. But meanwhile a brother angel, sorrowfully seeking its lost counterpart, has voluntarily undergone a series of human lives upon the quest. At last the two meet as girls at the same school. Slowly and with terror they recognise each other and realise their destiny. The moment of death arrives; the whole hideous power and magic of Atlantis, the obscene ritual of the children of the Moon is exerted to reclaim their prey, but the love of the undefiled angel is at last victorious and the lost soul redeemed. In this unique record the veil is lifted from the jewelled corruption and leprous gold of civilisation the gods would not suffer to continue.

The Constant Nymph. By Margaret Kennedy (William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

The Constant Nymph is avowedly a study in Bohemianism. Like all young authors Miss Kennedy is cynically satirical of things she doesn't like, but she is perhaps aware of her bias and attempts to touch with a delightful humanism her trenchant remarks. *The Constant Nymph* records the canonisation, to our understanding, of a lovingly wild, lovable and intensely passionate child of Nature. No attempt is made to conceal the pathos and the tragedy of child-love for Man, and for this genuinely human touch one can easily skip Miss Kennedy's undeberate, because deep-rooted, condemnation of life Bohemian as she portrays it. But our author is a delightful writer of contrasts. Tessa and Florence form ideal pictures, but Lewis, the wayward genius, remains a pitiable figure. She has explored deep into human passions and her descriptive mannerisms are a welcome change from the polished monotony of 'elegant' fiction. With years, we foresee, Miss Kennedy will mature her powers into a delightful combination of a frank, keen analysis and an impartial discrimination.

The Old Ladies. By Hugh Walpole (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Hugh Walpole is developing his special *métier* in a series of brilliant character-sketches. His latest novel, *The Old Ladies*, maintains his reputation of a

keen, incisive sense of style and lucid characterisation. Here he has taken up the forgotten cause of the old gentlewoman of the poor middle class who die away unwept and unmourned. In three differing types he shows us the brave mother full of spirit and fortitude, the lazy idler—both sensuous and superficial, and the ugly, homely spinster afraid of life and the world. While *The Old Ladies* is an illuminating chronicle revealing brave depths of feeling and hopefulness which only a mother can feel, it leaves us wondering about the final fate of the queer Mrs. Agatha Payne, surely a more intriguing, because uncommon, subject of study than the brave Mrs. Amoret. Intimate touches enhance the value of the book as a study of old feminine life.

Pipers & Dancer. By Stella Benson (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1924) 6s.

Miss Benson has earned a well deserved fame for her fine imagery of words, her keen and perceptive analysis of instincts, her picturesque humanism. In *Pipers and A Dancer* she has woven a magical phantasia—not really a series of dreams but a sort of glorification of the skeleton in the cupboard which every one dreads to disturb. The brilliant lady-author is however ruthless in her dissection, and Ipsie, faery-like Ipsie, is equally relentless in turning up her Showman and questioning him on every conceivable subject. If only we really know ourselves—this is the problem of youthful quest, and Miss Benson has adopted an illuminating method in revealing the compound, multi-coloured web of which our lives are made up. Ipsie is only a symbol and a warning. *Pipers and A Dancer* is a work infused with insight and a keen incisive criticism of life as it is lived. Get the book and you will learn why Stella Benson has attained such eminence amongst English novelists.

Who Killed Diana? By Harrington Hext (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Mystery tales never grow out of fashion. Boys adore the excitement and the fun of the finish; grown-ups endeavour to catch the thrill of youthful adventure. As long as human nature does not get stale or bookish, detective tales of mystery and crime and adventure will always be welcomed. Mr. Hext has given us an extraordinary tale of love, hate and crime in *Who Killed Diana*. The mystery of the death of Cock Robin remains veiled until the very last. Are love, hate and crime coterminous instincts—dangerously bordering on each other and in their intensive relations perhaps akin and kindred in their

manifestations? But Mr. Hext's book is not a study in criminal psychology; it is a mystery tale *par excellence*—a cleverly written and absorbing story.

Siege Perilous. By Maud Diver (John Murray, London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Mrs. Diver is a well-known Anglo-Indian writer with a voluminous series of fiction works dealing with India to her credit. She is admittedly an Imperialist of a rabid type, honestly believing in the white man's burden and therefore tolerating no nonsense where British prestige is concerned. In *Siege Perilous* she has collected together 12 of her short stories, all born of Indian soil, but tinged with Anglo-Indianism. The purely Indian tales are three, and we are glad to note that the scenes related therein are described with restraint and with a certain appreciation of the Indian viewpoint. Mrs. Diver possesses a facile pen and the power of lucid characterisation. Her big story 'Siege Perilous' which gives the name to the book is a clever sketch of an intriguing incident.

Passionate Gwen. By J. Morgan-de-Groot (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Dr. Morgan-de-Groot is a well-known writer of romances. He is a delightful weaver of plots and his keen insight into human passions sustains the high pitched narrative to the very finish. In *Passionate Gwen* he is at his usual best and takes pleasure in dissecting the 'longing' desires of a passionate girl wedded to an honourable and punctilious husband. The reading is delightful and the miraculous escapes of the bride from 'falling off' are handled with correct perspective. What one is unable to understand is that the faithlessness of the wife is tested by actual adultery alone: passionate embraces in another's arms is forgivable. We reckon that the supercilious standards of conjugal morality should be boldly handled by fiction writers. But *Passionate Gwen* nevertheless is an absorbing tale and will keep you fully interested right till the very end.

The Skein. By J. A. T. Lloyd (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

The Skein is one of those cleverly written books which engross the attention of the modern man and yet leave him wondering as to the final solution of the particular sex problem discussed by the author. Helen Landon is a woman of many lovers, yet of one love which came too late to her in life. The entangle-

ments are skilfully presented by Mr. Lloyd, and the story right to its pathetic end furnishes a poignant reading. The artist-hero is not a clever or even an intelligent fellow, but possibly he wasn't meant to be either. Perhaps all men, average normal men, feel the same troubles of worry and indecisiveness when placed in similar circumstances as Gerald Stanton. The author has woven his chronicle round the complexities of human passion. *The Skein* is a well balanced work of a clever writer, an interesting and arresting tale.

The Neapolitan Lovers. By Alexandre Dumas.

Paul and Virginia. By Bernardin De St. Pierre. (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 2s. 6d. each.

These are additions to the new International Library which Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co. have issued for the purpose of giving to the readers of English language translations of standard fiction. We noticed in terms of appreciation the first volumes of this series. In *The Neapolitan Lovers* we have the first English translation of Dumas' famous historical romance. Mr. Garnett has rendered the translation and in an introductory preface he explains the origins of the tale. The master has touched the pathetic story with a vivid imagination born of a sense of personal wrong. As a tale it is reminiscent of Dumas at his best.

Paul and Virginia is one of the most beautiful love stories which almost every one acquainted with fiction has read and enjoyed. St. Pierre lived in the days of Napoleon and enjoyed the great Emperor's friendship and admiration. A rare skill in descriptive writing, an intimate love of nature and humanity, a lucid and facile pen and an extremely sensitive and vivid imagination—these are the literary characteristics of St. Pierre. In *Paul and Virginia* he is at his best. You enjoy every line of what the artist writes and learn how great fiction is made.

THEOLOGY.

The Work-days of God. By H. W. Morris, A.M., D.D. (Pickering and Inglis, 3/6).

The purpose of this book is to show how the account given by science of the beginnings of the world and of the appearance of life substantially agrees with the account contained in the first book of the Bible, the Genesis. The starting point of the author is that: "Two great volumes have been laid

before man for his instruction, and from which his ideas and science all have been derived. The material works, and the inspired work of God'. Dr. Morris does not believe in the conflict of Science and Religion. For instance on page 72, he writes: "We shall now undertake to offer scientific evidence that, the state of our globe, in the period immediately preceding that of man's creation, was such as is described in this second verse of the first chapter of Genesis." Such attitude is a challenge to writers who, in the name of science, would relegate the biblical narrative to the category of a fable. The "Reflections" at the end of every chapter are of great value. A fact that shows both the popularity of this book and its value is the enormous circulation it has had, 50,000 copies were sold in less than three years, and this success has encouraged the author to print a new and enlarged edition of the same.

The Leading Themes of the Gospel of John. By W. E. Vine, M.A. (Pickering and Inglis 2/-).

It is an excellent idea to gather together under some prominent headings the various subjects which run through the whole, or the greater part, of the Gospel of John. This undoubtedly will make for clearness and better understanding of the Gospel. The exposition and the foot-note are all attractive and helpful. The book is meant for devotional reading and not so much for a scholarly study of the Gospel in question. And as such we have no doubt that it will prove of great use to the reader.

One Thousand Miles of Miracle in China By A. E. Glover. Pickering and Inglis, 1/-.

This is a thrilling story of the sufferings of the author and his family during the Boxer revolution. Every page of this book is breathlessly exciting. The reader watches with the keenest interest the development of a drama full of pathos. The best recommendation for the book is the number of editions through which it has run during a period of time. The book was published in the year 1901 and now it appears in its fourteenth edition.

The Radiant Morn or The Secret of Perpetual Youth By A. T. Schofield, M.D. (Pickering and Inglis 2s.).

The Christ, both by precept and example, urged

upon men the need of preserving the characteristics of childhood. Childhood opens for us the gate to the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of Joy and Peace. Dr. Schofield, in this book which now appears in the third edition, tries to emphasise the element of joy which should constitute a prominent feature of our religious life. For reason that cannot be stated now, religious life has generally been associated with gloom and despondency. The writer, on the other hand, discovers the closest relationship between a good life and a kind of exuberant optimism. "There is a deep sense in which bad people are all old, and good people are all young." Dr. Schofield is not contented with a purely theoretical analysis. He descends to the realm of practice. He wishes us to cultivate some hobby and recreation as a relief from the routine of daily work. I happen to know a clergyman who at the age of 70 began to study a new language in order to create a new interest in life. He assured me that this new hobby gave him new life and put into his veins fresh blood. We must avoid staleness as a deadly poison. The joy of life lies in obedience to a higher call and not in subservience to low ideals.

The Return of Christendom. By a Group of Churchmen (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 7/6).

Bishop Gore, in the introductory pages, sums up the purpose of this excellent collection of essays in this way: the book starts from the conviction that the world is above all in need of a unifying principle, for lack of which civilisation is really disintegrating. The contributors hold certain principles in common. They feel there is an urgent need for a true idea or principle of Society. Our industrial system rests upon a rotten foundation. The Essay on The Obstacle to Industrialism is, in our opinion, one of the best of the series and deserves careful perusal. Mr. Arthur J. Penty is a well-known thinker and writer on these topics. The Moralization of Property is a subject dealt with at certain length. The writer emphasises the ideal of property-holding as outlined in the middle ages. "The sanctions for private property-holding are essentially social. A man must hold those things which are his as for the common use and must minister of what he has to the necessities of others." The failure of Marxism forms the subject of another essay. The essays are not meant to be exhaustive studies of the subjects. They are rather of a stimulating and suggestive character and as such they are undoubtedly most valuable.

REPRINTS OF CLASSICAL WORKS.

(1) "The World Classics."

The latest additions to the well-known reprints of standard works issued by the Oxford University Press (Bombay) comprise Dickens's *Edwin Drood*, Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables*, Melville's *Omoo* and *Typee*, Trollope's *Barchester Towers*, Miss Mackenzie's *Rachel Ray*, as also the third and concluding series of *Selected Modern English Essays* and the first series of Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. Each of these books may justly claim the position of a classic in English literature, and as such deserves a welcome at the hands of the student of limited means, who desires a cheap, uniform, handy and well-got-up series of reprints of standard works in all branches of literature, both in English and in translations from other languages, enriched with highly informative introductions, written by very competent editors, and elucidative annotations.

(2) "The King's Treasuries of Literature."

To the 127 little volumes of classics (sometimes judiciously abridged) which have already appeared in "The King's Treasuries of Literature," series, issued by Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd, (of Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C.) there have been recently added a dozen more, bringing up the total of this highly useful and remarkably cheap series (each volume costs but eighteen pence) to 139. The new addition comprises Caroline Snedcker's *Thuras*, Matthew Arnold's *Selected Poems*, selections from Hazlitt's *Essays*, selections from Goldsmith's *Poems and Prose*, Shakespear's *Henry the Eighth*, stories chosen from Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, an anthology called *A Book of English Odes*, Trelawny's *Adventures of a Younger Son*, Miss Stewart's *Further Prose for Prcis*, Sheridan's *The Rivals*, *King of the Golden River* and Charles Roberts' *In the Morning of Time*. Each volume has an instructive introduction as also explanatory notes, which add to the utility of the books in the series. It forms a splendid library for boys and girls.

(3) "The International Library of Fiction."

Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd. (of London) have done well to launch a cheap series of good renderings into English of well-known and important works of European continental fiction, called "The International Library." The volumes issued so far include

Boccaccio's *Decameron*, St. Pierre's *Paul and Virginia*, Sue's *Mysteries of Paris*, *Selected Stories of Maupassant*, Manzoni's *The Betrothed*, Constant's *Adolphe*, and three novels of Dumas. The series should appeal to those lovers of good fiction who are unfamiliar with the continental languages of Europe. Of these the selected stories of Maupassant ought to make a special appeal as that French novelist is justly acknowledged to be the greatest writer of short stories.

(4) "Little Nineteenth Century Classics."

Yet another cheap and handy series of reprints called "Little Nineteenth Century Classics," is issued by the well-known publisher—Mr. Basil Blackwell of Oxford. The series is edited by Mr. John Drinkwater. Amongst those published so far are Robert Hawker's *Twenty Poems*, Hartley Coleridge's *Essays on Parties in Poetry* and on the *Character of Hamlet*, and William Earne's *Twenty Poems*. The get-up and the format of the books makes them pre-eminently suited for being taken on a journey.

RECENT WORKS ON INDIAN ART.

Examples of Indian Sculpture at the British Museum, and *The Influences of Indian Art*. (The India Society, London, 3 Victoria Street, London, S. W.) 1924.

The Hymalyas in Indian Art. By E. B. Havell, (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1924.

Introduction to Indian Art. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1924.

The India Society of London is doing highly creditable work in popularising the study and appreciation of the arts of this great country and its publication deserve warm acknowledgment at the hands of all students of the subject. Its two recent publications—enumerated above—are alike useful and instructive. The first as its title indicates is an illustrated work containing excellent reproductions of Indian sculpture in the British Museum. The second is a collection of essays by experts the object of which is to show the wide extent of influence exerted by India on the Art of other Asiatic countries. An authoritative work written by specialists, its value is great both as a text-book and also as one which will stimulate the study of the subject. It lucidly surveys the historical traces of artistic culture between India

and other Asiatic countries and it fills a distinct gap in the literature of the history of Indian Art. As such it deserves welcome and appreciation.

Mr Havell—who is equally a competent expounder and an enthusiastic lover of Indian Art—returns to a new aspect of the subject in his book called *The Hymalyas in Indian Art*. This monograph which represents the Forlong Bequest Lectures given at the School of Oriental Studies, 1924, offers a new approach to the study of Indian art, by way of the Himalayas—which, Mr. Havell contends, afford the surest and most direct path for arriving at the central ideas of the Indian artist and craftsman. Public interest for the moment is concentrated on Himalayan scientific exploration. The Himalayas offer equal opportunities for artistic research: they have always been the pivot of Indian religious art. The Indian order of architecture, the design of Indian temples, and the symbolism of the principal figures in Indian iconography are all focussed on the Himalayas—such is the thesis of Mr. Havell's book. The author opens up, without doubt, original and a very fascinating approach to Indian Art through the Himalayas. He demonstrates convincingly how the mystery and wonders of the Central Shrine of Hinduism in the heart of the Himalayas inspired the symbolism of the Indian order of architecture and the design of Indian Temples, and how the concepts of the Divine Yogi and of the Mystic Pillar of the Himalayas were represented in Indian sculpture and painting. The Sacred Dance and its symbolism is fully illustrated and the concluding chapter emphasises the indisputable fact that art is still a profound and vital influence in Indian social and economic life. The book is embellished with numerous excellent illustrations. As a pioneer work on the subject Mr. Havell's treatise should secure a sympathetic consideration.

Few men—whether in the East or the West—are better qualified by knowledge, experience and artistic temperament to be a competent expounder of the principles of Indian Art than Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the very talented Curator of the oriental section of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston in the United States of America. His *Introduction to Indian Art*—one of the little volumes in "The Asian Library" series—is an ideal text-book of the subject it deals with—concise, accurate, lucid, interesting, well-illustrated and enriched with select bibliographical lists of great usefulness. Those who may be desirous of pursuing a systematic study of Indian Art can not do better than make a careful study of this book and then follow it up with advantage in large and special works on the various branches of the subject.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Knowledge is Power (which is issued by Messrs. Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) is the title of a collection of those essays which helped to make Sir Philip Gibbs well-known. They were written during the early days of his career and were received with enthusiasm by the readers of the papers in which they appeared. They consist of a series of articles on the various elements which according to the writer, contribute to the true culture of the mind, also short sketches of great writers and studies on great subjects, together with many valuable suggestions for serious enquiry into "the things which matter" and upon which every thoughtful man or woman should have an opinion. Altogether it is a notable series of essays and deserved resuscitation.

In his curiously-named book (issued by the same publishers) called **Queer Fish**, Mr. John Goodwin has broken new ground. Inspired by an incident which Londoners witness every summer, he embarked upon an industrious research into some quaint aspects of London life. His observant eyes noted the various moods of London—its comedies and tragedies alike; and with a shrewd insight he studied its people—"the good, the not-so-good, and the good-for-nothing"—and recorded his impressions. Aided by his brilliant descriptive gifts, the author takes the reader into the company of crooks, actors, prizefighters, novelists and mob-orators; and to a murder trial, the strong-room of a famous bank, the Divorce Court, the dance halls, the night life of the metropolis, a fun fair, a prison chapel, and even into a lunatic asylum! With a crisp wit and a pungent prose style, Mr. Goodwin has written what is unquestionably his most entertaining book, and excellent and interesting stories abound in its pages. It should appeal to that large circle of readers, who take an interest in the lights and shadows of London life.

Nothing truer was said than in Shakespeare's words about Cleopatra: "Age can not wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety." We are reminded of it after a perusal of an absorbingly interesting book called **The Life and Death of Cleopatra** by Claude Ferval, a well-known French writer of distinction, one of whose books received the honour of being crowned by the French Academy. The book under review is an historical romance, dealing with the most famous Egyptian Queen. It is a book in which the author is vividly interesting, and yet by no means sacrifices historic accuracy in so far as this

is obtainable amid the many divergent accounts which have come down to us about Cleopatra. He brings a past age to life in these pages. Cleopatra dominates the Roman Antony through a passion which was fraught with disaster and death—a terrific, a tremendous passion. Her witchery enslaved the proud Roman soldier to his dreadful undoing. Claude Ferval's story of this love drama is convincing; it makes the reader feel that this version is true in essentials if not literally accurate in details. Apart from the main interest of the plot, the book is of very great interest as presenting a correct perspective of the Roman life in the last century B. C. Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. (Paternoster House, London, E. C.) are the publishers.

The same publishers have also issued Mr. Stanley Scott's **Human Side of Crook and Convict Life**, with a frontispiece by Mr. John Cameron. This book contains a very interesting series of sketches concerning the life of British criminals in prison. Mr. Stanley Scott writes of the criminals of to-day from information which is based on firsthand knowledge, and, despite himself, the reader is led breathlessly forward in the "Underworld." The chapters devoted to the child criminal and women criminals are especially interesting, as are the chapters describing the methods by which criminals stalk their prey. If the author feels that prison life needs reform, he has, too, a good word to say for the police. He writes grimly of prison hangings and floggings and of the awful monotony of solitary confinement, yet, apart from these details, it is apparent that Mr. Stanley Scott is anxious to do his share to improve the existing conditions of imprisonment. His book is not only interesting but instructive to prison reformers.

Dr. Lothrop Stoddard's **Racial Realities in Europe** (Charles Scribner's Sons, Albemarle Street, London) is a highly thought-provoking work of the highest interest. According to the author the greatest obstacle to a clear understanding of the present involved political situation in Europe is the result of a very fundamental misconception. We think of Europe in units of nations and of these nations as homogeneous, and we take too little account of race and race mixtures. That we cannot understand Europe until we know and thoroughly comprehend its racial background is the thesis of Mr. Stoddard's absorbing book. The author begins with a clear account of the distribution of races in Europe; what he calls the "racial realities." With this foundation he examines the racial composition of the individual countries. Thus he explains their policies by discussing the

racial characteristics of each nation in Europe. Great Britain is predominantly of one race, which accounts for the consistency of her policies. France is composed of all three of the European races, Nordic, Mediterranean and Alpines. This often accounts for the uncertain nature of French policy. The change in Germany's character and policy is due to change in racial proportions, and so on. Thus following the same line of thought he examines the Alpine East, the Mediterranean South, the Balkan Flux and the Mongrel Levant, and in a final chapter entitled "The New Realism of Science," lays down principles and draws conclusions which, if digested and followed, should go far towards allaying the troubles with which Europe and the whole world are at present afflicted. It is possible to agree to differ with Dr. Stoddard in his conclusions, but taken as a whole his book challenges criticism and that is its highest value.

Messrs. Luzac & Co. (46 Great Russel Street, London, W. C.) have brought out an interesting study in Muslim theology called **The Khilafat**, written by Professor Mohammad Barakatullah of Bhopal. It deals with the question from the religious and spiritual standpoint. The main contention of the author is that "when the Khilafat was perverted, Islam was corrupted and the Moslems were ruined, and when the Khilafat will be reformed, Islam will be purified and the faithful will prosper." This view of the matter may not find universal acceptance amongst students of Muslim theology. Nevertheless there is much in the book under notice which will be instructive to students of the subject. The work deserves attention as coming from the pen of one who is qualified by scholarship to write authoritatively on Islamic subjects.

Mr. G. B. Harrison's **Story of Elizabethan Drama** (University Press, Cambridge) is a small book written for those who have not already become acquainted with the Elizabethan dramatists, in the hope that they may be tempted into one of the most fascinating fields of English Literature. The book gives, in a connected narrative, interwoven with scenes from the plays themselves, the main facts about the lives of the play-wrights and the theatrical conditions, and some criticism of the greatest and most interesting plays of the period—those of Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and others. An excellent chronological table and a useful bibliography of the subject materially add to the value of this well-written volume.

In his *Educational of Behaviour* (University of London Press, Ltd., 18 Warwick Square, London, E. C. 4) the author, Dr. J. B. Saxby, accepting Professor McDougall's analysis of the instincts and emotions works up the whole into a practical presentation of the possibilities of psychology in the hands of the teacher. The fullest consideration is given to the newer psychological doctrines and hypotheses, and the author utilises psycho-analysis in a very effective way, especially in its direct application to the everyday work of education. The book is thus valuable and is highly useful as an up-to-date synthesis of the various psychological movements in their educational applications. It should have a large circulation amongst psychologists and teachers alike as an excellent compendium of the subject it so well deals with.

We welcome Mr. V. V. Dak's *England's Educational Policy in India* (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras). The appalling illiteracy of India and the backward condition of the masses constitute a reproach as obstructing the path of her becoming a truly progressive country. The educational policy pursued by the Government of India during the last hundred years is the subject of study in these pages, in which the author has attempted to draw a realistic picture of the educational position in India as compared with the other civilised countries. The graphical illustrations prepared by the author and appearing on pages 22 to 106 form an interesting feature of the work.

Muhammad the Prophet (Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishâat-i-Islam, Lahore) is an excellent rendering by Mr. Yaqub Khan into English from the Hindustani text of Mr. Muhammad Ali, well-known as the translator of the Holy Quran into English. The

translator has done his work creditably and his rendering reads like the original. The book deserves attention as an interesting study of the Arabian Prophet's career and teachings written from the Ahmadiyya standpoint. This is the chief value of the book. Unlike the Rt Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's well-known work, that under notice is free from polemics and is creditably temperate in its statements and contentions. As such it should find a large circle of readers not only amongst Muslims but amongst non-Muslims as well. One may not always agree with the author—as when he says that “it is obvious that the institution of polygamy has no intrinsic evil” (p. 240)—but one can not but admire his sincerity, candour and moderation in the treatment of so controversial a theme as his

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy's latest anthropological study is called *The Birhors*, and is a carefully-written survey of the sociological conditions of a little-known Jungli tribe of the Chhota-Nagpore districts in the Province of Behar. It is methodical, systematic, and comprehensive and deals fully with almost every aspect of the life of the Birhors. This third volume of Indian anthropological studies by the author is—like its predecessors—learned, scientific and interesting and deserves commendation for scholarship.

Mr. George Goodman's *What to Teach and How to Teach the Young* (Pickering and Inglis, 14 Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) purports to be “a spiritual handbook for all workers amongst young people.” It gives detailed instruction about teaching the young by means of counsel, example and suggestion. There is much in this book which is bound to be useful and suggestive to the teacher of young men and women. Mr. Goodman is evidently a master of his subject and writes with enthusiasm.

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SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEE AS "A MAKER OF MODERN INDIA": A CRITIQUE.*

By "AN UNBIASSED CRITIC."

Recollections, reminiscences, confessions, impressions, memoirs—in fact, all subjective expressions constitute a most difficult species of composition. No other kind of writing imposes such rigorous restraints. Undue self-expression must be curbed. Excessive self-esteem has to be kept within the limits of moderation. Vanity—that dismal fungus which overspreads the mind and saps its vital functions—must be submitted to a pruning process. There is no room in it for self-glorification. The aims, ideals and aspirations of contemporaries, their efforts and their actions have to be rightly appraised so that their feelings may not be hurt, and the dead should not be animadverted upon. Friends must not be cooled, and those in the hostile camp must not further be estranged. Hence autobiography as a channel of literature is a desperate business, for it covers much ground which involves others, and the writer, to use Lord Morley's language, has to eschew words that are unfair or are likely to wound just sensibilities or dim the lamp of loyalty to reason or dishearten earnest and persistent zeal for wise action. Not every body, therefore, can bend the bow of Ulysses. Then there are other pitfalls.

There may be omissions and exaggerations. Trivialities of the passing hour may be surrounded with an indestructible halo. Homely occurrences may assume gigantic proportions. A nine days' wonder which stirred the blood of the actors and lifted things out of the groove for a while may be interpreted as a decisive event of some consequence. Furthermore, memory is liable to play tricks, and incidents which took place years ago may in retrospect appear distorted, and through the haze of time puny ant-hills may seem invested with the glory and grandeur of pyramids. But apart from these, there is—judging the matter from literary standard—the additional consideration that an ideal personal narrative is not an ill-digested mass of extracts from a private diary, nor a haphazard conglomeration of passages from letters written to comrades in arms or replies thereto. Its main theme is the indwelling man, and the beginning, the middle and the end must not be like chapters strung at random but resemble a perfectly co-ordinated organism. We shall adopt these criteria in testing the merits of Sir Surendranath Banerjee's autobiography.

I.

The book is a living piece of autobiographic writing. The eternal ego that lies at

**A Nation in Making*. By Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Kt., (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Calcutta) 1925.

the bottom of man's nature finds here its amplest scope, dominates each detail, and attains its loftiest stature, and, as the story proceeds, becomes voluminous and vast and strides across the stage eclipsing all interests, overshadowing all actors, making insignificant all causes for which others also may have toiled and bled. In gesture, action, attitude Sir Surendranath's personality is represented in a most impressive manner. He was the initiator of all the major political associations of his time. He was in the forefront of every political movement. He strenuously engineered one of the most widespread agitations that have ever shaken the stable foundations of settled Government, and convulsed officialdom to a degree unprecedented in the annals of modern India. Making every allowance for such inevitable concomitants in auto-biographies—the fact remains that the narrative is steeped from first to last in an over-emphasis on self-effort and self-laudation. This will detract to a very large extent from the merits of this record of public work, which is in many respects not only highly instructive but also interesting in the extreme. Indeed, Sir Surendranath's book grips the reader's attention like a well-planned novel. Then another great defect in the book is that the author, losing sight of the right proportion of men and events, has taken pains sometimes to deck trivialities as if they had an enduring value. In a volume which contains a luminous survey of political activity stretching over half a century and describes in vivid language titanic struggles with the authorities entrenched in hoary traditions and wedded to antediluvian standards, the following details—of which there are many—are certainly vacant chaff, which should have been weeded out.

"For two hours every day, and from day to day, I was absorbed in this work, alone in my house, for my family were at the time at Allahabad owing to my boy's illness; and the speech grew until it became, I fear, one of the biggest ever delivered from the presidential chair of the Congress. After two hours' hard work at the speech I used to have my regular constitutional walk on the riverside for three-quarters of an hour, when the whole of what I had written would be thought over, repeated and corrected, and the corrections subsequently embodied in the manuscript." (P. 139).

"I got down at Serampore, instead of at Howrah, where my friends were waiting to welcome me.

Having heard all about the earthquake I was anxious about my people at home and hurried across the river from Serampore to my Barrackpore residence. It was Moharrum then when the earthquake occurred, and my children had all gone to see the fun. They were in the open, and the carriage and horse reeled under the shock. My wife was left alone in the house, and she hurried out to the garden. There were cracks in the house, but no serious damage was done." (pp. 152-53).

"Mine was the first house built and within the last twenty years Simultolla has become a highly popular health resort. Lord Sinha, Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerji and others have all built houses there, where they occasionally reside. To many it has given health and life. The late Bhabanath Sen, a well-known municipal contractor and a leader of the Kayastha community in Calcutta, while in the deadly malady prolonged his life by residing here for six months every year." (P. 160).

"Day after day, during the height of the excitement, a number of students used to stand at the corner of the Maidan, watching those who entered Whiteaway Laidlaw's premises, begging Indians not to purchase foreign goods, or, if the purchase had been made, appealing them not to repeat their offence. It was reported to me at the time, that some of these youngmen threw themselves at the feet of a fashionable Bengalee lady as she was coming out of Whiteaway Laidlaw's shop, and begged her to promise not to purchase foreign goods when similar home-made articles were available." (P. 204).

Now can it be seriously urged by the greatest political or literary admirer of Sir Surendranath that it was at all necessary for his self-expression to record such trivialities in his auto-biography? Can it be doubted that the entries of such petty details—and there are many similar ones—constitute one of the serious defects in the book and that these items are mere journalistic padding and should not have freighted with their crushing load a chronicle which attempts to mirror the heroic deeds of an eventful period?

Another thing that mars the general effect is the unpleasant method of flinging certificates of good conduct in the reader's face. Sir Surendranath has throughout his career been such a towering personality and occupied such a central place in our public life for half a century, dazzling the eyes of all beholders by the splendour of his majestic gifts of tongue and energy,

that he does not, at all, stand in need of caressing words from any official—even the Viceroy. So the quotation of testimonials, especially the letter from Surgeon-General, in recognition of his work as Minister (page 347), jars upon the nerves as it indicates an insatiable appetite for praise, irrespective of the status of the person from whom it emanates. How finely does Lord Morley make use of complimentary terms applied to him by Meredith, Chamberlain, Parnell and Gladstone—each an emblazoned name of the Victorian age. With what supreme art are they interspersed in Lord Morley's narrative as it sweeps onward! Who can detect a false note in the following?

"This was Meredith and the law of his unwritten tables. Such his animating counsels to a junior in whose future usefulness he had faith. He prefixed my initials to a sonnet of exhortation now printed in his works." (*Recollections*, Vol. I).

"He (Parnell) asked me to speak as long as possible as he had not had time to put anything together; as a matter of fact he spoke without notes. Meeting charged to the brim with electric fluid. When I sat down Parnell said in his low toned way 'you have made a fine speech.'" (*Ibid.*).

"Next year a heavy stroke of domestic tribulation fell upon Chamberlain and it naturally gave me true pleasure when he wrote: 'I value your friendship very much and it is the one bright spot in my life that I should see more of you. (*Ibid.*).

"Looking back I only know that men vastly my superiors alike in letters and the field of politics have held me in kind regard and cared for my friendship. (*Ibid.*).

"The only thing clear in my path was to do all that in me lay, little or much as it might be, that the great light might go out if not in splendour at least in honour; and to earn the friendly words that I came happily upon in one of Mr. Gladstone's small diaries half a dozen critical years later: 'J. M. is on the whole about the best stay I have.' Such service of itself is enough to sustain, fortify, elevate, amidst all that is negligible, trivial, nugatory in every-day politics." (*Ibid.*).

Surely, Sir Surendranath might have studied Lord Morley's *Recollections* with advantage!

II.

AS PROFESSOR.

For about forty strenuous years Sir Surendranath worked at the text-books in college classrooms. It appears that he revelled in his task as a teacher. In one of the finest passages he thus describes his life in the educational sphere. It deserves quotation in full:—

"It was with the greatest reluctance that I ceased to be a teacher, for I loved the students and I rejoiced in their company. I said on one occasion during the Swadeshi agitation, 'If I have contributed to the up-building of student life, the students in their turn have made me what I am. If I have inspired them with the spirit of service, they in their turn have rejuvenated me and filled me with the ardour of youth.' I have grown young in their company and by daily contact with them I have retained even amid advancing years some of the qualities of youth. The late Mr. Philip Smith of the Oxford Mission asked me, when he went to see me in jail in 1883, whether I could explain to him the secret of my great influence over the student community. My reply was prompt and decisive. I said, 'I love the students. I rejoice with them in their joys. I grieve with them in their sorrows, and they reciprocate the sentiment with the generous enthusiasm of youth.'" (P. 37).

It is rather curious that we are not allowed to form any adequate idea of his manner of instructing the students. Sir Surendranath does not give his readers any inkling into this part of his life-work. How did he tackle the great classics? Did he concentrate his attention on linguistic subtleties and light up verbal obscurities and dubitative expressions—dissecting the words, dissolving the grammatical knots and digging out gems? Or did he devote himself to expounding the literary beauties and the niceties of the great English poets, dramatists and prosists, while also emphasising the great merits of the classics as storehouses of exalted thought and culture? No information is vouchsafed to us by Sir Surendranath on these points, but it goes without saying that the young collegians must have been thrown into a mesmeric trance when he poured forth his forcible oral discourse on some noble theme of history or politics or "reason, the impulses of the human heart, the

"chances and changes that have overtaken human ideals of virtue and happiness, of conduct and manners, and the shifting fortunes of great conceptions of truth and virtue." We are unable, however, to have any accurate conception of his favourite authors to whom he turns in his moments of exultation and gloom. What were the books that influenced him most and brought balm to his spirit when writhing under the lash of adverse tongue and pen? Who sustained him when the storms of fate and the clouds of destiny swept down on his head? We find no answer to the query as we find it in the case of Mathew Arnold, when he writes to a friend referring to Homer and Epictetus and recognises the ethical value of Sophocles' works :

Be his

My special thanks whose even-balanced soul
From first youth tested up to extreme old age
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild,
Who saw life steadily and saw it whole,
The mellow glory of the Attic sage,
Singer of sweet Colonus and its child.

It were much to be wished that Sir Surendranath had given us detailed information on this important point, and it is a pity that he has passed it over in silence. We hope he may be able to do so in the second edition of his book, which is sure to be called for.

III.

AS JOURNALIST.

Sir Surendranath was connected with journalism for four long decades which witnessed the fusion of diverse elements into one great homogeneous and compact national party. As editor he exalted his office, position and dignity. His attitude towards antagonists was scrupulously fair and he never lapsed into a petty provincial groove. He valiantly demolished his adversaries but never overstepped the limits of courtesy and propriety. The ceaseless battles he fought with the bureaucrats, whenever they encroached on the liberties of action and speech, will be gratefully remembered by all. As he himself says.—

"In my work as a journalist I tried to avoid sedition and libel and personal recriminations. I was never

charged with sedition formally or informally, though I fear some of my writings in the *Bengalee* were considered as making a very near approach to it; and when the question regarding my disqualification for election to the Imperial Legislative Council was under consideration by the Government of India, the files of the *Bengalee* were sent for in order to discover whether any allegation of sedition could be substantiated against me. I presume that it was found to be a hopeless task, and the files were sent back to the Imperial Library, from where they had been borrowed. I confess that I wrote strongly, very strongly when the necessities of the situation and the demands of public feeling required it. I confess that in the days of the anti-partition controversy, when the public mind was thrown into a state of unusual excitement, by the adoption of a policy that no British Government had followed before, it was difficult to write with reserve or restraint." (P. 171).

We have a very vivid idea of what part he played in the contests of the hour—but how did he exercise his editorial functions? An editor of a journal of public consideration occupies, when the sea is rough and the winds contrary, and the vessel with its weather-beaten ribs is creaking as manful hands steer it clear of rocks, a position which taxes all human powers. We regret we do not obtain any glimpse into his methods of work, apart from that in the last quotation about sedition and libel. Listen to the duties of an editor, as recorded by a master-pen :—"An editor has to discover, and to train authors ; to discern what truth and the public mind require ; to suggest subjects ; to reject, and, more offensive still, to improve, contributions ; to keep down absurdities ; to infuse spirit ; to excite the timid ; to repress violence ; to soothe jealousies ; to quell mutinies ; to watch times." This passage—as also the one following—taken from Lord Cockburn's *Life of Jeffrey* bring into striking relief and prominence the duties and responsibilities of an editor in western countries. There is no reason why they should not also obtain equally in India—especially in that kind of work sketched as follows :—"Jeffrey directed and controlled the elements he presided over with a master's judgment. There was not one of his associates who could have even held these elements together for a single year. Inferior to these excellences, but still important, was his dexterity in revising the writings of others. Without altering the general tone or character of the composition he had great

skill in leaving out defective ideas or words, and in so aiding the original by lively or graceful touches, that reasonable authors were surprised and charmed on seeing how much better they looked than they thought they would." It would, indeed, have been interesting to learn to what extent Sir Surendranath discharged his editorial duties in conformity with the great principles laid down by Lord Cockburn about Jeffrey. But unfortunately the information is kept back. And now that his return to the old field as the editor of the *Bengalee* has, with one acclamation, been hailed as a far-shining omen, we all hope that the *Bengalee* will not flicker like a badly-trimmed lamp in the oscillating political breeze, but shoot forth strong and brilliant jets of flame, illumining Indian Nationalism in all the dark corners.

IV.

AS ORATOR.

We shall now deal with the most interesting phase of Sir Surendranath's career. For over fifty years his supremacy as the most eloquent Indian speaker in English has remained unchallenged. Though other athletes with more sinewy arms have rudely wrested from him the leadership in political assemblages and have tried to belittle his services to the country, posing as more skilful pilots, he still holds the proud position of being the foremost orator in the whole Indian sub-continent. In the earlier days "clouds of incense rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." His implacable energy, the heroic strength of ideas, a Spartan sense of duty, the extraordinary compass of his mind, his amazing vivacity and variety of appropriate gesture, "the vibrating voice now rising to an organ peal of triumph now sinking to a whisper of entreaty" have swayed vast masses of his countrymen, thrilling their imagination and holding it spell-bound. "The permanent reputation of an orator depends upon two things," says Lord Bryce, "the witness of contemporaries to the impression produced upon them and the written or printed record of his speeches. It is only by a rare combination of gifts that one who speaks with so much force and brilliance as to charm his listeners is also able to deliver

thoughts so valuable, in words so choice, that posterity will read them as literature." The speeches of many Indians being aimed at momentary effect and dealing with pressing questions of the day have been long since thrown into oblivion. The chaplet of renown which they won has dreadfully withered. It has been said by a great authority that neither purple patches, nor epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor overwrought rhetorical imageries are the test of oratory. There must be dignity, elevation, lucid exposition of complicated facts, sustained and fiery declamations, impassioned apostrophes, the power to touch the emotions—making the hearers laugh and weep as occasion may demand—there must be rallying battle-cries and the thunderbolts of invective, and not meek-spirited, dull, prosy sermons. Let us quote Sir Surendranath's own remarks on the subject:—

"The qualifications of an orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the noblest thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her indeed with a true and soul-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentment of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and passion for the worship of the good, the true and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered, who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives—consecrated to the service of their country or their God."

We believe that in this—one of the finest passages in the book—Sir Surendranath presents a faithful survey of the conditions precedent to the making of a great orator—in so far as "making" can be said to enter at all into the matter, for there is a good deal of truth in the saying that an orator is born and not made. Nevertheless study and preparation go a long way and Sir Surendranath's own record, and the

method pursued by him systematically, confirm the soundness of this view. While in oratory—as in poetry—much depends on one's natural gifts, there is yet always room for considerable improvement by means of study of the models of the greatest orators and careful preparation by jotting down beforehand either full notes or even writing the full text of the speech and then committing it to memory. Hence the phrase applied to such performances by those who are extempore speakers that they "smell of the lamp". Our impression is that almost all Sir Surendranath's greatest orations were set speeches—very carefully prepared, written out word for word, committed to memory and then faultlessly reproduced—making the audience marvel as much at his oratorical powers as his mnemonic feat.

By universal consent the address at the Poona session of the National Congress of 1895 was a record performance. "I heard him first at Poona" says "Ditcher" of *Capital* "when he appeared on the platform as President of the Indian National Congress. His speech took four hours to deliver, and I marvelled not so much at his rolling periods of sublime rhetoric but at his absolute independence of notes to assist his memory; his sonorous intonation which nor failed nor flagged in the long ordeal." Sir Surendranath must have modelled his great speech on that of Gladstone when he carried on his Midlothian campaign and every word which Lord Morley says with reference to that stirring episode applies to the presidential address, delivered in 1895, at the Poona session of the Congress.

"The great political speech which for that matter 'is a sort of drama is not made by passages for 'elegant extract or anthologies, but by personality, 'movement, climax, spectacle and the action of the 'time. All these elements Midlothian witnessed to 'perfection. . . He impressed himself upon the kindled 'throngs by the breadth of his survey of great affairs 'of life and nations, by the depth of his vision, by 'the power of his stroke. He bore his hearers through 'long chains of strenuous periods calling up by the 'marvellous transformations of his mien a strange 'succession of images—and he was now a keen hunter, 'now some eager bird of prey, now a charioteer of 'fiery steeds kept well in hand and now and again 'we seemed to hear the pity or dark wrath of a 'prophet with the mighty rushing wind and the fire

"running along the ground." (Morley's *Life of Gladstone*).

He was in his element at Poona and not a single false note was struck. His thoughts rolled in a flood of eloquence through the heaving and swelling multitude. He was not merely a glorified demagogue: a transfiguration fell on him and the amplitude of view, the breadth of design and the flashes of insight into constitutional principles made him the supreme hero on that memorable day. The Poona presidential address was a supreme triumph for Sir Surendranath. Some critics have said that his speeches are fuller of frothy rhetoric than of actual substance. The sneer is pointless. In this connection we cannot resist the temptation to make a reference to the estimate of Gladstone's oratorical gifts by Lord Bryce in his *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, (p. 439):—

"Though Mr. Gladstone's oratory was a main source of his power, both in Parliament and over the people, the effort of detractors to represent him as a mere rhetorician will seem absurd to the historian who reviews his whole career. The rhetorician adorns and popularises the ideas which have originated with others: he advocates policies which others have devised; he follows and expresses sentiments which already prevail in his party. Mr. Gladstone was himself a source of new ideas and new policies; he evoked new sentiments or turned old sentiments into new channels. Neither was he as some alleged, primarily a destroyer. His conservative instincts were strong; he cherished ancient custom. When it became necessary to clear away an institution he sought to put something else in its place. He was a constructive statesman not less conspicuously than were Pitt, Canning and Peel."

As with Gladstone, so to a large extent with Sir Surendranath. When all is said and done, he will live in the annals of Modern India as the most gifted platform speaker in English. It is easy to be hyper-critical in striking a note of condemnation, but with the one solitary exception of the late Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Sir Surendranath stands unrivalled as an orator.

V.

AS POLITICIAN.

Though he adopted politics for glory, if not for vengeance, Sir Surendranath cannot be

called an esurient adventurer seeking to fill his pockets by trading on the weaknesses of men and by pandering to their low cravings. All through his life he has been in the vanguard—always at the prow. He has never deserted any public cause or sunk to the rear. He has never felt like a derelict ship drifting on the sea and lost in a waste of doubt and uncertainty. Hope, courage, and radiant optimism have ever upheld him in the hour of repulse and rout. Even when he saw the mighty fabric of Nationalism he had done so much to build up heedlessly hurled into destruction at Surat and gazed with wistful eyes upon the consequent scene of woeful wreckage, he vented no vitriolic words—he registered no vengeful vow. No cynicism has soured his temper—no love of selfish ends has deflected his course. He has never played the role of the concentrated professional politician who "exercises an uncompromising choice of sides so that one may not be exposed to the fire of both belligerents." He has never liked to surround himself like Disraeli with mystery, looking on politics as a game, fussing and foaming when plans went awry and calculations were crossed! On the contrary, Sir Surendranath has always betaken himself to politics seriously. It has been observed with great truth that one who wishes to direct the affairs of the country must live in the moment intensely but be bigger than the moment and see beyond it how it would fit into the existing pattern of national life and what part of the past it would hereafter become. Sir Surendranath has always taken long views of our public life. A master of political strategy, he has averted many a menacing crisis. Often has it fallen to his lot to brave unreasoned opposition so that the ends of justice may be attained. All his life he has been preaching reform in all the greater spheres of thought and action and has been labelled a firebrand, an upheavelist, a stormy petrel, and yet (paradoxical as it may sound) at the basis of his character lie deep conservative instincts. With all his vehemence, with all his volcanic explosions, with all his pronounced revolt against the accepted systems, he has loved the evolutionary expansion of life, the ordered progress, freedom broadening from precedent to precedent, never the wild oscillations of the pendulum, for as he himself puts it (p. 68) :—

"I have always preferred to build upon old

foundations, throughout my life and in all my undertakings I have fought shy of the new. My faith, perhaps an inherited Brahminical instinct, is inveterate in the old. I have always taken my stand upon old foundations. I have never indeed deemed them perfect, but I have preferred remodelling the old to starting new organizations."

Much of the reckless invective which has been showered by an uncritical press upon his recent activities, has been due to the want of a proper appreciation of the mentality and characteristic faith of Sir Surendranath in building the new out of the old.

VI.

AS MINISTER.

By one of the caprices of fortune the acceptance of the post of a Minister in 1921 brought about the most sensational collapse of a career of unrivalled dramatic brilliance. It suddenly resulted in an almost total political extinction of a personality whose irresistible magnetism had been felt by all ever since the first pulsings of public life began to manifest themselves. The Colossus, as if under the stroke of a malignant fate, shrank into the common stature of man. He who had put the dry bones of the valley together and re-vitalised them, he who had made great spaces luminous and extended the frontiers of progress—he was with startling suddenness remorselessly scrapped! New leaders who had come into the arena openly applied to him Browning's rather ungenerous lines on Wordsworth's defection and accused him of having sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Sir Surendranath was worse than the man who had burned the temple of Diana in Ephesus. He was dubbed even a traitor to the country. And so on and so forth. And yet as he remarks in a short passage (p. 238) the truth of which cannot be doubted by any one in the know: "In my public life, I never allowed myself to be daunted by the frowns or seduced by the smiles of power. And even when the dispensation of favour lay in the hands of friends or colleagues I acted on the same principle and was not to be deterred from my purpose or from fulfilling the behests of

my convictions, by threats or by inducements." These words will ring true in the ears of those who are familiar with the life-history of Sir Surendranath and though he has not raised the fame of India abroad as has Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, he will be considered by all parties, whatever their labels may be, as the most golden-mouthed exponent of the patriots' hopes and dreams. His star is no longer in the ascendant—it marked a downward curve and sank into an unlovely morass on the fateful day when he took up the Ministerial portfolio. But invincible optimist as he is, he has relit the lamp and is lifting not a tattered flag on a bare pole, but a banner with an emblazoned scroll which will send its glad tidings to the furthest parts of the country, till our "nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom", in the memorable words of Abraham Lincoln. It is time for us now to take leave of the Tribune of the people of Bengal with the famous Byronic salutation,

"Be thou the rainbow to the storms of life,
The evening beam that smiles the clouds away,
And tints tomorrow with prophetic ray."

Yes, a new era is dawning on India. Though we are still way-farers in the twilight and the chariot of the Sun-God will take years to mount the horizon, yet it is already aglow with the flashes of a new destiny.

VII.

When in the fulness of time and the inscrutable dispensation of Providence this ancient, great and historic land shall have risen in the scale of nations, and its history comes to be faithfully recorded by an impartial and critical historian, a very prominent place, indeed, will have to be assigned in it to the political work and achievements, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of Sir Surendranath Banerji. He has had, in some cases, the defect of his qualities, for which he has had to pay heavy penalties. His greatest mistake was to have accepted a knighthood. The present writer was told by the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu that when Mr. Montagu received the list of proposed knighthoods from India and found in it the name of Mr. Surendranath Bauerji, he went straight into Mr. Basu's room in the

India Office and spoke to him as follows: "What a pity old Surendranath has killed himself by accepting a knighthood!" That confirms the Indian view of the matter. When the knighthood was proposed to be offered to him—and every non-official recipient of such a title is sounded before the announcement is made—Mr. Surendranath Banerjee's course was clear. He should have politely declined it, following the example of Gokhale. It is this which, coming on the heels of his secession from the National Congress, has given a great set-back to his public career during recent years and alienated, to a large extent, his educated fellow-countrymen, from his political activities. His comments in his autobiography upon the Swarajists and their late lamented leader have not improved matters, as they have seemed, to fair-minded people, vitiated by an ill-concealed prejudice against his political opponents. We share the same view ourselves. Nor have we hesitated to point out, in the course of this survey, other defects in the book or in the career of Sir Surendranath as a recognized leader of public opinion. But contemporary criticism of one who—fortunately for us—is still in the thick of the fight is not likely to be justly critical. In fact, all contemporary criticism is apt to be (perhaps unconsciously) either inordinately appreciative or deprecative, for it has to be or is generally pitched in the superlative degree. These are highly important considerations which can not be overlooked or ignored in making a just estimate of Sir Surendranath's work and worth as a public man, such as we have tried in our survey. At the same time the unbiassed contemporary critic—such as we claim to be—must discharge his duty as well as he can, to the best of his lights. He can not await indefinitely the advent of the impartial historian for the benefit of posterity. And accordingly we too have tried to present in this critique a sketch of Sir Surendranath's career as a leader of public opinion in various spheres of public activities, in as unprejudiced a frame of mind as it is possible for a contemporary critic to possess. Whether our estimate is what it should be even according to contemporary standard, is not for us to declare but only to hope for. But whatever view the reader may take of our performance, none will, we are sure, differ from us in our opinion that great, very great, public services have been rendered to the country for a period of half a

century by Sir Surendranath Banerjee in various capacities—as an educationist, journalist, politician and orator. It is these which had made, for years and years, his name one to conjure with in the country, and it is the memory of these which will keep his name alive in the grateful recollection of posterity as a devoted servant of India. Containing as it does the record of a long life dedicated to the service of

the country, Sir Surendranath Banerjee's autobiography—happily called *A Nation in Making*—is, in spite of some serious defects and limitations, a valuable and notable addition to the literature of Modern India and a survey of her political progress from despotism to first steps in constitutional government, and it deserves a very wide circulation amongst the reading public throughout the English-knowing world.

SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

1848

1925

We learn with great sorrow, as we go to press, the passing away of another epochal figure of Indian Nationalism. If history is made by men, Surendranath truly made history for his motherland. Surendranath, the creator of the inspiration for freedom in the hearts of his people, is no more. The mighty voice is still, but his memory endureth for ever :

The splendours of the firmament of time
 May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not;
 Like stars to their appointed height they climb,
 And death is a low mist which cannot blot
 The brightness it may veil.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER AS HIS OWN PAINTER.*

By "A MEMBER OF THE INDIAN INTELLIGENTSIA."

"I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere should be free." Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, in a letter dated August 22nd, 1862.

"After reading this book it is easy to see how Sir Michael made so many enemies in India. He takes a pride in dismissing the vast majority of the population of India from consideration as unwarlike, is convinced by the swagger with which his up-country friends carry themselves that all other Indians must be terrified of them, and further argues that unless the British Government indulges in a corresponding swagger things can never go well, not only in the Punjab, but anywhere in India. So far as Bombay is concerned the book will not gain its object. Sir Michael cannot set Cromwell on us in this light-hearted manner, and if he did one day turn up in Bhendi Bazaar with a following of peasantry from the north he might find that after all there was something missing in his theory of fighting races. Many who believe that he "saved" the Punjab or "saved" India believe that at the same time he did a great deal of harm and by the overbearing, we might almost say the bullying, attitude he adopted towards Indians became responsible for a great deal of the subsequent ill-feeling"—Extracts from a leading article in the Bombay Anglo-Indian daily, *The Times of India*

"Sir Michael appears to overlook one just cause of resentment over the administration of martial law. He lays stress on the fact that he endeavoured to get the Government of India to agree that he should be allowed to control the military in their administration. He suggests that if this had been done much trouble might have been avoided. But it is difficult to accept this view. He does not show that either he or the soldiers realised what the Hunter Committee, with admirable perspicacity, detected, namely, that the fundamental blunder in the administration of martial law was the failure to apply it equally to Europeans and Indians. The Punjab was not an enemy country; sooner or later it would be a province in which

Europeans and Indians would work side by side. Nothing more certainly exasperated, and rightly exasperated, Indians, who were in no way connected with the Rebellion, than the application to them of regulations from which Europeans were exempt. Europeans, who were in the Punjab at the time, are convinced that it was this discrimination which alienated from the Government the support of a large number of Indians. And Sir Michael does not seem to have appreciated that point even though it was brought out strongly by the Hunter Committee, and, to mention an episode which is not generally known, was dimly appreciated by the Punjab branch of the European Association. That branch held a meeting shortly after the first outbreak in Lahore, and a motion of confidence in the Punjab Government was carried after one speaker had condemned an amendment of the "blood and fire" type by reminding the meeting that the great thing was to return to friendly relations in which Europeans and Indians could work amicably side by side. Incidentally, it may be remarked, that that branch refused to subscribe to the testimonial to General Dyer, and the chief English newspaper in Lahore, after merely announcing that subscriptions would be received, never referred to the fund again, and caustically condemned the proposals of certain hysterical folk who wanted to give the General a "sword of honour." While, therefore, there will be full agreement with Sir Michael's condemnation of the Government of India's attitude, it must be admitted that he has not fully assessed the effect of some of the developments of the martial law regime." Extract from a review of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's book in the Allahabad Anglo-Indian daily, the *Pioneer*.

No Anglo-Indian official has in recent years been so much in the lime-light and the subject of such bitter controversy, in India and Great Britain alike, as Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Irishman, who retired, in 1919, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. For this there have been many contributory causes, but the main one has been Sir Michael himself. That apart, the part he played in the suppression of the Punjab disturbances of April, 1919, and the consequent Martial Law regime, has left bitter

**India As I Knew It 1885-1925*. By Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E. (Constable & Co., London, 1925)

memories in India against him and his administration. The Hunter Committee's Report on the Panjab disturbances and their suppression by Sir Michael, and the Secretary of State's orders thereon, were gall and wormwood to him and to the Anglo-Indian officialdom, but it was hoped that these sad episodes would close a sorrowful and an unfortunate chapter in the British administration of India. A section of the educated Indians kept the sore open as long as they could, but time and the policy of the Government, in making some political concessions by the introduction of the Reforms of 1919, were slowly but surely healing it, when Sir Michael O'Dwyer ripped it open by filing his suit for damages against Sir Sankaran Nair in the English Courts. That case was decided against Sir Sankaran after reviving the many bitter controversies and rousing an amount of acerbity which was natural, in the circumstances, in India. And though it may have given satisfaction to Sir Michael to have won the case, the result did absolutely nothing in the way of rehabilitating his reputation amongst the educated and thinking Indians, while the *obiter dicta* of the presiding judge—which were formally repudiated by the Secretary of State for India—made the iron, which had entered, plunge deeper into the heart of India. And now comes Sir Michael's record and review of his life written by himself, to worsen matters.

II

The autobiography of Sir Michael's—which is the text of this survey—is a self-laudatory and self-complacent sketch of the story of his service in India, for the period of thirty-four years, and also a record of his observations on Indian affairs in the period since his retirement. It is besides a confession of his political faith, a defence of his administrative policy, an elaborate apologia for his government or misgovernment of the Punjab, and also a guide to the British Government as to the policy to be followed in future, if India—alas: poor India!—is not to be a "Lost Dominion" of the British Empire! Such are the aims and objects of this pretentious publication. One might regret that by publishing this book Sir Michael revives controversies which might well have been allowed to die out, but in many ways and for many reasons it is none the less welcome. For one thing, there are very few dull

pages in it. Egoism and egotism can not be perhaps altogether avoided in an autobiography and may be, to a reasonable extent, condoned, but they persist too often in the book under survey and are sometimes pushed to the limit of being objectionable. The author is not, by the grace of the gods, a particularly modest individual and he never hesitates to impress upon the reader the great, the very great, good he did to India. The story of his early years of service in the Panjab, and later in Hyderabad and Central India, is, indeed, interesting reading and would fill with envy the present-day competition-wallahs, who would sigh for the good old days depicted in these pages when there were no "pestilential agitators" to disturb the official's peace of mind. The series of Punjab events and incidents during the Great War and those leading to the "Punjab Rebellion" (?) of 1919, are clearly stated from Sir Michael's point of view. The Martial Law Regime is fully described to show that Sir Michael had no responsibility for the objectionable features thereof. The *O'Dwyer vs. Nair* case is set out at length and is treated as the last word on the subject and the full and final justification of Sir Michael's acts and orders. In an interesting final chapter entitled "Is India a Lost Dominion" the author lays down his views as to the correct future policy which should be followed in order that India may not be lost to the British Empire.

It goes without saying that good Sir Michael is a strong believer in a purely paternal form of government for Indians. For them what is wanted (according to him) is a benevolent despotism, a one-man rule, the one man (we should add in fairness to him) being premised to be good and strong. Indians do not, he says, understand any other form of rule. All they want is to till their soil, to reap their crops, to have their disputes decided impartially, to worship without interference and to live in security from thieves and robbers—an ideal and almost idyllic form of existence, indeed! Sir Michael objects to and protests against the disturbing of the dull and pathetic contentment of the Indian masses—though it may lead to their stagnation—as that only makes administration difficult and encourages demands for power and the transfer of authority from those in whose hands it has been so far concentrated, and who have wielded it so well and so beneficently all this time. But Sir Michael is,

we are afraid, but a die-hard in disguise; he is in his mental outlook not only far behind the times but is a regular representative of the trilobites and troglodytes of a palaeozoic Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. The same arguments were used in Great Britain even in the 19th century by the ruling classes that governed the country till then. Benevolent despotism is perhaps a good form of administration, provided you can ensure the continuance of the benevolence of the despot, and further that the despots' ideas of benevolence and goodness agree with your own. But these are almost impossible conditions, as is testified to by the history of mankind—not excluding that of Sir Michael's own country, the greater portion of which is now the Irish Free State!

The fact of the matter is—and it is so obvious that it can not be ignored—that human nature being what it is, you can never ensure a succession of benevolent autocrats, and peoples' ideas of goodness vary according to changing times and circumstances. All history teaches us this. All despots have thought themselves benevolent and have not failed to tell their own and future generations so. Still, why did continental Europe prefer democracies and republics to Napoleons and Czars and Kaisers; and why did England behead Charles I and hunt out the Stuarts? Sir Michael expects Indians to remain, for all time to come, the proverbial hewers of wood and drawers of water, to be content to eat, drink and carry on mere animal existence and to continue to be governed by a race of autocrats and bureaucrats, who can do no wrong. He deprecates every thing that would arouse the consciousness of India to her political condition—that of subjection to the will of a foreign bureaucracy—and infuse divine discontent in the man behind the plough. If the political consciousness of the Indian is aroused and he ventures to raise his head, even in mild interrogation, as to what is to be his destiny, the good Sir Michael would come down upon him with all the force of the British arms and crush him who arouses such consciousness and him also whose consciousness has been so aroused. Thus will India continue a British dependency with fields watered by canals constructed and managed by the British, with a flourishing trade controlled and exploited by the British, with impartial courts and tribunals but presided over by the British, with secure frontiers well guarded by British soldiers

and Indian sepoy (of course) under British officers, with civil administration controlled by British officers and British Governors, with education organized and run by British educationalists, agriculture by British agriculturists, medical relief by British doctors and so on and so forth, all done by the British for the Indian till the crack of doom. In this picture before his mind's eye, the ex-satrap of the Panjab sees the naked and shivering Indian filling the perspective for one and one purpose only—namely to pay through the nose the heavy imposts and taxes, and supply the wherewithal with which the costly administration is run, and then to thank the gods for their mercy in bringing the British to this country and thus making British connection with this country truly "providential".

III

Why should, asks Sir Michael, Indians complain? Only the perverse, the cantankerous and the self-seeking do so and these should be suppressed ere they raise their heads. What a fine prospect for Indians according to the O'Dwyerian code! But Sir Michael forgets human nature, or rather seems to know nothing about it—in spite of the sixty winters which have covered his head with snow. Why do men prefer to be free, starving on inadequate wages, when they can live more comfortably as well-fed slaves? Why does the newly-married wife prefer an independant house-hold with all its worries and responsibilities, to living with her mother-in-law? Why did the Irish—Sir Michael's dearly-beloved fellow-countrymen rebel, fight and purchase at the cost of the lives of thousands their independence as citizens of the Irish Free State, instead of enjoying the benefits and advantages of the good and beneficent rule of Great Britain? Poor Sir Michael evidently does not yet know that freedom is its own reward and that the dry crust obtained by freedom is ever so much better than the sweets of slavery. Verily man does not live by bread alone, for what will it profit him if he gain all the world but lose his own soul? This conception is totally foreign to Sir Michael's mind.

But the Panjab ex-satrap has his own idea of the Indian, who is (according to him) so different from the Western. The Indian is presumably born with a double dose of original sin. What is good for the European is bad for

him—because he prefers to be a slave and does not really want freedom. If any one says he does, then he is either ignorant, perverse or self-seeking. Crush him and things will go on smoothly and the British may continue to govern India (of course, for the good of Indians) for all time to come. That is Sir Michael's gospel, and that his political faith as we find it exhibited in his book. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should be found to be rather hard and exasperating reading not only for an Indian but for any liberal-minded and large-hearted man. All Sir Michael's actions as an administrator are—according to his gospel—logically justifiable, if you once admit his premises to be correct, and thus his book, no doubt, appears to himself as a glorious justification of his life's work and a crushing reply to his detractors. But the trouble is that Sir Michael is, in this respect, like a woman—he argues correctly from wrong premises. His perspective of India and the Indians is wholly distorted. Starting evidently with his hopelessly wrong impressions of India gathered in 1885 and the earlier years of his service, Sir Michael has never bothered himself to modify or correct them. To him the awakening of Asia has no significance and the Renaissance in India has been completely lost upon him. If he could but help it, these would never have been allowed to come about, and he would either have killed the child in its embryonic condition or crushed it with his mailed fist ere it grew up. He talks bitterly of all liberal-minded statesmen and his bitterest invectives are naturally reserved for the late Mr. Montagu—this because he was not so much the friend as the lover of India. But Sir Michael does not realize that his own vision is at fault—either because of his political astigmatism or the use of monochromatic lenses. That his view is not shared by all Europeans in this country is perfectly clear from the extracts quoted from reviews of his book in the *Times of India* and the *Pioneer* which we have placed at the head of the article, and which, coming as they do from two of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies, are obviously entitled to as much weight as the fulminations of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

IV

Where the author does bring himself to approve of some liberal measures, his approval is

given grudgingly and half-heartedly. He has the greatest contempt for the Indian intelligentsia, for the educated, the thinking and the politically-minded classes and the urban population, as also for the pleader, the doctor, and the man behind the desk, as against the man behind the plough, who alone is his favourite. Like another of his great or greater predecessor (Lord Curzon) his sympathies are with the "silent millions", "the dumb masses",—this, of course, for the very obvious reason that they are not yet educated enough to see through Sir Michael's game. The intelligentsia, he says, have no sympathy with the cultivator; they are out for their own ends; they want power and riches and they will grind down the cultivator and ruin him. It is the British bureaucracy alone which can prevent this. It is they who stand between the dumb Indian masses and their would-be Indian oppressors, and they will continue to bear the white man's burden and their cross, however painful and hard it may be to do so. For these reasons they will not allow themselves to be relieved of their self-imposed trust till the crack of doom, till the world has again resolved itself into its component elements. What a strikingly wonderful picture this of noble self-abnegation, of heroic self-sacrifice, for the more than three hundred millions of human beings, in a foreign land! Now all this may be very clever and very specious, but if the Indian intelligentsia is only one per cent. in proportion, what are the British bureaucracy to the total population of India? What authority have they got from the Indian masses to govern India for ever on lines which they themselves think right and proper? Sir Michael has not the courage to put forward a precise reply to these questions which are most pertinent. Is there after all such a clear-cut line of separation in India between the urban and the rural, between the capitalist and the labourer as there is admittedly in Europe? Why should Sir Michael presume that the Indian intelligentsia will not, if given the power, either rule now or learn to rule, in course of time, beneficently the proletariat, as well as the British are believed to do at present? One may admit all the benefits which have accrued to India from British rule, the *pax Britannica*, the highly organized though soulless machinery of administration, the tremendous development of the resources of the country (mostly for the

behalf of the British themselves) the progress in education and industrialism—the latter weighted with the excise duty on cotton in the name of Free Trade, but really in the interest of Manchester—but surely, surely perpetual subjection to a foreign bureaucracy, howsoever well-intentioned, is much too high a price to pay for all these boons and blessings. Our gratitude need not make us willing to be eternal and perpetual slaves. This is the view not only of the educated Indians, but of all the subject races and peoples at all times and in all parts of the world. To Sir Michael O'Dwyer and men of his type such a view seems absurd, unreal, perverse and even vicious. They would condemn it as only that of the self-seeking intelligentsia. But they cannot understand the feelings of suppressed nationalities, as they are too narrow-minded and unimaginative for that. It is this want of imagination on the part of India's British administrators that more than anything is responsible for perpetual trouble in this country. That the view taken by Sir Michael of the Indian intelligentsia is wholly wrong and ill-founded would be borne out by a perusal of the passage quoted below from the review in the *Pioneer*, referred to above. Discussing Sir Michael's view, the *Pioneer* writes:—"After all, the intelligentsia are the product of British rule, and it is impossible to believe that progress in India can ignore them and their aspirations. Nor is it unnatural that the Home politician should listen to men who apparently speak in a language which he can understand. It is obvious that they must have a hearing in view of the form in which the transitional Constitution has been moulded. It seems unfortunate that the brilliant ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab should not appreciate the importance of the view of the intellectual; possibly that was the source of most of his subsequent troubles. Unless any thing unforeseen happens the intellectual must play a great part in interpreting India to England. The right course is not to belittle his capacity, but to insist on seeing that the form of government adopted suits the genius of the India which he represents." What has Sir Michael O'Dwyer to say in reply?

V

Now partly due to the steady political agitation of recent years and partly as a result

of the Panjab affairs of 1919, the awakening in even the rural areas of India has been conspicuous. The British Government cannot now, with safety, go back on the Reforms and the only wise policy is to go ahead. To accept Sir Michael's advice would, therefore, be disastrous and India would, indeed, be then a Lost Dominion. We are not surprised to learn that in spite of Sir Michael being present in the Visitor's Gallery in the House of Lords, the Earl of Birkenhead could not gather sufficient courage (when making his first statement on Indian affairs on the 7th July, 1925) to declare that he had accepted the lead of the Punjab ex-satrap and had decided to tear to tatters the Reform Act of 1919. On the contrary, he emphasised the terms of the Preamble of the Act and asked for Indian co-operation in the working of the constitution as a step towards the goal of responsible government. But though the author seriously addresses himself to this question, his solution is valueless by reason of his warped judgment. The last chapter of Sir Michael's book, however, contains a useful lesson which we would advise every Indian to lay to heart. Sir Michael asks in it, "Is India a Lost Dominion" and like Demosthenes, exclaims "The Gods alone preserve our Empire; for we on our part are doing all we can to destroy it." He is not pessimistic notwithstanding and proceeds to expose the weaknesses of Indians and (provided the policy he advocates is followed) assures his readers that India will not be lost to the British Empire. Now no one can expose one's weaknesses so well as an avowed enemy and Sir Michael proceeds to set forth with thoroughness the defects in Indian character, which militate against the country's gaining freedom. The military communities, he says, are limited and scattered. The Punjabi Mohomedan, the Sikh, the Jat, the Rajput and the Mahratta and the frontier Pathan are the only military classes. They are educationally backward; they do not want even the nearest approach to Swaraj; they are scattered over wide tracts of country; Jealousies and animosities exist amongst them and they can never unite. Then there is the tyranny of caste, the Brahmin against the non-Brahmin, the high against the low, the orthodox against the untouchable. Then there are the keen, old religious animosities between the Hindus and the Mohomedans, as also now new political rivalries. There are also the inter-

provincial jealousies, bitter political dissensions, selfishness, narrow-mindedness, intolerance, and racial bitterness. When we quarrel, we trust, says Sir Michael, our own men less than outsiders and he refers with satisfaction and significance to the demands for a British officer to try inter-communal cases, and though he does not say it in so many words that the British Government should utilise these rivalries, animosities and jealousies so as to prevent India's political unity and thus continue its administration on the principle of "divide and rule," yet that is what appears to be his meaning. How many of our public men who agitate for Indian freedom and Home-Rule honestly recognise these defects and try to overcome them? The line of least resistance *viz.* by assailing the Government, is invariably adopted by us. With unerring accuracy Mr. Gandhi has now concentrated his propaganda on Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability; but this is only a part of the larger problem. We want the abolition of caste spirit, the spread of primary and secondary education; the development of military traditions in the so far non-military communities who have been kept out by the policy of the Government, and also tolerance, good-will, broad-mindedness, liberalism in thought, honesty and selflessness.

The great Sir Michael quotes with relish the late Sir Auckland Colvin's dictum that "fanaticism, bigotry, poverty in high places, the pride of ancestry, pretensions of caste, love of change, lust of adventure, that Bacchic fury which blazes out so unaccountably in the East, slumber lightly beneath the sprinkling of western soil" in India. There is much truth in this and it is our duty to remedy the defects pointed out. It is easy to argue on *a priori* grounds for immediate Swaraj, but how many of us think of the requisite qualifications for its attainment? How few appreciate the real difficulties; how few see the obstacles and how many choose the easy and popular way of high and empty eloquence? If Sir Michael's book will only have taught us to learn and appreciate our weaknesses and defects and rouse us to a keen effort to get rid of them, if it will have taught us to look to steady progress towards the substantial achievement of Dominion Status for India within the British Commonwealth, rather than to the mirage of an Independent Republic, if it will have taught us the dangers of

irresponsible, violent agitation and its immediate as well as latent results, then, it shall have done much good to us—whatever be the author's object in writing his book—and among the benefactors of India, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, like Lord Curzon, will not have been the least for helping her sons on their onward progress towards freedom, both by his acts in the Punjab and by his present book, of which it can justly be said that it may unintentionally serve a useful purpose in rousing Indians from their slumber of ages and re-affirm also the truth embodied in the lines of the poet.

Even from the meanest of the mean,
A virtuous mind can morals glean.

VI.

Having now justly appraised—according to our lights—Sir Michael's book and brought out into relief its merits as an exposition of the views of crusted old Tory Anglo-Indianism, as also the lessons which the Indian intelligentsia may derive from its perusal, we may advert in conclusion to some of its serious defects and limitations. We have stated in the opening paragraphs our view of Sir Michael's egotism and egoism being carried to objectionable lengths and we may usefully expatiate on this aspect of his mentality, for the behoof of the Indian readers of his book. Throughout he talks in it of "our Empire", "our rule", "our army" and so forth *ad nauseum* and thus indulges in language befitting but the King-Emperor. But all this stinking indulgence in most improper, grandiloquent phraseology is nothing compared to his arrogance and insolence in referring (at least at one place) to the people of the North-West Frontier Province, which, indeed, it would be hard to beat. In the course of a report of an impertinent conversation which he claims to have had with Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State, this very superior personage said to him as he himself faithfully chronicles in his book:—"Our subjects paid revenue to us as the price of protection, and they complained that we did not protect them, or allow them to protect themselves; for we had taken away their arms" (p. 149). "Our subjects" forsooth! And yet this Irishman claims to be a loyal subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor! It is this Royal "we" note which predominates through-

out the book. As its reviewer in the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, the *Statesman*, has it:—Sir Michael “thinks too much of ‘our mission’ in terms of Government”. Even a lineal descendant of Lord Clive’s, if writing of the India of to-day, would have been probably more modest than this swashbuckling Irishman, who in referring to the King’s subjects affects language permissible alone to the Sovereign of the British Commonwealth. Devoid even of his national trait—a gift of humour—he writes:—“I had as my Legal Remembrancer (Attorney-General) in succession two members of the Civil Services”. If the King’s Government have an Attorney-General, why not poor, dear, Sir Michael O’Dwyer! What wonder if a man of his temperament still persists in using the (to Indians) invidious and objectionable word “native” where correct modern usage would require the word “Indian”. But the brain of this ex-satrap is so heated and intoxicated by the fumes of the first person singular pronoun and its inevitable concomitants that he is actually landed into a grammatical error (p. 106) as when he writes:—“The new province (North-West-Frontier) was started with Deane as Chief Commissioner and Bunbury and I as Judicial and Revenue Commissioners respectively”! Yes, “with.....I” as Revenue Commissioner, indeed! After this one need not be surprised to learn that the “I” was addressed even by the late Nizam of Hyderabad—in the course of conversation—most deferentially as “Sahib” (p. 137). If it be urged that being ungrammatical is the privilege of an Irishman writing in English, the difficulty is to determine the nationality of Sir Michael, who is evidently a follower of the school of the Hindustani poet who sang—“*Hindu bana kabhi wo Mussalman kabhi kabhi*” (I am sometimes a Hindu and at other times a Muslim). So is Sir Michael an Irishman and a Britisher by turns, as it suits his purposes, for the time being. The first chapter emphasises his Irish origin and nationality and even his view that “the Irish and English temperaments differ so radically” (p. 3), and yet we are told (p. 107) that “I claim to be one of the three surviving British”—who emerged alive from the depths of the study of Dera Ismail Khan land tenures! One must revise all one’s notions of geography and ethnography after Sir Michael’s “claim” to be British, for are we not told on the first page that so far back as in the reign of Henry VIII, “the O’Dwyers

are mentioned as one of the twelve clans constituting the King’s Irish enemies in Munster and holding North Tipperary”?

But to turn from the question of his nationality to Sir Michael’s qualifications as a scholar of Indian languages. He evidently claims to know not only Hindustani and Punjabee but also Pushto and Persian. But his one poetical quotation from the Persian classic, Saadi, (reproduced twice) is we suspect not quite free from inaccuracy. As for his knowledge of the Indian languages, it does not seem to us to be much above the average, judging from the glaring mistakes in the spellings of Indian names and words. But just as he “claims” to have about the most illegible handwriting—for which reason he thinks he was not kept long in the Secretariat—he may also “claim” to be a careless or indifferent proof-reader. Hence perhaps the misspellings. But he does not seem to know, even after having been the chief administrator of the Punjab for about six years, that “Gurmukhi” is the name of the character in which the Sikhs and the Hindus, living in the province of the Punjab, write the Punjabee language—their mother-tongue. He calls it in his illimitable wisdom (p. 230) “the Sikh dialect”. Prodigious! Not content with this he goes on to perpetrate other blunders. He confers the title of “Khan” on Mr. Muhammad Ali of the *Comrade* (p. 173). One wonders if that gentleman will tamely submit to receive this distinction at the hands of Sir Michael. Similarly he refers to Mr. Sayad Hosain Bilgrami of Hyderabad as “Sir Sayad Hosain” (p. 137). But surely one who is entitled—in his own estimation, at least—to refer to the King’s subjects as “our subjects”, need have no qualms of fear in knighting those who have not had the privilege of having been so honoured by His Majesty! The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri comes next into Sir Michael’s record for reference at three places. At two of these he is mentioned as the Rt. Hon. “Mr.” Sastri, which (we are informed on the highest authority) is a wrong and improper way of addressing or referring to a Privy Councillor, when his name is preceded by the honorific “Right Honourable”. At the third place (p. 402), however, though poor Mr. Sastri is not mistered after the “Rt. Hon.”, his name figures as “S. S. Sastri”—who is “S.S.”ed but to be complimented as “a ‘moderate’ leader, from whom better things might have been expected”! Of course, of

course, "better" à la O'Dwyer! Now we must protest, in all solemnity, against this Irish effort of Sir Michael's to convert Mr. Sastri's name, which is "Srinivasa" into the well-known abbreviation for a steamship! After this levity in dealing with the name of one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors, one need not be surprised at Sir Michael's reference to Mr. Lajpat Rai as "the notorious Lajpat Rai" (p. 340) or to one of the Indian Members of the Hunter Committee,—probably the ex-Minister Pandit Jagat Narain—as "this man" (p. 319) for had not the latter "in a public speech made an outrageous attack on me"—yes, "on me", or rather "on I", the great Sir Michael O'Dwyer. What an atrocious act of impudence and *lese Majeste* on his part to have made an "outrageous attack" on the administration of the great satrap who (when he heard of the Indian gentleman's appointment as a member of the Committee for the investigation of the causes and incidents of the Punjab disturbances which happened during the O'Dwyer regime) naturally, protested against it. "I protested but without success" (p. 319). *O tempora!*

O Moses! It is from the very day that Sir Michael "protested but without success" that India was set on the declivity leading to its being a "Lost Dominion" of the British Commonwealth! But enough of Sir Michael and his chagrin and disappointments, his offensive and bitter attacks against the leaders of the Indian intelligentsia and, in fact, all others, even Europeans, who have the misfortune of differing from him. He does not even spare poor Sir Muhammad Shafi himself—his quondam admirer. Even one like Sir Michael need not be, however, a bad preacher of occasional flashes of Truth and we are glad to find him writing as follows: "Indian problems are, at the best of times, difficult to comprehend, even by those who have spent years in that sub-continent". This appears almost towards the end of the book (p. 436). If only the wisdom embodied in this dictum had dawned upon the author when he began to write his book, he might have spared himself perpetrating it. But then there is the old saying—embodying much truth—that it is the wise alone who have the sense of prevision.

ON AUTO-BIOGRAPHIES: A CAUSERIE.

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI, B.Sc.

There is a good case for writing one's own life history: it would be an eye-opener to many. Every man should be compelled to tell his life's story. It does not matter if he tell it ill. Literary craftsmanship is not necessary. It is well, of course, if it is present. But one can dispense with it. An illiterate man is not a bad one to recite his experiences, to tell the bead-roll of the pains and pleasures that fell to his lot in his sojourn through life. Sometimes it draws an additional charm of its own by being rough and ready and unalloyed with the doubtful virtue of skilful narration. There is more *truth* in it, at any rate; there is no glossing over discreditable events; there is no attempt to tell

a fine tale, with the first person singular always in the forefront; there is no sifting and arranging of material under glittering heads; everything is natural, just as it occurred, with the good and the bad cheek-by-jowl, and, if anything, the bad preponderating. There is a notion that most men's lives are dull and, therefore, are not worth going over with the reader: there is dullness enough in them to weigh the whole universe under. The notion, if it exists, is a wrong one. Life is not full of joy, it is true, and success does not lead on to success in a never-ending chain; happiness is only for the few and all men are *not* born equal; but when the worst has been said, "when all the wine is

drunk and but the lees remain," even then all is not over, a substratum of liveliness is left, and this, added to a little philosophy, makes all the difference, and none is bereft of hope till the very last breath of his life. The lives of the unfortunate, the apparently insignificant, are in fact much more interesting than those of the obviously successful. Ill-luck is not without its own relish. After all, there is no picturesqueness in a straight and level road: the beauty belongs to the winding path. Variety is the spice of life; and the unexpected is not less its charm. An unsuccessful man's life should be told as well as that of a successful man; a bad man's no less than a good one's. All are equally full of instruction. And, after all, who knows but that the so-called useless man of to-day may not be the idol of that final and most impartial judge of real merit—posterity? Have we not heard instances of such a thing happening before? And what is there to prevent its happening hereafter?

Auto-biography need not be in a set-form; it need not be confined to a single vehicle of expression; it can reveal itself, like Providence, in a variety of ways. There is scope for personal touches even in fiction, and though they may not be complete, they are enough to satisfy the curiosity of the reader and supply him with material to form a reasonable judgment of the author. After all, whatever a man's external accomplishments may be, it is his inner self that gives the key to his real estimate. The two are not separate entities but run into each other imperceptibly: it is as if they were tethered in neighboring stalls and a kick would at any time bring down the partition. Even in the most public acts, one's inner life is reflected. We do not mean, however, that a man's public life should be judged by his private life; what is suggested is that where his outward self alone is not sufficient to explain his actions, recourse should be had to his inner life, whenever and wherever this can be reasonably probed, to supply the data. It is just here where auto-biography becomes useful, where it bears a revealing light. A man's history, in the best of circumstances, cannot be all in all; the most it can do is to supplement what otherwise may be a meagre estimate.

In a man's letters also we can pierce through the veil of his being; it is here, if anywhere, that he drops off the dress-coat of conventional life and appears *en déshabillé*; he is there him-

self with all his vices and virtues in bold relief. He cares not for any audience, for applause from the pit and stalls, nor does he appeal to the gallery in a last desperate attempt at mock-shows and make-believe. He is not talking at posterity. He is communing with an intimate, a friend in his retreat to whom he may whisper "solitude is sweet." It is a case of mind opening to mind and heart talking to heart. There are no intimacies so private that he does not divulge them to his friend; he is curiously frank and is in his most natural vein; his soul, he shows, is still a child by the sea, picking up shells; in fine, he is in his most primeval and aboriginal element. Most men, when the outer layer of affectation is removed, are simple at heart: their souls are fair,

"Bright as the children of yon azure sheen."

It is because they are not often allowed to be free, or when they are free they are so woefully misunderstood, that they appear so complex; and habit makes them inured to this their prison-house, where the key is turned upon the free play of their buoyant spirits; they even appear comfortable in such a restricted environment like

"The linnet born within the cage

That never knew the summer woods."

There is yet another way of pulling aside the curtain just a little and exhibiting the rare show of a man's private and inner life. A man, unless he is born dumb, reveals himself, be it ever so slightly, in conversation—"that great international congress," as Stevenson calls it. "In short," says he, "the first duty of a man is to speak; that is his chief business in this world; and talk, which is the harmonious speech of two or more, is by far the most accessible of pleasures. It costs nothing in money; it is all profit; it completes our education, finds and fosters our friendships, and can be enjoyed at any age and in almost any state of health." For perfect conversation the company must be limited. It must be conducted only among intimates. If authenticated reports of some men's conversation could be had, they would shed a flood of light upon their real selves. Dr. Johnson, for example, is known more by reports of his conversation, faithfully conveyed through the medium of Boswell's admiring pen, than by all his books put together. Good talkers are unfortunately rare, and even of these we know not all. Hazlitt was an excellent talker and so

was Charles Lamb. We know the latter more and love him the better because of reports of his talks and personal characteristics that have come down to us from his friends. It is an irreparable misfortune that we have not been rewarded by similar reports of Hazlitt's powers: Hazlitt that was as fine, if not a finer, talker than Lamb himself. Hazlitt both loved good talk and was an excellent hand at the game himself. His brilliant descriptions of his friends' conversational abilities are unforgettable: "Wordsworth sometimes talks like a man inspired on subjects of poetry (his own out of the question)—Coleridge well on every subject and Godwin on none. Mrs. Montague's conversation is as fine-cut as her features and I like to sit in the room with that sort of coronet face. What she says leaves a flavor, like fine green tea. Hunt's is like champagne and Northcote's like anchovy sandwiches. Haydon's is like a game at trap-ball, Lamb's like snap-dragon; and my own (if I do not mistake the matter) is not much unlike a game at nine-pins." Hazlitt was one of the most irremediably unfortunate people: he was not judged fairly in his life-time, and even now people are loth to give him his due. The conjecture is not highly fanciful that if portraits of the man as he revealed himself in conversation to his favourite friends, among whom Lamb was foremost, had come down to us, the world have been less harsh in its estimate of him.

After all, a man is known by his small actions no less than by his great ones: he is the sum of all that he is daily and not merely what he is at rare and inspired moments. He must be judged not only by the peaks of his achievements but also by the depths of his degradation; and the truth, no doubt, would lie somewhere in the middle. There is a good deal to be said

for keeping a private journal and for recording passing thoughts. Pepys did a great thing when he gave posterity his personal diary of many volumes. Many of us could do the same or nearly the same if we too kept a diary and recorded assiduously all that we did every day of our times. Exaggeration notwithstanding, there is something in the idea, after all. Life at best is very short: most of us are not known even while we live. As Hazlitt says, "It is not surprising that we are forgotten so soon after we quit this mortal stage; we are scarcely noticed while we are in it. It is not merely that our names are not known in China; they have hardly been heard of in the next street. We are here to-day and no more the next: but the great wheels of the world will ever roll on. Why not then take stock of the present and make it imperishable? Is it not a pity that by far the greater part of our existence should be lost in what Sir Thomas Browne calls "the uncomfortable night of nothing?" Mr. H. W. Nevinson in his auto-biography, which he calls "Changes and Chances," gives his excuse for it in the following beautiful words:

"It is nearly incredible that all the vital experiences of to-day will by tomorrow have become a blank of nonentity, like the sums a child washes from a slate, irrevocable as the million ages before man made himself. It seems an extravagant waste, a lamentable squandering. And so a book of memories like this becomes an attempt to clutch at transient time before it whirls into oblivion. It is a fond endeavor to retard that hurrying chariot, to grasp the vanishing shadow, and with Faust to cry to the moment: 'Verweile doch, du bist so schön!' Or, if the moment be not fair but grisly, still one would not have it blotted out for ever."

HIR OF WARIS SHAH: A PUNJABEE CLASSIC.

By MR. ABDUL AZIZ, *Bar-at-Law*.

This premier classic of Punjabi Literature partakes of the character of (a) a drama, (b) a narrative in verse, and (c) an elaborate idyl. As

a drama it is long, very long; and the story is during long intervals quite stationary. To put it into shape for purposes of the stage large

chunks will have to be expunged. To make it a classic for the schools, many passages will have to be excised. As a whole the poem is like a mine, where there is plenty of precious ore lying in impurity and disorder—due, no doubt, partly to the corruptness of the text. There is a great deal of rugged beauty, a great deal of massive grandeur. All this in spite of the fact that the Poet chose for his medium of expression a language which, so far from being a literary language, had hardly emerged from the stage of a dialect! No wonder that the Poet's spiritual leader, when he heard some of the verses from *Hir* recited, declared that verily Waris had strung jewels on a string of *munj*.

Ruskin tells us that Nature is truly great where she works with simple materials and produces marvellous results. Our Poet takes after mother Nature, and is a true artist: his narrative is constructed out of the homeliest facts of daily life, is expressed in the homeliest of languages, and runs its course against the background of a scenery grand in its idyllic beauty and simplicity. Such superb effect with such lowly material is truly the work of a necromancer.

Waris's *Hir* is a faithful mirror of life and nature. It is a study in genre. No details are too insignificant, none too commonplace or even vulgar to find a place in the full and fluent descriptions. The whole range of domestic and outdoor village life is depicted with an astonishing accuracy of detail. We have nothing but common and everyday talk. As has been said of Shakespeare's creations, we know some of Waris's characters more intimately than some of our flesh-and-blood acquaintances. And his creations talk a homely language of such a perfect finish as we seldom hear in our homes. Nor does their verse strike us as at all incongruous for a medium of expression in domestic life. The picture is made more real by Waris's thorough knowledge of most of the dialects spoken in the Punjab including Balochi and Pahari. As the narrative proceeds, we find here and there snapshot glimpses of busy, active life around, through which the story pursues its course. The cameo of the Mulla with his Mosque and pupils (P. 15-19)* is an example.

In lyric power Waris reminds us of Swinburne, though the latter's song has an

infinite variety, while Waris is in that sense monotonous.

In imaginative power and fire Waris is among the best poets that India has produced. Nor is he unconscious of his greatness. For where he explains the reasons for the composition of the Poem, he dwells upon the worthless trash, which masqueraded as literature in his day. He tells us plainly enough that his work belongs to quite a different order. And he is not boasting, nor is he following the traditional custom of good-natured self-praise: it is simple honesty and impatience of literary claptrap compelling him to tell the truth.

There is something indescribably luscious and voluptuous in Waris's imagery and colour. Waris is pre-eminently the poet of youth and beauty. His capacity for the joys of life is infinite. He raves with joy at times: but he is never giddy. Often in the midst of a carnival of sensual pleasure he reverts suddenly to the vanity of mundane affairs, and the unreality of the whole show. He never surrenders his sobriety.

Behind his smiles there are tears; in fact the dominant note in his masterpiece is that of tragic passion. The chiaroscuro of his canvas is true to life and nature. He is, indeed, not by any means a pessimist; but he is an artist.

We find quite a number of valuable maxims scattered up and down the pages. And there is a goodly sprinkling of moral observations of the reflective type. Odds and ends of the sacred texts are incorporated into the body of the verse, often with good effect, occasionally in a way strained and unnatural. There is a leaven of spirituality, a religious undercurrent, throughout the poem.

Notwithstanding all the religious fervour and the piety with which he overflows, Waris is the veriest pagan, whose rugged and untutored genius draws inspiration from the roots of wild nature. Waris seems to have picked up, during his younger days, quite a respectable amount of religious education. But his sound judgment is unclouded by dogma: in his delicately balanced and comprehensive mind every thing can find a place. To this religious tolerance, combined with a keen sense of humour, which distinguishes Waris, we owe some of the most delightful scenes in the Poem. The Poet's relentlessly faithful portrayal of two religious characters, the Priest and the Qazi, especially the caricature of the former, is an audacious performance con-

*The reference is to the Edition in Persian Script printed at the Punjabi Steam Press, Lahore.

sidering the rigidly orthodox and unenlightened environment of his life. And his treatment of the Priest is besides a scathing commentary on a decadent type of the Mullah. Waris, we see, is a master of caricature. Even when he descends to vulgarities, he does not cease to be great: because he is still an artist. When he moralises, instead of being flat, he is thrillingly inspiring. Such a successful treatment of such a trite subject is proof of true greatness.

Another important characteristic of the Poem is the speeches alternately delivered by two characters. We have often a very long string of replies and rejoinders, each one of which is apparently conclusive and a clincher, so long as we do not hear the next one. The duets between Ranjha and his sister-in-law, *Hir* and the Qazi, Ranjha and Selhi, Raiban and Sairfan and *Hir*, are examples.

Waris's philosophy of love, which is a kind of religion to him, and which is not far removed from the Sufi doctrine, is worthy of close study. True love is great, greater than anything else. God himself is a lover, and, speaking more abstractly, is nothing but love. All other virtues should settle into a subordinate place in the system. Again, love is greater than obedience or discipline: Virtue is mere discipline. Human love is only symbolic of divine love. It is only by accident that human love has come to be connected with virtue and vice. Perhaps Waris could have said with Plato and the Greeks that beauty and virtue are ultimately identical, physical and moral beauty being two aspects of the same thing; and that it is only our partial and imperfect vision that sees the contradiction. Therefore when we talk of love, which is the pursuit of beauty, virtue is a redundant phrase.

This view makes the tragic end a foregone conclusion: Mortal love is only a shadow, divine love alone the substance. Love, therefore, cannot be *realised* in an imperfect world like this. No wonder then that the wild passion of the lovers comes into violent collision with the fixities of this world, its rigid conventions and dogmas, its physical disabilities, its limited outlook. No wonder that the lovers rush through a stormy career to a tragic end, when their souls pass through the iron gates of crime to a better and a happier world, where the noble passion, which was their undoing here, could be better realised, not in the shadow but in the substance. The mould, so to speak, was too weak to hold

the wine of love, and it was smashed to smithereens.

Waris lived in an age when morality was everything and art nothing in comparison, when "immoral" art was a blasphemy. His creative imagination soars to a height which transcends the false antagonism between art and morality, and seems actually to attain a higher synthesis where the seeming contradiction is reconciled.

Here may be mentioned in passing a rather curious attempt that has been made to explain all the events of the story, great and small, allegorically. Rather than considering these interpreters incapable of understanding the art of Waris, I think it is better to accept this form of explanation as an apology for the shockingly elemental way in which the Poet understands and depicts the passion of love.

The origin of the story is shrouded in mystery. But it has always held the place of honour in the folk-lore of the Punjab. Indeed, the story has given rise to a veritable cycle of poems which has called the cream of the genius of the Province into play. It is not easy to pick out the details and separate the contribution of Waris's imagination from the story which he inherited, and the latter again from the actual events as they occurred at Jhang, where the mouldering tomb of *Hir* stands to-day—a solemn and silent monument alike of the eternity of human tragedy and of the pettiness and insignificance of human life.

Before we pass on to a summary of Waris's version of the story, we may perhaps allow ourselves just one observation, *viz.*, that whatever may be said of the rest of the story, the supernatural element in it seems in any case to bear the stamp of interpolation. It is repugnant to the Poet's strong common sense and his healthy sense of reality; and it looks incongruous where all else is so homely, so vivid and so real. And it can be expunged without interfering with the context or the sequence.

The poem begins conventionally with a hymn of glory to God, praise of the Prophet and his four friends and the Saints. It must be noted that in this Song of praise to God there is not a single hemistich where "Love" is not mentioned. So even our Poet's Hallelujahs are not without a motive. In fact it is remarkable how beautifully the Poet invariably adapts traditional customs to his own ends, and revolutionises thought without breaking the old idols.

The Story.

Ranjha, a young orphan of prepossessing appearance and of a rather romantic bent of mind, finds himself turned out of his paternal acres, partly no doubt due to his own laziness, since he takes more interest in playing on the flute and dressing his hair than in cultivating his land, but partly also due to the jealous hostility of his brothers and their wives, who make Ranjha's life at home miserable. Under these pathetic circumstances begins the romantic career of the Hero, who, one fine morning, leaves the home of his forefathers, and sets out in search of adventures in strange lands and amid unknown men. This first tragic touch is powerful, and prepares us, as it were, for what is to come.

His looks and manners are attractive, and his singing and playing draw people irresistibly round him. On the boat which ferries him across the Chenab he makes the acquaintance of Hir, and we are at once converted to the theory of love at first sight. Their meeting is dramatic, for Waris knows how to create and deal with a situation. Vows of constancy having been duly exchanged, Hir, with her winning ways and feeling eloquence, pleads with her father for engaging the young man as a herdsman and congratulates him on such a godsend. Her father is no match for her and yields. No suspicion enters his mind, so obviously good and innocent she looks and has always been. Ranjha is placed in charge of Chuchak's buffaloes.

Here follows a perfect idyl, descriptive of surroundings in which Ranjha lived the life of a shepherd in appearance, a lover in reality—a dual character not unknown to the poets of other countries. And against that wildly picturesque back-ground we have a life of wilder passion and pleasure. Thus Ranjha and Hir lived for twelve years. When the disgrace of the whole affair is finally brought home to Hir's parents, they think of giving her away in marriage. The greybeards of the village agree to favour the suit of Saida of Rangpur, and the marriage is celebrated with the usual rejoicings. The clouds of despair are gathering fast over the hero, whose power of action is paralysed. He makes impotent accusations of faithlessness against his beloved. Hir, however, who is remorselessly torn away from her parents, her home, her lover, her girl friends—all that she

had known or loved, feels the gravity of the situation more fully, does not lose her presence of mind, and while bravely meeting her lover's cruel charges proceeds coolly to chalk out a line of action for him. He is to pay a visit to her husband's village in the guise of a jogi. Here falls the curtain on the second act, the first one closing with the departure of Ranjha from his paternal home. We note that each act is a tragedy by itself, and yet it does not interfere with the general effect of the whole piece. We rise by degrees to a complete realisation of the central tragedy.

To resume, Ranjha, as soon as he recovers from his stupor, begins to curry favour with Balmath, a famous Jogī, and after some cunning and cajoling, wins his point. The master takes off his disciple's clothes, dusts his body with ashes, shaves his head, puts ear-rings in his ears, and declares him a yogi. On securing his point, Ranjha reveals his true motive: his master is shocked, but finally forgives, prays for his success and congratulates him.

Ranjha then sets out on his errand of mystery and romance. When Hir hears that her devoted lover is within her village her feelings are mixed: there is an interplay of an intoxicating joy at the prospect of meeting him, admiration for his devotion, pity for his hardships, and a vague presentiment of an impending tragedy. But before Ranjha and Hir find it possible to have direct communication, another important character comes between them, at first obstructive, later helpful. Sahti, the sister of Saida, is more than a match for Ranjha, and is finally subdued by a miracle. As soon as she realises that Ranjha can do signs and wonders she not only surrenders at discretion, but entreats of him a favour similar to the one expected of her; *viz.*, to see her own lover, from whom she has long been separated. A contract is made: Ranjha once more performs a miracle, and makes her see her lover Sahti, her self-interest roused, sets to work with a will. In this last *coup* we see her resourceful genius at work. We never realise how powerful she is until her own interests are in the balance. She plans and executes a daring stratagem, on the success of which she stakes everything. She befools the whole village community, using them as pawns in the game, and manœuvres so as to deal a double blow to her parents—two elopements in a day, any one of which would be stigma enough for a family. She artfully gets her

mother's consent to take Hir out of the house to amuse her, as she has been pining for ever so long, and, to disarm suspicion, takes with her every girl of the village. Next follows a classical description of a troop of rustic hoydens running riot with youth and joy, and freshened by this rare treat of freedom. By the time they have completely lost themselves in enjoyment, Sahti runs a long thorn into Hir's foot and raises an alarm : the story runs from mouth to mouth that Hir has been bitten by a snake. The girls, their mirth and glee vanished, flock round the prostrate figure of Hir, who, her teeth set and eyes turned up, is in spasms. Shivers pass through her body. She stretches her limbs and remains motionless. The girls stand aghast all round, their faces blanched with horror. If Hir's acting was as true to the Poet's description as the latter is to nature, she was surely a born actress.

The report was over the village in a few minutes, spreading consternation where it went. Leeches and snakecharmers were called in, but none availed, for Hir continued unconscious. Sahti, with sublime naïveté suggests that the new jogi of the Kala Bagh may be tried. The suggestion is accepted and Ranjha, after a great deal of persuasion, reluctantly consents to come as a special favour, and that after a solemn assurance from Hir's husband that he has not known her, since his incantations cannot cure a married woman—a clever trick to obtain a necessary confession from the unlucky husband of our heroine. We notice that at the back of Ranjha's mind there is constantly a shadow of jealousy and scepticism, of which, however, he makes no secret. In fine, Ranjha moves out in response to repeated entreaties, and begins his charm. He directs that Hir should be kept in a secluded place, where only an unmarried girl might have access. These instructions are complied with, and Hir and Ranjha and Sahti and Murad all flee from the village under cover of night.

The village woke to a morning of eternal shame and dishonour. Parties went out in pursuit. Ranjha and Hir were overtaken, but they appealed to Raja Adli, who decreed Hir to Ranjha. The matter then somehow came before the Qazi, who awarded Hir to the Kheras of Rangpur on the ground that Ranjha could produce no evidence in support of his claim. But, indeed, we could be sure of the judgment before it was pronounced for we know that the

Qazis and the Mullahs in the Poet's microcosm are just so many bigoted, unimaginative pharisees, incapable of understanding the higher idealism of our hero and heroine (who claim to show to erring humanity a short cut to glory and salvation paved with the blood of martyrs.)

Ranjha and Hir, thus rendered helpless, pray to God for a judgment on this iniquitous earth. The prayer is heard, and there is a conflagration. The lovers are once more free, and they now decide on a line of conduct which shows that Hir's moral sense, although long submerged and obscured by the tempestuous course of lawless love, is really quite sound and strong. Ranjha wishes to take her to his home at Hazara ; but Hir abhors the idea of settling in his home as his mistress, and proposes that they should go to Jhang Sial first, get married on earth, as they had long been married in heaven, and then proceed to Hazara in lawful wedlock.

When they approach the outskirts of Jhang, we can well imagine Ranjha's feelings at the scene of his youthful loves and joys, and Hir's emotions when the home of her innocent childhood, her glorious but stormy youth, overshadowed by the crowning tragedy of the marriage, rises upon her view.

The rest of the story is soon told. Hir's parents pretend to be ready to marry them, but secretly lay a plot to poison Hir. In her agony she thinks of Ranjha, but the murderers tell her that he is dead. This hastens her own end. A messenger flies with the melancholy news to Hazara, and Ranjha expires on hearing the message.

We may close with a brief sketch of the characters of the Hero and the Heroine.

Hir.

If, like Hellas, there had been a Jhang in heaven before there was one on earth, and if the tradition and the monument at Jhang did not corroborate the story, we could have said that Hir was the prototype of beauty and love, of which the experiences of our life are only imperfect and more or less dim and blurred copies. Hir would have been more easy to understand if she had been a goddess. But as she lived on this earth, we can only say that she is

“a maid
That paragons description and wild fame ;
One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,
And in th' essential vesture of creation
Does tire the ingener.”

We know nothing about the actual Hir of the Sials, but the Hir that appears before us through the alembic of Waris's imagination is an embodiment of ideal womanhood—a vision of physical perfection wedded to moral worth realised under the conditions of flesh and blood. Hir's failings and limitations are human limitations; they arise from an inevitable conflict with an imperfect world.

Waris's Hir is dowered with a remarkably generous measure of intelligence and resourcefulness. We have seen that in an emergency she always rises to the occasion, and while Ranjha whines and whimpers she goes squarely to work. Even at the crisis of her marriage neither judgment nor foresight deserts her. She has an abounding faith in what is right or good. The amount of fortitude and resoluteness which she displays in times of tribulation is incredible. When we consider how much she can bear, how much she can sacrifice for what she considers right, how much she can resolve and achieve, we have some idea of the fibre of which her character is made. For dignity her personality is difficult to beat.

Another distinguishing feature of Hir is a bold and honest frankness. She is not modest. Why should she be? Modesty is a kind of moral cowardice. She takes her stand upon the right, and is at war with the faulty ideals of an erring humanity. The daring with which she always challenges the future raises immensely our estimate of her character.

Again, Hir has a brilliant gift of eloquence. She never speaks without persuading, when she has a mind to cajole, as when she pleads with her father for Ranjha's engagement. As an opponent she is formidable, as the Qazi knows to his cost. Her crushing reply to Ranjha's limping accusations is another example.

The way in which Hir always assumes the active role reminds one of a characteristic feature of all Punjabi poetry, *viz.*, that women are forward in professing love and in taking the initiative generally. In fact, most of the love lyrics of Punjabi male poets are placed in the mouths of women. Is it that according to these masters beauty and love are so closely allied to each other that they cannot live in two tabernacles? How alien that conception is to the English mind is clear from the fact that the word "lover" in the singular cannot be used of a woman. Psychologically it is curious that we find the same feature in Mediæval French

Literature, in *The Chanson de Toile*, for example.

Ranjha.

A young fellow of captivating appearance and manners, and of a rather delicate build: this is Ranjha. The pet child of the family, he is brought up in ease and idleness. His father's early death left him an orphan, at the mercy of his jealous brothers and their wives, who are veritable Kilkenny cats.

Ranjha is a charming singer, and can play the flute unusually well. With that instrument in his hand, he is always the centre of attraction. Following the symbolism of Maulana of Rumi, the flute probably signifies divine love.

Ranjha has keen emotional susceptibilities fairly developed; but he is neither earnest nor serious enough to realise the deeper implications of love. He has a romantic temperament, I have said, but he is also a happy-go-lucky sort of fellow.

Ranjha is of a jealous and suspecting temperament. There is something tragically pathetic in his oft-recurring suspicions about the fidelity of his beloved.

He has a rather modest modicum of intelligence and common sense—a sharp contrast with Hir, as we have seen. Ranjha is a passive personality, with no sense to grasp, no energy to act in time of need. Nowhere is he equal to the situation. When his brothers deny him his just share in the patrimony, he has no recourse but to flee. During his career at Jhang, whenever the horizon darkens, Ranjha is in the depths of despair, but our heroine is strong with courage and bright with hope. Again, in the conversation that takes place between Ranjha and the shepherd whom he meets in the vicinity of Rangpur, the latter delivers a few home thrusts, which Ranjha does not know how to parry. In fact our hero collapses completely before the Ayali's posers.

Hir is often admonishing him for his blundering ways; as, for instance, when Ranjha foolishly gives away as alms out of the repast which Hir has brought him, to Kaidu, Hir's wicked uncle, who comes to him in the guise of a beggar, and thus obtains tangible proof of Hir's attentions to Ranjha. Again, when Ranjha and Hir are fugitives from Rangpur, Ranjha rests and sleeps under a tree, despite Hir's most passionate entreaties, and the Khairas overtake them, brutally flogging Ranjha.

COLOUR-LINE.

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

"The problem of the 20th century is the Problem of the Colour-Line,—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

The dictionaries define man as a rational creature possessing a strong social instinct. Strong though the social instinct unquestionably is in man, it has not as yet developed in him so fully as to take within its colossal, cohesive grasp the various races of the entire human-fold. So far it has manifested itself only within the narrow limits of certain stray groups and divisions of men. Even here it has succeeded only by developing its opposite—that is, by creating an impulse contrary to its own. To put it in plain terms, it has succeeded in maintaining its essential group cohesiveness among a particular aggregation of men by developing within that aggregation a strong feeling openly anti-social and hostile to other aggregations of men all over the world. For instance, the way the social instinct manifested itself among a group of men inhabiting the Grecian peninsula 2500 years ago was by creating in them a consciousness that made them feel a race apart and call the rest of humanity inhabiting Egypt, Asia Minor, India and Persia—"barbarians," though each of these groups of men possessed a civilisation as advanced and distinctive as their own. The Jews likewise considered their Twelve Tribes to be under the special watch and ward of Providence to which the rest of mankind, the Gentiles, could not lay claim. In a like manner, the followers of Christ, in their less enlightened days, believed that the whole human race was by Adam's fall condemned to sin and eternal death from which the Christians alone were redeemed by the precious life-blood of their Saviour.

This anti-social line of demarcation by which different groups of men from the beginning of time have differentiated them-

selves from their fellowkind, has assumed different names in different places at different periods of history. Sometimes it was called 'race-line,' at other times 'sex-line,' 'creed-line,' or 'class-line,' and now finally for the last half a century, it has been dubbed 'Colour-Line'. All those former lines of demarcation, dividing man from his fellow-man, have in the light of latter-day humanism proved themselves to be mere manifestations of human vanity and ignorance and so are now deservedly cast, by the best of our race, in that limbo of oblivion where rest undisturbed and harmless many of the past relics of barbarism. There is no reason, therefore, why generations hence the latest line of colour should not meet with an equally ignoble fate. More so as this colour-line which indiscriminately calls the inhabitants of Europe, Australasia and South and North America "White" and those of Asia and Africa "coloured" is purely arbitrary and fundamentally wrong.

In the first place, there really are no *white* people anywhere in the world except those of our unfortunate fellow-men who are afflicted with white leprosy. The rest of mankind, including even the fair-haired, blue-eyed Norwegians, are all without exception "coloured people," since they all have pigment-cells under their skin, though through the accident of being born in colder or hotter regions of the world the cells in one case are very lightly tinted, as in the other they are more deeply tinted. Again, the tint and shade of these pigment-cells in different races of men are so infinitely varied and so subtly graded that it is impossible to trace any definite line of demarcation anywhere except where the so-called "white" people of Europe, America and South Africa have arbitrarily laid it down. In fact, if any standard of colour were impartially fixed for dividing mankind into white and non-white, large sections of people living in Southern Europe, South America and South Africa—such as the Greeks, the Bulgarians, and the

Portuguese, the Brazilians, the Peruvians, and the Boers would positively come under the latter division, while equally large sections of people living in North Africa and Asia would rightly fall under the former division.

Even where the inexorable pressure of economics makes it imperative to cut up humanity into two mutually-exclusive sections of whites and non-whites, as the Dominion Premiers at the last Imperial Conference said was.....the case in British Colonies, let a juster mode of differentiation, judiciously discriminating and based on education and a well-attested standard of living be invented so that men in the higher walks of life, in the several learned and artistic professions and in the upper grades of industrial and commercial pursuits,—in fact, all men of culture and refinement—may enjoy equality of right to a life of free growth in any part of the world. Such a just and discriminating mode of differentiation will anyhow stem the much-feared 'Rising Tide of Colour' and help to

obliterate by degrees the crude and unconscionable Colour-Line which at present is slowly and stealthily dividing the world into two hostile canyons. Rightly does Mr. Basil Mathews say:—"The sheer force of facts drives in on us the conviction that no generation has ever been confronted by an issue so world-wide in its range and so decisive for good or ill for the future of man's life on the planet as the issue raised by the Clash of Colour. On a local scale, it is an ancient issue; but it is, *on a world scale*, a new problem confronting mankind as a whole. It must be solved by us in our generation." The problem is indeed a challenge to humanity. It ought not on that account to daunt the sons of men who have crossed uncharted seas and achieved a league of nations. On the contrary, the challenge ought to be readily and resolutely taken up with an unafraid heart and human brains pooled to devise means to quash once for all this growing incubus of Colour-Line.

THE ETERNAL PURITAN.

By DR. H. E. H. TRACY.

Those who study the light fiction of the day are dazzled by the success of the "Sheikh" school. A certain Miss or Mrs. Hull and followers have exploited a type of romance wherein a solemn, dark-eyed, clean-limbed, inscrutable, (and other adjectives which I have forgotten) hero bears the shrinking heroine into the recesses of the desert, a palpitating mass of anxieties and anticipations. The milk-white maiden gets so hopelessly compromised with the spare, lithe (here we are off again) son of the desert that a situation, unsound from a eugenic point of view, seems inevitable. But our minds are soon set at rest. Haroun Ibn Ali, the scourge of the desert, turns out to be Sir Tete de Veau, who left England on account of an ingrowing toenail, and all is well with the child.

This artless theme has brought pleasure to millions, and profit to authors, film producers and literary agents. But the success of this type of yarn, with what fictionists term the twist at the end, seems to have provoked imitators. And so we have a "Sheikh" school of politics. This is a production infinitely superior in its opportunities for whimsical humour, but has not been received with the applause it deserves. This, possibly, because the cost of production is borne, not by some speculative publisher or film company but by the tax-payer. It is a pity that this harassed individual cannot rise for a moment above the consideration of the pocket, and make up his mind to enjoy the spectacle now being unfolded, act by act, reel upon reel. The end is not yet

foreshadowed, and it is difficult to see how the Hull "twist" can be worked in. It may be that King Hussein will turn out to be G. B. Shaw in disguise, and the stately monarch of Iraq prove to be Heath Robinson in search of copy. These are merely guesses. The reels, already enlarged, are full enough of humour to satisfy any film fan.

It will be remembered that, during the late war, it was deemed advisable to protect the Suez Canal by clearing the Turk out of Palestine, or as we preferred to term it, the infidel out of the Holy Land. In performing this useful crusade, use was made of some local banditti, termed by courtesy Hussein's army. These, under the control of one Col. Lawrence, on whom Douglas Fairbanks "has nothing", performed some feats of train-wrecking and sabotage, which were duly filmed. The services of these yeggmen were rewarded with millions of British sovereigns. An ample recompense when one remembers that the services of a first-class assassin in these parts can be obtained for some seventy Turkish liras. I have never been charged more than this, even when the cost of living was at its highest.

But the matter did not end there. Had it done so, the best and most humorous part of the play would never have been seen. In the midst of the welter of mandates and visions of a new Zion emerged a promise and an aspiration that Great Britain would set up and unite a confederacy of Arab states.

A truly gorgeous idea. The remainder of the Allies were not so enthusiastic about it. Possibly this may be due to the fact that the first great Pan-Mohammedan spasm overflowed into most European countries.

However England is surrounded by water, and therefore safe from Arab invasion, and the good work was proceeded with.

The Holy Land being delivered from the infidel, the free-thinking Turk was to be divided up in some intricate fashion between the hundred per cent. Moslem Arab and the descendants of the stage managers of the Crucifixion.

Further East Mesopotamia was to be taken in hand. The old name, dating from centuries before Mohammed launched his unitarian slogan, was to be changed to one vouched for by the Pan-Arab experts as genuine and possessing the advantage of being easily confused with the Oriental name of Persia (Iran).

Pan-Arab enthusiasts held sway. Col. Lawrence and Miss Gertrude Bell, that faithful study of a character in *Eothen*, preached the Gospel that all true culture had belonged to Arabia and with the expulsion of the damping Turk would settle there again. One thing was to be remembered, that in all things, brown was greater than white.

And so the scheme proceeded. The puppet Kings were all installed, and all seemed set fair for the revival of the spacious days of Haroun ar Raschid. But then appeared the joker in the pack, the nigger in the fence, (this last is but a metaphor). Ibn Saud, the prince of the Wahhabis, did not approve of the new Entente. Living between these monarchs, he deplored the passing of the good old days when it was a pleasing endeavour of father and son to cut each other's throats.

Now Ibn Saud had a straight part. He was the hero of the desert, filling all the Hull requirements. He and his warriors were the real Mohammedans of the text books. Fanatical, warlike, and puritanical, they believed in a hell for all infidels, and helped all and sundry on their path thither. They believed in and followed the precepts of the Koran, a contrast to the neighbouring Moslems. Within the Kingdom of Nejd tobacco and strong liquors were banned. Salvation had to be sought in dying for the faith and the Wahhabi went into battle with a signed pass to the door-keeper of Paradise tied to his wrist.

Ibn Saud had not taken his place in the public eye. He had not attended Versailles in flowing *abba* and *cheffyiah*, accompanied by an English impressario similarly adorned. British dealings with him had been on pre-war lines, a mission, a subsidy, and the appointment of a political officer.

The subsidy had been the subject of comment in Parliament. It needed no defence. For some £60,000 a year Ibn Saud undertook not to attack the infant state of Iraq. As this latter state has many times the population of Nejd, and was, at the time of the arrangement, stiff with British troops, it looked like another unnecessary outpouring of money. But Ibn Saud had the rare gift, for an Arab, of knowing his own mind. This qualification always demands respect, and the yearly cost of a battalion was well spent in settling the problem. These bribes to good behaviour are a necessity in eastern politics, when frontiers are pressed

between warlike peoples. As we have dropped into the metaphors of the theatre, we may compare them to the blackmail levied by certain orchestras, on receipt of which they undertake not to queer the leading artiste's pitch.

But money means little to a desert Arab. As a means to buy ammunition it is necessary. But it will not dim his watchfulness. Dog will not only eat dog, but prefer dog in the sun-scorched plains. Ibn Saud would never feel safe while Hussein, Abdalla and Feisal built up their strength.

In 1922, when the Anglo-Iraq treaty was hanging in the balance, he rattled the sabre. It was an affair of outposts only. A dispute over some grazing lands. But the thunder of his hooves could be discerned in the Grand Bazaars of Baghdad.

Busrah, within a few hours ride, was tranquil. The more cosmopolitan outlook of a sea-port told the Basrawi that Ibn Saud would never shatter his understanding with England.

But in Baghdad the possibilities of a fresh virile foe striking without let or hindrance from the great power, whose advances were being flouted, caused fear to stalk in the bazaars.

I was walking home to lunch and nodded to some acquaintances, two Arab carpet merchants and their Jew runner. They beckoned me into their little Khan. I entered, to see what treasures they had unearthed and proposed to unload on me. But after the usual cup of muddy coffee, I found that trade had no interest for them. In vain I asked to see their latest importations. Not a word of business would they utter. After a long pause one asked:

"Sir, if the treaty is not signed, will the British troops leave Baghdad?"

I had no idea of the correct answer, but stated firmly that no doubt they would. That the British Government did not approve of their troops being left in certain cities, where they were certain to become the prey of rascally dealers.

The Jew politely said he liked the British. They spent much money. But, he added pensively, not so much as formerly.

This gave a further opportunity. I enlarged on the fact that the dealers of Baghdad were being found out. This was badinage which should have been received with polite grins from my old friends, but it did not seem to go

as well as usual. Their faces grew longer. They pulled out a local newspaper.

The vernacular press of those days was typical of the city. Scarcely one but had to be suppressed at intervals. To retain their public, it was necessary to be seditious. A falling circulation would soon spur the editor into over-reaching himself. Result, a visit from the police, a bayonet guard over the offices, and the appearance of a new paper from a new office on the following day.

I asked my friends to read the news. There were two items, one was that the treaty was hanging fire, and that the editor hoped to see the back of the last British soldier in a very short time. This was bad enough for the dealers. The next item was that Ibn Saud was contemplating a sweep on Baghdad. This of course was entirely false, but good enough for the stop press. My friend desired to know the ultimate results as regards the Grand Bazaars.

I gave it, as my firm and considered opinion, that the throats of every merchant would be cut and their goods looted. I drew a pretty picture of the dusty thoroughfare on which we were looking, running with blood whilst the flaming Khans roared and crackled.

The dealer asked, "Would the British do nothing?" I reflected "No, I think not. We should have had enough of you. I, of course, would be sorry to hear about it. I should be sitting in England and would say to a friend, 'Here's one of old Mustapha's carpets. He was a terrible old thief, but I rather liked him. Anyhow he's dead now, I expect. I wonder what the bazaar looks like to-day. I expect Ibn Saud has made rather a mess of it!'"

At this point I stopped for breath. The small Arab boy, who pulled the punkah, had caught the drift of the conversation and stopped his work. The Jew rebuked him and voiced his own anxieties. "How would it fare with the chosen people?"

Now although I had many good friends among the Jews, the sleek and oily runner of the bazaars was my pet aversion. He was a trying and expensive cog in the mechanism of bargain driving. "My good fellow, if the Buddoos kill Arabs, what chance has a Jew got? I'll bet any money there would not be a Jewish throat uncut between here and the South gate."

And so on. A splendid chance to hold forth on the results of ingratitude. I was late for lunch so left the miserable trio to their

thoughts. I verily believe that the contents of their shop could have been bought for a song within the next hour or two. By the next day other canards displaced the Ibn Saud fable, and the bazaar breathed again.

It is perhaps unfair to laugh at the fear inspired by this distant chieftain in the city of the Caliphs. It is little over a hundred years since the name of Napoleon was whispered with paling lips in the villages of England.

And now Ibn Saud is in virtual possession of Mecca. Whether he will raze the temples and lift the offerings, as did his predecessor at Medina is uncertain. He occasionally develops modern ideas, although a foe to compromise.

But the thought occurs that possibly the producers of the Sheikh Comedy have made a great mistake in according too small a part to the one capable and straightforward actor.

THE APPRECIATION OF ART.

By MR. G. E. FUSSELL.

Too often and too readily in modern times the creative artist is accused of introspection. The term is made damnable, and the artist is the more condemned, since what he discovers by his method is not invariably pleasing, nor does it bring him any particular happiness. These artists, who are so despised for their imagined perversion of method, are really following their intuitions, and it is hardly credible that artistic intuitions could be wrongly directed. Too many and multiform beauties have been produced therefrom for such an allowance to be made. "Artists," it has been said, "cannot seriously pursue happiness, because its components are not the components of beauty, and, being in love with beauty, they neglect and despise the unæsthetic social virtues in the operation of which happiness is found. On the other hand those who pursue happiness conceived merely in the abstract and conventional terms, such as money, success, or respectability, often miss that real and fundamental part of happiness which flows from the senses and imagination. This element is what aesthetics supplies to life; for beauty also can be a cause and factor of happiness. Yet the happiness of loving beauty is either too sensuous to be stable, or else too ultimate, too sacramental, to be accounted happiness by the worldly mind."

The Worldly Mind.

Consequently the condemnation is made. The worldly mind, absorbed as it is in so-called strictly practical affairs, observes that the pleasures of beauty are sensuous, that the artist and the art appreciator is emotional, that he is often not happy, and believes it has every apparent and obvious justification for its lack of interest. The practical man is alive to the obvious, but only rarely to the subtle. He readily understands the conventional use of a traditional, or, shall we say, proverbial use of words. He does not wish to penetrate beneath the surface of things nor to understand their realities. The worldly person does not care for subjective thought. All his interests are objective, and he fails to discover that the objective beauty, of which the artist preaches so complete a gospel, is not so much in the nature of the object as in the mind of the percipient. And living, as he does in an objective world, trusting his senses only so far as they guide him in his relations with his objective environment, and finding that his worldly aims are facilitated by that trust, he comes to distrust any effluxions of a subjective or introspective nature.

"Man has a prejudice against himself, any-

thing which is a product of his mind seems to him to be unreal or comparatively insignificant."

To such a worldly person it is incredible that, while his senses give him his acquaintance with the external objective, all his conceptions of the world are ideal; they are subjective minima, obtained by sensual contacts, and generalised from the continuous experience of such sensual contacts. While ready enough to admit the known difference of appearance, which artists portraying the same subjects, depict, are sufficient evidence of the truth that there can be no external existence, if there is no sense upon which it can impinge, he obscurely fears such a line of reasoning. He therefore turns to science for a classification of his impressions, relegating art to a secondary, even remote place, and neglecting, for his utterly practical purposes, its kinship and kindness to life. The artist, also, when he desires information, catalogued normal sensations, is obliged to appeal to science, which will supply the precise information required, because its object is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, but when he desires to exercise his art, he does not seek to supply the scientific truth. Rather does he seek to produce a record of the impressions made upon him by certain circumstances or events, so that these impressions can be transferred to another mind, which possibly, almost certainly, has received precisely those impressions itself. In that way "art is the response to the demand for entertainment, for the stimulation of the senses and imagination, and truth enters into it only as it subserves these ends."

Although it is necessary to make these definite statements, and to use these definite terms, by which certain things are understood, it is well to recall that absolute truth has yet to be defined. Information of the normal catalogued sensation type, known and realised as science, is, in fine, only an approximation to truth in the absolute. The truth defined by science is that of the relation of sense impressions received from material things, but art, by its function of yielding new experience, of creating a fresh impression, which may become normal, affords a new truth, and extends, by so much, the scientific truth of the normal catalogued impressions already common to the mass of the people. The pleasure resulting from a new impression may not be implicit in that experience, but as the new impression becomes customary, it will, at least,

afford the pleasure of use and wont. For a time, however, it is possible, nay probable, that it may be controverted as untrue, and that is the sense, in which it should be understood that truth only subserves the ends of art: it is obvious that art presents a varying degree of truth, according to the quality of experience of the observer, and in the view of the worldly man, who is only really quick to understand the conventional use of words, it will be less like the truth of his customary experience than the tokens and symbols of his trade.

The use of Imagination.

The practical man is not prepared for that lack of "absolute truth" as he understands it. He cannot acknowledge the reality of the relative truth that art provides, because it lies outside his experience. He finds a purely sensual satisfaction in the unintellectual appeal to his senses of eating, drinking, and the satisfaction of sex hunger. So profound and precise are these satisfactions that he is at least disinclined to make any effort to appreciate the delicate shades of beauty, and consequent sensual stimulus provided by art. Such an one is always tempted to condemn art, because it does not possess scientific precision of presentation, since the cultivation of the senses alone is bound to betray the imagination. At the same time it is out of the cruder sense satisfactions that æsthetic appreciation is born. While an excessive devotion to sense is bound to betray the imagination, simply because it grows by what it feeds upon, and creates continuous cravings for increasingly gross satisfactions, there is another side to this kind of experience. With repetition it ceases to attract, and the individual must exercise his imagination to colour the real and material side of life with the orderliness and stateliness of beauty which is art. On the one hand there is a tendency to develop sensuality for its own sake; on the other there is a tendency to etherealise sensuality into art. The first example becomes a *roué*, the second an artist, so closely are the best and worst of men allied. But the attempt to create an orderly cosmos, similar to the processes of mind, has done something else. In the more practical minds, it has developed the orderliness of modern science, an imaginative, ideal organisation, just as much a piece of bravura as the majority of works of art. Unfortunately in a scientific age, the artist is not able to avoid a

certain scientific bias, and consequently,

"many half trained observers condemn the work of some naive and fanciful masters with a sneer, because, as they truly say, it is out of drawing..... But fidelity is a merit because it is a factor of our pleasure. It stands on a level with all the other ingredients of effect. When a man raises it to a solitary pre-eminence and becomes incapable of appreciating anything else, he betrays the decay of the æsthetic capacity. The scientific habit in him inhibits the æsthetic."

Such inhibition betrays not only the decay of the æsthetic habit; it betrays also the inaptitude of sense impression. It betrays that in some way the imagination has been dulled, that no longer can the observer undertake the intellectual labour of gathering pleasure from the suggestion of the artist, the pleasure which arises out of the ability to adapt the artistic product to the mind, to obtain some idea of the creative impulse, and to reincarnate that impulse.

and Art.

But the scientific impulse in the modern mind does not of necessity completely inhibit the æsthetic sense. If that were so, the two sides of the modern mind would be nugatory, and the artist could have no science, while the scientist could appreciate no art. It is common knowledge that, although to some extent the two phases are mutually exclusive, no artist to-day could develop his art by imagination alone, and a scientist, who did not possess a certain quality of æsthetic imagination, could not hope to do any constructive research work. The artist must gain his precise knowledge from science, and, at the same time, preserve in its entirety his æsthetic sense, while such a mental condition is no less necessary to the percipient and appreciator of beauty.

Precise scientific knowledge, pleasurable and informative as it is, can be shown to have a certain æsthetic quality, if only for its exact symbolism, which enables it to be transferred from one mind to another without being changed in any degree. No æsthetic pleasure can be similarly enjoyed by two separate individuals. One will be affected by a blindness not shared by the other, or one will relate the artistic suggestion more closely to his other

æsthetic experiences, and so gain very much more from the object of beauty. In the mind of a due appercipient it is not possible for the slight æsthetic quality of science ever to compete with the absolute æsthetic quality of art, which makes so complete a vision for him. Thus it comes to be said that,

"to feel beauty is a better thing than to come to understand how we feel it. To have imagination and taste, to love the best, to be carried away by the contemplation of nature to a vivid faith in the ideal, all this is more, a great deal more than any science can hope to be. The poets and philosophers who express the æsthetic experience and stimulate the same function in us by their example do a greater service to mankind and deserve higher honour than the discoverers of historical truth".

The Use of the Senses.

The modern æsthete, however, has the temerity, arising out of his inevitably semi-scientific mind, to desire to know how he comes to feel the pulsing pleasure of the observation of beauty. And so strong is this desire that he is willing to take the risk of dimming the lustrous exhilaration of his emotional stimulus by beauty, if he can in some measure understand. That is one part of the quality of introspection in modern artists, which is so strongly condemned, and which is not so inexplicable as it appears to the casual view. The artist wants not only to know the perfection of his art—his curiosity leads him much further than that—but also,

"what elements of his nature make him sensible of beauty, and what is the relation between the constitution of the object, and the excitement of his susceptibility".

It is found that æsthetic quality depends upon pleasure, and, although utility does play a part in the production of that pleasure, it is rather the outcome of the secondary and continuous experience of the particular form of utility than of pleasure immediate upon perception. Beauty is something that gives satisfaction to a natural function, to some fundamental need or capacity of the human mind. It is therefore a positive value that is intrinsic; it is a pleasure. And it is perhaps the least selfish pleasure that is possible. It does not

necessarily arouse the desire for possession. Only in very exceptional cases does the perception of beauty arouse that desire. It is sufficient gratification for the percipient of beauty to realise the pleasure he experiences as a consequence of his sensual contact with the object arousing his æsthetic emotion.

This sensual contact can be made by any of the discriminating senses to which sensible beauty—there can be no material beauty which is insensible, for it would be unknowable—appeals. "Visible objects", for instance, "are nothing but possibilities of sensation", and the pleasure that they give falls under the significant heading of lust of the eye. But that pleasure cannot be obtained in its full measure without discrimination, without a guarding of the attention lest it should, when examining more closely the objectivity of the stimulus to emotion subsequent to the primal percept in its wholeness of beauty, detect some incongruity, possibly external to the object, which will change the quality of the pleasure. The attention must give itself up to the sensation, it must yield itself to the immediately emotional object, and concentrate itself in order to secure the effect which is prepared for it, and which it can only appreciate or depreciate itself. It is seldom that the percipient and the performer can meet together. They are individuals, and there must be disparity between the effect the artist desired to produce, and that which it is possible for the percipient to obtain, for such is a fundamental necessity of their separate being.

The impossibility of the artist ever being able to produce the effect in the observer that he obtained when an object or experience inspired him to the creative act is directly parallel to the impossibility of two artists being able to produce directly similar impressions of a given experience. The slight but quite definite variations in the observational experience of each individual man or woman trains the senses to receive each new impression in a particular way, or rather, to give them a memory qualification when passing them through the senses to the mind. The qualifying effects of the remembered experiences, although those may be dormant in the region of the subconscious, form the variation between the impressions, which any given experience makes upon different people. Just as two artists cannot depict the experience in precisely the

same terms, the artist cannot transmit his vision completely to the appreciator. All that the artist can do is to provide a medium through which some part of his vision, more or less complete according to the development of the sense activity and acuteness of the individual, may be transmitted to that individual.

It is remarkable that no one has ever spoken of the lust of the ear. That organ is so constituted that it cannot directly carry to the brain, except by words, specific and definite intellectual quality. The shriek of distress gives rise not only to sympathetic pain and the desire to help, but also to a curiosity, which desires to observe visually the suffering. The ear is, however, the best example of the kind of particularised attention, which it is necessary for a devoted percipient of beauty to attain.

"Since a note is heard only when a set of regular vibrations can be discriminated in the chaos of sound, it appears that the perception and value of this artistic element depends upon abstraction, on the omission from the field of attention of all the *accents* which do not conform to law. But if this were . . . principle at work, there would be no music more beautiful than the note of a tuning fork. Such sounds, although delightful perhaps to a child, are soon tedious. The principle of purity must make some compromise with another principle, which may be called that of interest. The object must have sufficient variety and expression to hold our attention for a while, and to stir our nature widely".

The Fabric of Beauty.

The discriminated note is the fabric or groundwork of all the infinite emotional suggestions of music. By its variations of time and tone, its combination with other notes, is the whole quality of beautiful music obtained. Each of the arts has this fabric or material of beauty, and it is by the beauty of the fabric that the æsthetic sense is first aroused. This is the basis of all more developed beauty "both in the object whose form and meaning have to be lodged in something sensible, and in the mind, where sensuous ideas, being the first to emerge, are the first which can arouse delight."

It is, so to speak, by the reaction of sensuous ideas upon the beauty of material, that the æsthetic sense first comes into prominence. A fabric of beauty, it may be a note of music, a verse of poetry that is pure rhythm, a piece of external beauty is of more value than the delightful cloth or wood, or any other of the thousand and one precious materials, which first impinges with sufficient force upon the senses to arouse the feeling of 'pleasure by which beauty is born (perceived) and lives (is appreciated). The next contact with that fabric causes not only its naturally consequent thrill, but the antecedent thrill of pleasurable anticipation, and by virtue of continued experience it obtains, in the mentality registering these sensations, a new and spiritual or ideal significance. Just in that way are ideals formed. They glow incandescently in the mind after continued experience of pleasure, and they become symbolic, spiritually indicative and suggestive of other joys nascent in other fabrics. Out of such ideal conceptions springs not only the humanity of æsthetics, but their growth in the mind is the process of the formation of the totality of human theory.

"The whole machinery of our intelligence, our general ideas and laws, fixed and external ideas and laws, principles, persons and gods, are so many symbolic, algebraic expressions. They stand for experience; experience which we are incapable of retaining and surveying in its multitudinous immediacy. We should flounder hopelessly, like the animals, did we not keep ourselves afloat, and direct our course by these intellectual devices. Theory helps us to bear our ignorance of facts."

The Expectancy of Beauty.

This process of symbolising by means of artistic expression, or by the apparently ordered sequence of scientific investigation, is how man tries to explain himself and his environment to himself. The awakening of the mind to beauty naturally yields a wider significance to life, something in the same way as the extension of scientific knowledge does, but both these processes lead to a dissatisfaction with the appearances we have agreed to call reality. Out of the appreciation of art is born a diminution of pleasure in the tangible and

primary sensual contacts. The limitations of the material, and the ordered knowledge of the material, which is called science, leads to the belief in some supranormal well-being that exists just beyond the gamut of sense-perception. And in the artist or artistic is an awareness of the possibility of satisfaction, more complete than he has ever experienced, could it only be pursued and overtaken. The sense of awareness is the most valuable of the mental excitations that follow the development of the appreciation of art, and so it is, that with many people in these modern days, the infinite suggestion of external beauty is of more value than the precise symbolic ideal. They do not obtain from an æsthetic value any precise symbol, and this is most frequently so with music. The beauty of that art does not always, except in the case of the esoteric few, appeal tangibly to the perceptive organisation of the senses. It does not suggest anything definite. A general relaxation of the attention takes place rather than its concentration, and the stimulus of tonal beauty is such as to excite a sort of extracorporeal sense of well-being, and a flow of delicious thought, which may possibly be suggested in part by the tonal representation of emotion, but which is far more likely to be a distilled part of the previously experienced æsthetic satisfaction of the listener. This quality of music, which is really inherent in that most indefinite of all the æsthetic media, is often found in other branches of modern art, and is what makes the work of the critics so very difficult, accounting very largely for the discrepancies in their judgments of a given creation.

"The indeterminate in form is also indeterminate in value. It needs completion by the mind of the observer, and as this completion differs, the value of the result must vary. An indeterminate is therefore beautiful to him, who can make it so, and ugly to him who cannot."

The modern artist, being also one of these modern people, and influenced by precisely those things by which less creative individuals are influenced, cannot fail to feel a liking for the power of suggestion contained in indefinite art.

Modern people have become possessed of analytic (scientific) and synthetic (æsthetic) minds, not precise, except when devoted to a

specific piece of scientific observation, and quite indeterminate in the use of these functions. They want to find more in the artist's work than appears at first gaze, but they do not desire to be driven down a straight road to an acknowledged truth. They prefer to wander at will through the gaps in the hedgerows, and to return to the road at some other point, after wonderful, delightful, charming experiences. And the artists being of the people naturally wish to provide opportunity for this discursive rumination. That the result of this attitude of mind is not always happy is not the fault of the artist any more than it is of the percipient.

Form, Conventional and Imaginary.

At the same time certain definite forms are accepted by modern people as beautiful just as they were by those who established them, and, unhappy as it is to mention the word conventional in connexion with art, it is by their conventionality that these forms make their appeal.

"Determinate forms establish themselves and the eye becomes accustomed to them. The line of use, by habit of apperception becomes the line of beauty. A striking example may be found in the pediment of the Greek temple, and the gable of the Northern house. The exigencies of climate determine these forms differently, but the eye in each case accepts what utility imposes. We admire height in the one and breadth in the other, and we soon find the steep pediment heavy, and the low gable awkward and mean".

In the arts which are not directed to strict utility it is not possible to create definite forms of beauty. In verse the number of metres and stanzas used is infinite in its possibilities of combination, and it is something quite other than the conventionality of their form which makes for beauty. Technically a sonnet may be perfect; yet it may make no æsthetic appeal. Similarly with music and painting it is impossible to name one style that is beautiful on account of form alone. These arts are such that they must have something more than form to recommend them, and that something is supplied by the psychologic reaction of the observer to their beauty. It is something which he must be prepared to supply in the observing,

almost, or quite, as much as the artist must be prepared to supply it in the creation. The attempt to conventionalise beauty in these arts is doomed to failure, but in a manner it has been made again and again, and its lack of success is palpable. The result is bound to be unhappy. Too many divergent factors are at work.

"Only the extreme of impressionism tries to give upon canvas one absolutely momentary view; the result is that when the beholder has himself actually been struck by that aspect, the picture has an extraordinary force and value—like the vivid power of recalling the past, possessed by smell. But on the other hand such a work is empty and trivial in the extreme; it is a photograph of a detached impression, not followed as it would be in nature, by many variations of itself. An object so unusual is often unrecognisable if the vision so unnaturally isolated has never happened to come vividly to our own experience".

One quality of the human mind cannot, however, be limited in that way. Imagination dealing with purely mystical forms does not attempt to reproduce anything that has been sensible. It is not by virtue of experience of the material objective world that the justice of a work of imaginative art may be weighed. But as all notions of art are based upon the actual, it is not possible for the purely imaginary to be of mind only.

"Imaginary forms differ in dignity and beauty not according to their closeness to fact or type in nature, but according to the ease with which the normal imagination reproduces the synthesis they contain".

Art and Reality.

By virtue of the normal imagination beauty in imaginary form may thus be held to exist. Just in the same way beauty, *ipso facto*, exists. Nature is the foundation of objective beauty. It is a dubious point whether the beauty actually exists unperceived through its life external to the percept of mind, or whether the quality of æsthetic beauty is implanted in nature by the observer. Santayana has apparently little doubt on this point.

"The beauty is, in nature," he says, "a result of the functional adaptation of our senses and imagination to the mechanical products of our environment. This adaptation is never complete, and there is, accordingly, room for the fine arts, in which beauty is a result of the intentional adaptation of mechanical forms to the functions which our senses and imagination have already acquired. This watchful subservience to our aesthetic demands is the essence of fine art. Nature is the basis, but man is the goal."

That is tantamount to saying that the perception of beauty arises out of man's inability to observe precisely his environment; that the arts are indeed but a substitute for inexactitude. And moreover it explicitly states that the appreciation of beauty grows out of customary forms. What has become customary is appreciated. This is a dangerous and dubious philosophy. It is so easy to become accustomed to things that have no beauty, but, of course, that is a deadening influence, contradictory to the enlivening, which follows the appreciation of customary forms, when that form is determined by utility, and there enters into the statement also the claim for pleasure. Pleasure rises out of that sense of having accomplished, or of observing the accomplishment of, a new reality, more comprehensive than the reality experienced before. It is a result of that more complete understanding of environment, to which all art (and science) is directed, and is never able to achieve. Art has been said to be an expression of disappointment; an attempt to create something, which will act as a function of mind to overcome man's inability to get at immediate odds with the material, to observe it precisely.

But it is possible that this very lack of precision in observation is necessary to give play to the imagination, by means of which man has, to a limited extent, adapted himself to his environment, and that the play of the imagination is the source of all pleasure. It is certainly by the pleasurable emotion resulting from the contemplation of an aesthetic object that the value of that object primarily exists.

"If pleasure fails the very substance and protoplasm of beauty is wanting. Nor is even the pleasure enough; for

I may receive a letter full of the most joyous news, but neither the paper, nor the writing, nor the style need seem beautiful to me. Not until I confound the impressions, and suffuse the symbols themselves with the emotions they arouse, and find joy and sweetness in the very words I hear, will the expressiveness constitute a beauty."

The quality of pleasure derived from art is not necessarily limited. It may be realised through pain. All beauty is very close to tears. There is a calm emotion that is derived from an aesthetic effect, which is so far unanalysable, but which nevertheless can only be expressed as pleasure. Sometimes it has been said, mistakenly, that aesthetics have some relation to moral excellence. The inability fully to express the emotion gained from art by the one word pleasure is what has led to this erroneous belief. The emotion is pleasure obtained from the transmutation of experience to a higher plane, not necessarily a more moral plane, but essentially a sensual, for the emotion can only be obtained through the medium of the senses, and is thus not concerned with morality at all. The most feeble art yields what may be called secondhand emotions; ideal art raises the emotions above the normal, and makes them more real than the firsthand. They become more closely akin to an understanding; they are leading to an actual contact with a reality more ordered and complete than nature, because it is a product of man's mind.

Beauty is thus stated to be a bridge across the chasm which separates the object from the subject. It is in the indescribable space between that beauty is born. No theory, evolved by man, can be perfect, because he cannot cross the chasm, and, in any case, a theory is but a relation between mind and matter. In the course of the formation of his theories, it is inevitable that man's widening experience should be a source of pleasure to him, and, since his experience is quite largely objective, he is obliged to collect a large number of details of form of both the determinate and indeterminate orders. The suggestions of form for other recollected forms are mentally the spring and fount of beauty of form, and similarly in other regions of the aesthetic.

"what constitutes the individual expressiveness of things is the circle of

thoughts allied to each in the given mind ; my words, for instance, express the thoughts they arouse in the mind of the reader ; they may express more to one man than to another, and to me they may have expressed more or less than they have expressed to you. My thoughts remain unexpressed if my words do not arouse them in you, and very likely your greater wisdom will find in what I say the manifestation of a thousand principles of which I never dreamed."

The Appeal to the Normal.

But always, and for ever, it is "beauty in the first term—beauty in sound, rhythm, image—that will make any thought whatever poetic, while no thought can be so without that immediate beauty of presentation." Not only must the full and detailed expression of the thought impinge directly upon the percipient mind, which must have been prepared by its previous experience for just that formulated thought, but it must make itself tactual to whichever of the senses is its medium of presentation to the mind, pleasantly, that is, beautifully. *Unless there has been in the lives of the creator of a work of art and the percipient a certain similarity of experience*, and a directly similar bias in the unconscious selection of details for mental retention, the object of beauty will not appeal to the senses of the observer as it did to those of the creator. It is indeed not so much what has been made, as just how it is

likely to appeal to those to whom it is sensible, that constitutes the beauty of an object, and, since the latter quality is a quality of mind of the percipient, "the aesthetic effect of objects is always due to the total emotional value of the consciousness in which they exist. We merely attribute this value to the object by a projection, which is the ground of the apparent objectivity of beauty."

For the existence of beauty it is therefore natural that the majority of mankind, in any given position in space and time, should largely spend their lives in the accumulation of similar experience. The individual variations from the normal of that time are slight, but sufficiently definite to ensure that very little of true worth in æsthetics, as well as the more immediate realm of practical work, can pass without some attention.

"There is a broad foundation of identity in our nature by virtue of which we live in a common world, and have an art and a religion in common. That the ideal should be constant within these limits is as inevitable as that it should vary beyond them."

Those who appeal to this broad foundation of identity produce beauty which cannot fail to give pleasure. It may not perhaps be considered so beautiful as some of the more complete variations from the normal would have the world believe their productions, but finally it is by its appeal to the normal, the broad foundation of identity in creator and percipient, who together make up humanity, that art must fulfil its function.

THE POPULATION OF INDIA.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

I

By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

To the serious student of Economics, the Population of India offers certain bewildering aspects. The highest birth-rate, side by side

with the highest death-rate, the slow rate of growth, as compared with the leading countries of Europe, the irregular and almost quixotic movements of population, the highest rate of infant mortality, the fall in the proportion of females, the "parallelism between the growth of

population and the extension of food cultivation" accompanied by high prices, are only some among others of a perplexing character.

The orthodox Economist is confronted with the question, whether the Malthusian doctrine operates in India, whether the increase of population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence, whether this increase is an invariable accompaniment of the increased means of subsistence, in the absence of checks like moral restraint, vice and misery. It is well-known that the Malthusian doctrine came in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of his contemporaries and successors. Into the reasons for the popularity of the doctrine in some measure we need not enter, while at the same time, we can not close our eyes to the fact that after all, if the doctrine has been exaggerated by some, it has been distorted, misrepresented and denounced by many more. Need we add that the truth lies somewhere between extravagant appreciation on the one hand and loud denunciation on the other. The homage of writers like J. S. Mill, Rae, Robert Vohn Mohl was unstinted and the doctrine held the field in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Dr. Marshall, while admitting the validity in substance of the second and third steps of the Natural Law of Malthus observes "It remains true that unless the checks on the growth of population in force at the end of the 19th century are on the whole increased (they are certain to change their form in places that are yet imperfectly civilized) it will be impossible for the habits of comfort prevailing in Western Europe to spread themselves over the whole world and maintain for many hundred years". He ventured to calculate that the means of subsistence might be exhausted at the end of 200 years. Calculations of a similar kind have been made by other writers too, but it is doubtful whether they are of greater value than exercises in economic research. It is difficult, nay almost impossible, to estimate the supply of and demand for food in the world as a whole. If there has been an increase in the population of the leading European countries, there has been a decrease as well in the numbers dependent on agriculture and if the growth of Population were governed by the increased means of subsistence, the decrease in the numbers depending on agriculture was bound to spell disaster, but this decrease, far from being dreaded, has in some countries been wel-

comed. And why is it? The conditions in the European Countries at the time of Malthus, were quite different. They were in the agricultural stage, the growth of manufactures and the improved means of transport being still in the womb of the future. Much water has flowed under the bridge since those days. The development of facilities of communication and transport, the growth of Industries and Trade and the supply of food being governed by them, the movements of Population in the industrial countries of the West, have all tended to explode the Malthusian doctrine.

What is the position in India? Malthus himself admitted the operation in India of the preventive checks like moral restraint, caste and custom, but observed that since marriage was universal, the population (especially the lower classes) would be pressed hard against the limits of the means of subsistence and the food would be doled out in small quantities to the major part of the Population. Overpopulation was the cause of famine and disease (at least one of the pre-disposing causes or one of the contributory factors). Any wary student of Malthus, will agree that the positive checks were operative in India to adjust the growth of Population to the means of subsistence, disease being the principal agency of such adjustment.

While it must be conceded that the growth of Population might be limited by the means of subsistence, the question of questions—difficult in any country—is whether the population in India has exceeded the supply of food. Beyond the conclusion that "there was an almost precise parallelism between the growth of Population and the extension of food cultivation", the Government would not subscribe to any other inference in the absence of definite statistics relating to the area under cultivation, the area under food grains, the normal yield per acre and the percentage of the yearly out-turn to the normal. A comparison of the figures relating to the increase of acreage under cultivation, with the increase of Population during the last 30 years dating back from 1921, goes to establish, if anything, that the percentage of the area under food grains outgrew the increased percentage in Population, while a similar comparison of the figures of Production and Consumption, compels the inference that there has been a surplusage of Production over Consumption. The rise in prices of food grains

has been advanced by some, as proof conclusive of the decline in food supply, while others controvert the conclusiveness of such proofs, in view of the equally high, and in some cases higher, prices of non-food articles. The substitution of non-food for food crops, sought to be established by Mr. K. L. Datta, as one of the leading causes of the rise in foodstuffs has not been accepted by the Government. To whatever it might have been due, either singly to any one of the causes, or the conjoint operation of contributory factors, the fact is still there, the rapid growth of Population at certain periods followed by periods when it is stationary, and in general, the slow rate of growth in normal years as compared with Western Countries. The crowning irony of it all is that a country not only self-sufficient in the matter of food-supply, but also exporting it, can not bear the same increase as the food importing countries of the West. Neither climate, nor sanitation nor epidemics, can bear the brunt of the burden. The explanation lies elsewhere. As a renowned Professor remarks, "it lies in the poverty of the people, their lower standard of living and their general resourcelessness". The food-importing countries of the West buy their food from other countries (far above in addition to home Productions) by reason of their increased National Income and Wealth, a sequel to the growth of manufactures. Then our attention should be focussed on the National Income and Wealth of any country in relation to its population. The fear of Population being outstripped by the means of subsistence in this industrial age, is largely imaginary while the Malthusian doctrine stands a fair chance of being applicable and therefore, valid, if the stock, at present, of the world's food supply as a whole, can be taken and if the possibility of its running out at some distant date in the future, can be precisely explored. The only conclusion is that the rate of increase of Population is dependent on economic conditions and that it is limited by the National Income and National Wealth. It is earnestly hoped that the Economic Enquiry Committee will address itself to this aspect, as it forms the pivot on which any economic investigation to be successful must turn.

National Income and Wealth.

The Malthusian doctrine is of doubtful validity in the case of any particular country.

if figures relating to National Income and Wealth are not taken into account. If statistics for the world supply of food as a whole were available and reliable and when the possibility of such supply falling short in the future could be explored with any amount of precision, then the theory may hold water. It inevitably follows that we cannot speak of "Over-Population" in the world.

Over-population in any particular country may be taken to be the tendency of the Population to outgrow National Income and Wealth, as a fall in the standard of living shows symptoms of the huge malady of Over-population. Again since this fall in the standard of living pushes the poorer and lower classes of Society lower and lower, towards the limits of the means of subsistence, it is these classes alone that are affected, while the richer classes are likely to become more and more prosperous, to the extent to which the lower classes suffer. The question of Over-population then involves an investigation not only of National Income and Wealth but also its distribution. Far from apprehending any decline in National Income and Wealth in India, we are still hoping for the dawn of a better and happier era, when the possibilities of agricultural and industrial progress can be discovered. In its unrestricted sense, no question of Over-population arises in India, though we must confess to a feeling of diffidence that population may not expand as quickly in the future as in the past, if our methods of production and Distribution of Wealth do not undergo any change for the better.

In the figures of the leading European Countries, we find a striking parallelism between the growth of Population and the increase in National Income and Wealth, much as to warrant the inference that the one is to be explained by the other. The per capita income figures are £50, £72, £30, £38 for the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Germany and France respectively in 1914, while the per capita income in India shows an increase from Rs. 30 in 1901 to Rs. 116 in 1922 (according to Mr. Findlay Shirras), letting alone the other estimates which point to a lower figure. It must be admitted however that income, as measured in money, has increased and it may still be that the income of particular classes—and that, the important classes—has

not increased really. We do not seek to deny the value of averages for purposes of instituting international comparison and we ask at the same time, whether any idea of the income of certain classes of communities, does not carry us further, as it is bound to be of greater value. The results obtained by methods of arriving at the per capita income, may be supplemented by efforts to get at the income of particular classes of communities. For that matter, the per capita income in certain selected urban areas, may be compared with that in rural areas, different industries may be examined, in short, what is called, an intensive study of typical areas.

Probably one may like to know what the net per capita income of the cultivators is, seeing that the majority of the people in India depend on agriculture and other allied callings. The figure of Rs. 69½ has been given and one cannot guarantee its precision and reliability, in the absence of figures relating to agricultural Production of all kinds, acreage under cultivation, the yield of crops the per capita income as rising or falling with prices and finally the net per capita income. An investigation of figures, reveals the larger and larger numbers in the ranks of cultivators, their increase often out-distancing the acreage under cultivation and we are face to face with an enormous evil, the fragmentation of agricultural holdings and hence, a decrease in per capita income. The result is we are confronted with this problem, viz., whether the per capita income, said to have increased, when measured in terms of money, has not really decreased, when larger and larger numbers turn out cultivators and sub-divide the holdings. I should think, that this is a question of sufficiently great importance as to engage the attention of the Economic Enquiry Committee. Certain other matters that may also be investigated are, whether the taxable capacity of the majority of the people has been exhausted, whether the potential resources of wealth can by any means be transformed into actual wealth in the near future, whether services can be included in National Wealth and what deductions should be made from gross income to arrive at the correct income. Much of the difficulty in connection with the problem of Population as dependent on National Income and Wealth, will be got over, if trustworthy conclusions can be drawn, on all the points raised above.

Population and Subsistence in India.

II.

By MR. C. N. ZUTSHI, M.R.A.S. (LONDON).

It is now more than a century since Malthus published his famous "Essay on the Principle of Population" in which he established the theory that in every country population tended to outrun the means of subsistence. He stated that population increased in geometrical progression while the means of subsistence increased in arithmetic progression and that such checks as wars, epidemics, famines and immorality only held in abeyance the danger of over-population. Malthus further argued that humanity would do well to restrict the growth of its numbers by having recourse to such social legislations as would be calculated to postpone the age of marriage and discourage improvident marriages; in other words he wanted people to voluntarily restrict the growth of population by Birth Control. It is needless to discuss whether Malthus was right, for, since he promulgated his theory, much water has flowed under the bridge, and time and experience have amply proved that although the exact mathematical data on which Malthus based his law may be misleading, his main contention is true. The industrial nations of Europe had long ago reached their maximum limit of population; and if they are able to support yet larger numbers, it is because of the industrial advance that they have made and the political power that they have acquired, which factors have given them an exclusive command over the surplus food products of other countries. Ultimately, therefore, the population which a country can support must be determined by its food producing capacity.

Applying these tests to India we find that the state of things in this country is quite different. India is mainly an agricultural country; she has to meet her requirements by agricultural produce. She must produce food-stuffs sufficient to feed her teeming millions. Her industrial development is practically nil by the side of Europe, and before she reaches that level of development in her industrial products, whereby she may be able to command the food-stuffs of other countries, she must face the problem of having to feed her own population exclusively by her own produce. Let us

have their hunger satisfied even once in the year." Howsoever the champions of British rule may try to deceive the people in India and outside India by gilding the pill this one solitary fact remains true, in the words of John Bright, who said; "If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country".

The advocates of Pax Britannica further maintain that there are still large tracts of fertile land in India, which, when brought under the plough, will add to the volume of foodstuffs and India will then be able to support a larger population. The following figures from the Agricultural Statistics of India 1921-22 may be quoted which tell their tale and may well form a basis for discussion on the contention of these euologists of British rule:

	Acres.
Area by Professional Survey in 1921-22 ...	666,619,000
Area according to village papers 1921-22 ..	663,508,000
Area under forest 1921-22	85,419,000
Area under culturable waste other than fallow	151,173,000
Area not available for cultivation	153,178,000
Area fallow land	50,554,000
Area shown (net)	223,184,000
Area irrigated	47,790,000
Area under food crops	215,508,000
Area under commercial crops	40,731,000

From these figures it is clear that one-third of the total area of the country is cultivated at all. Allowing for land not available for cultivation either because it is covered with forest or by roads, railways canals, etc., there is still a possibility of an equal area being available for cultivation. Taking the classic assumption underlying the Ricardian theory of rent to be true let us suppose that this additional area will yield $2/3$ of the produce yielded by an equal area already under cultivation. Thus $2/3$ of 76.0 million tons total produce quoted above will be equal to 50.6 million tons, and deducting 17.8 million tons, *i.e.* $2/3$ of the total deduction, 26.3 million tons, quoted above and even assuming that the export of 4.5 million tons will remain the same we will get the total increase in production of 32.8 million tons, *i.e.*

48.7 million tons plus 32.8 million tons equal to 81.1 million tons, net cereal supply in India against an equal number of tons of her cereal requirements. It is thus clear that India will then be able to just balance her produce and requirements with the present population. But what will happen when after the maximum limit of production has been reached and the population has increased which it is bound to? And then we must take into account the operation of the Law of Diminishing Returns, the effect of which would be to tend to decrease the volume of production. Thus even if we bring the whole of the area available under cultivation the problem of keeping the numbers within the means of subsistence will ever remain unsolved. Sir James Caird in his Report on the condition of India (dated October 31, 1879), said; "An exhausting agriculture and an increasing population must come to a dead-lock. No reduction of the assessment can be more than a postponement of the inevitable catastrophe." To this state of dead-lock India is slowly but surely drifting.

What then is the solution of the population and subsistence problem of India which is a very perplexing one? To my mind three things occur. Firstly that the Indian people should adopt such practices as may give them command over birth control. This means changing certain social customs, and I think, India can ill afford to do that, as social custom and religious sanction still remain a binding force in this country unparalleled elsewhere. Secondly, Home Rule, which will be the panacea of all economic injustices from which India has for so long been sorely afflicted. A Free India will be better able to cope with such problems by enacting laws to check the export of her foodstuffs which go to feed other nations abroad at the cost of bringing starvation upon her own people; and by making rapid strides towards industrial advance. Thirdly emigration on a large scale in countries which are not populated by anything like the number we have in India, will prove effectively useful in keeping numbers within the means of subsistence. But the champions of the White African and the White Australian policy who glory in reaping the benefit from the penalty which is paid by India, stand in the way. They fail to understand in their own small way that humanity is one and that there ought to be an equitable

distribution of material well-being among men of all races and creeds. This ought to be the aim of all human activity in the domain of economics. The business of the race is even more important than that of the Government, for on that depends the ultimate salvation of humanity: and the Government that does not care to mitigate the misery and reduce the poverty of the masses toiling under its rule has no claim to be called civilized. Considering

India's position in world politics the problem becomes a world problem—a world menace too. Unhappily the attention of our Indian leaders has been so much engrossed by political problems that they have relegated to social and economic matters almost a secondary position. Let the Indian leaders awake and bestir to solve this all important problem of population and subsistence upon which alone hangs the question of life and death for India.

SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF INDIAN ECONOMICS: A CRITIQUE.

By "AN INDIAN DISTRICT OFFICER."

A number of books has recently been published, especially in Bombay, dealing with the subject of Indian finance. It is in the fitness of things that the Bombay economists, with their peculiar mental outlook and *penchant* towards realities, should take up the practical side of Indian economics. We are, however, surprised to note that the realities of India's political status are not envisaged without the camouflage of political catchwords, and criticisms are passed on the alleged equity or otherwise of the financial transactions of the British Government in their dealings with this country. Indians have been objecting for over fifty years to the growing military expenditure, not infrequently fortified by quotations from the speeches of British politicians. It is futile to discuss whether expenditure on maintaining special dairies for the troops or on providing a number of spiritual advisers in the shape of military chaplains is justified or not, for all these details are only a part of the general problem. India is to a Britisher a dependency which is governed primarily in the interests of the ruling community and only secondly in the interests of the ruled: only in so far, in fact, as the latter do not conflict with the former. And the Indian army is, therefore, not only required to repel foreign aggression and to maintain internal peace and order, but is also meant to

be an army of occupation. If this truth is once realized, the criticism about maintaining a large number of foreign troops and virtually officering the army wholly with Europeans and keeping a considerable number of them in the more responsible services of the country, will lose much of its force; in so far as the criticism is based on the question of equity and fairness. The existing financial arrangements correspond to the political status of the country, and until that is raised, radical reforms cannot be effected in the financial machinery of the Government. Sir Basil Blackett—the Finance Member—recently wrote in the course of a foreword contributed by him to a treatise on Indian Economics lately published, that "it is essential that political and financial problems should be considered in separation, if there is to be clear thinking and right action in the financial sphere and due attention is to be paid to the inexorable laws which govern economical and financial practice." Such a course, howsoever desirable it may be, is impossible in dealing with Indian economic problems, for the maintenance of the ratio of one to two as regards the European and the Indian personnel of the army, the virtual exclusion of Indians from the commissioned ranks of the military forces of the country, and the existence of a majority of Englishmen in the various imperial services cannot be explained

on any economic or financial grounds. Similarly the relative proportion of expenditure on the army and education services and sanitation and so on will also remain unexplained, unless the exact status of India in the British Commonwealth is properly appreciated and constantly kept in mind. Though the first Indian Budget was presented to the Legislative Council on the 18th February, 1860, and though there have been important changes in the outward appearance of the financial machinery, the keynote that India is to be maintained as dependency in the British Empire still remains the dominant principle, controlling the financial administration of the country. There's the rub, do what we may or will. It is, therefore, that we emphasise that while it is an undoubted gain to eschew purely political matters from the consideration of economic problems, it is just as well to throw into relief the governing idea in the management of the material resources of the country, so that policies and actions which cannot and do not follow canons of political economy, may still be understood.

In his *Financial Developments in Modern India*—the book to which we have referred above—Mr. Vakil has produced a well-documented work surveying judiciously and in detail the financial history of this country from 1850 onwards. We entirely endorse his criticisms as regards the insufficiency and chaos of Indian statistics. The difficulty lies primarily in the difficulty of securing an adequately equipped agency to collect information and figures of accuracy to satisfy the requirements of modern science. The absence of trained economists in departments purely economic, industrial or financial, contributes to the confusion and unreliability of our statistics, the collection and interpretation of which are unfortunately left primarily to the subordinate staff. Our vital statistics are notoriously undependable and our figures of inland trade are practically incomprehensible. There is, however, one department in which the Indian Government is in a position to set an example to the world at large, and that is the singularly exhaustive and generally accurate information that it possesses about the rural statistics, dealing with the agricultural life of the villages in the shape of the patwari's papers, and other statements carefully prepared about the record of rights as the result of settlement and survey carried on by the revenue authorities.

To advert to another matter, we cannot understand why the purely academic question whether land revenue is a 'tax' or merely 'rent' has continued to evoke discussion among economists for the last three quarters of a century. The explanation probably is that our economists, as most of our educated men, are practically unfamiliar with the system of district administration, which is still the key to the understanding of the Indian political problems. And unfortunately it is precisely this working of the district machinery which is least understood and generally ignored in the study of the Indian constitution. Mr. Vakil is right in saying that the conception of state landlordism is still in fact acted upon by the Government. But then it is only a statement of fact which does not carry any implication as to its excellence or otherwise. It is not generally realized that India is still a country of feudalism and theoretical deductions are not always applicable to a society which does not function as the competitive communities of Europe and America. Lordlords in this country, especially the large ones, are primarily rent-farmers and no more; and consequently, whatever share of the unearned increment is left to them by the Government, does not go to the tenants or to the improvement of the soil. The condition of the peasantry in the provinces of Bengal and Behar, where the entire unearned increment is appropriated by the landlord is no better than, for instance, in the Provinces of Agra and Oudh, where the Government and landlords practically share it half and half. Every experienced District Officer knows that the crucial problem of agrarian India is not so much the poverty of the landlords as the rack-renting of the tenants and that it is not easy to devise means to protect the latter against the growing competition for land and the inevitable rise in rents, leaving only the barest margin of subsistence to the actual cultivator of the soil. It has been an unfortunate fashion since the days of the late Mr. Romesh Dutt to accuse the Government of over-assessing the land and hindering the agricultural development of the country, when really the responsibility has lain somewhere else altogether. The improvement of Indian agriculture is more in the hands of the landlords than of the State, and the latter has not always found it easy to work for progress in the face of vested interests. In our opinion a six months' probation with District Officers should be made a *sine qua non* for all

professors of Indian Economics. The verities of Indian economy are not always as portrayed in books, written generally by people ignorant of the actual administrative machinery of the Government and the real conditions of the villages. In a country so predominantly agricultural and with authoritarian traditions such as ours, the activities of the State impinge at innumerable points of the economic life of the people, and the experience of a single cold weather spent in intimate contact with the villagers will dispel a lot of obscurities which at present envelopes the study of agrarian problems. It is almost invariably forgotten by our text-book writers and professors that our economic life is dominated by considerations largely social, religious, communal and even political, to an extent unknown elsewhere in the civilized world. That is the crux of the problem and has got to be faced.

Another matter—Mr. Vakil ascribes the habit of hoarding to the lack of confidence in the stability of an alien Government. This, in our opinion, is altogether untenable. One of the foremost captains of industry in the Bombay presidency used to distribute a third of his savings in investments, a third in landed property and a third in jewellery; for, as he said, it is harder for even spendthrift scions of pluto-

cracy to sell family jewels and house property than to realize ordinary securities. The social life of the people is to a small extent responsible for the habit of hoarding. But the extent of this habit is in our opinion grossly exaggerated. The amount of silver and gold in the shape of ornaments and hoarded wealth would not greatly exceed, if at all, the quantity of the precious metals consumed in the 'Arts' in Europe. The undeveloped state of our industries and the absence of facilities for safe investments are also large factors to be reckoned with in explaining the fondness of the Indian for locking up money in silver and gold. These few points would bear out our contention that the study of Indian Economics has been hitherto largely uncritical, or rather descriptive and historical. It is time that Indian economists also tackled problems of abstruse theory, side by side with the consideration of practical questions of current interest and practical utility. Much has been done in recent years in placing the study of Indian Economics on a sound and rational footing. But very much more yet remains to be done. I venture to hope that the few discursive notes jotted down here would go some way in creating the right atmosphere for economic study in India.

THE POLITICS OF BALTIC STATES.

By PROF. BENAY KUMAR SARKAR.

The communist revolt in Estonia has served to furnish the international world with another of those political interludes with which the contemporary social experience of mankind has begun to be enriched owing to the activities of Soviet Russia. But otherwise the happenings in this little Baltic State and in its neighbours to the north and the south belong to the normal order of the universe such as has been created by the Great War. In one word these may be said to acquire their significance as aspects of the

larger problem of "small nationalities," "little states," new nations, buffer-states, etc.

FRENCH AND BRITISH SPHERES.

According to Rakowsky, representative of Soviet Russia in England, whose opinion has been recently published in papers the territories lying to the west of Russia, or in other words, situated, roughly speaking, between the Germanic and Russian lands, constitute either British or French sphere of influence. Poland

and Rumania are French while the Baltic States belong to the British sphere. The attitude of Russia in regard to these border lands depends primarily in the changes of her relations with France and Great Britain. This certainly is a clear-cut and precise statement in regard to all buffer-nations. Only, the position of Germany in the entire game remains untouched perhaps because as yet she happens to be an international non-entity.

RUSSIA'S REPLY TO THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

As long as Poincaré was in power the Soviets had hardly any hopes of coming to terms with France. So the main brunt of communistic propaganda had to be borne by the French "vassals," Poland and Rumania. But since Herriot has been at the head of the administration in Paris France has risen in Russian estimation, says the *Journal de Genève*, as the "mother of revolution."

In the mean time the labour ministry in Great Britain has been replaced by the conservatives who are threatening a diplomatic break with Russia. And this explains partly why all on a sudden one of the British vassals on the Baltic come to taste a bit of Russian energism. In diplomatic circles the Bolshevik activities in Esthonia are but a reply to the new British elections and indicate the manner in which Russia intends to behave with the British Empire should she be treated in the way in which Baldwin and Curzon intend to treat her.

THE BALTIC STATES AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

But not all is accounted for by considerations of diplomacy nor explained by the single term "buffer-state." The Baltic States form, geographically speaking, an indispensable part of Russia. An economic collaboration between the two is an absolute necessity. Occupying as they do the sea-coasts, Russia can hardly breathe without them. And without Russia, again the little littoral states can perish in a day for want of market and raw materials. Naturally enough, small as they are they fear the Russian avalanche more than Russia has reason to fear from their side.

ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The last few years have not been very favourable to the Baltic lands in an economic

way. Their political separation from Russia has destroyed the unity of the pre-war economic complex. Deprived of raw materials from Russia the Baltic industries have been compelled to work shorter hours and operate lesser hands. Certain factories have actually been closed. Workers in the textile and rubber line have often been out of employment. It is at great public expenditure that the government has sought to maintain the unemployed.

RIGA vs. REVAL.

All the Baltic States are not alike, however, although the economic and financial difficulties are experienced more or less by each one of them. Lettland, for instance, the state to the south of Esthonia, has been enjoying a prosperous world-trade at Riga. Previous to the war this Baltic port was the third great port of the Russian empire. As soon as the international conditions became somewhat normal Riga was able to resume a part of her old shipping and commercial traditions.

It has not been possible for Esthonia to rival her southern neighbour in this respect. As the first state to renounce diplomatic and commercial relations with Soviet Russia she attracted indeed some special attention from the great maritime powers. But her port Reval has failed in competition with Riga. So there is nothing in Esthonia to make up for her weaknesses.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

Add to this unemployment and general economic crisis the monetary difficulties which beset Esthonia. The currency question has indeed been a universal post-war problem. The Baltic States, little as they are, could not avoid it.

In this regard, however, Lettland and Lithuania have been a little lucky, for even without external aid these states have been able to establish the stability of their monies. But Esthonia has not succeeded in achieving the success of her southern neighbours. The financial reform attempted by the Esthonian Government has not borne fruit. Perhaps an appeal for assistance to the League of Nations is in contemplation.

But the fact remains that the finances have been unstable for quite a long time. Further, a permanent army of 15,000 men has to be maintained regularly out of the budget.

PARTIES IN ESTHONIA.

Each one of these items is serious in itself to create a political disturbance. And when certain elements in the public life are nurtured on communism or even on moderate doses of socialism a Bolshevik *coup d' état* is but a question of time.

In Esthonia, although containing not more than a tenth of the population of an ordinary Indian district there are as many political parties as anywhere else on earth. In order to be quite up to date one should say that there is the "right", there is the "left" and finally there is the inevitable "centre".

The present administration may be described as "centrist", that is, it satisfies, as usual under such circumstances, neither the "right" (conservatives) nor the "left" (socialists). The communists, of course, function outside of the group of socialists.

Now recently 137 of these communists have had to undergo some sort of a summary trial: One of them, a member of parliament has been executed, 6 women and 33 men have been condemned to life-long rigour, 28 to 15 years' imprisonment and 62 to various other terms. It appears that the case arose out of nothing more serious than the right of free thought and discussion. Hence the revolution at Reval.

DORPAT, THE UNIVERSITY-TOWN.

There are idyllic elements too in these Baltic lands. The garden-city of Dorpat in Esthonia is described by a German traveller as a Baltic Heidelberg. It is here that Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish "world-conqueror" of the seventeenth century, founded a university. Situated as it is on the Embach in the midst of hilly landscapes and dotted over with beautiful clinics and small institutes and laboratories the surroundings of Dorpat remind one of the German university-town of Jena, says a report in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. There is the observatory, there is the "national museum," there are the ruins of a cathedral, there are the characteristic wooden houses and there is the lively market-place. All the social features of an intellectual centre in Germany's *mofussil* seem to be quite in evidence.

A CULTURE-CENTRE OF "EASTERN EUROPE."

The city has population of 52,000. The students of the university number about 4,500.

Esthonian, Russian and German, these are the three languages one hears in the streets and lanes, and all the three are patronized in the schools.

Old Russia owes many of her statesmen and civil and military officers to the general education that radiated from this culture-centre. To-day also some of the prominent medical doctors and surgeons of that *terra incognita* known as "Eastern Europe" as well as several literary men of high reputation are proud to call themselves "old boys" of Dorpat.

THE NATIVE PARIAHS.

Under Czarist Russia, the civil and military authorities of these Baltic Provinces were indeed Russian by race. But the teaching staff of the schools and colleges used to be recruited from among the Germans. The clergy came from this latter class as well as the medical men. Even the expert artisans were mostly German and they preserve their social distinctiveness in and through the gilds.

There was hardly any room for the "natives," the Esthonian and the Letts, in their own land so far as the learned professions, higher services and the more lucrative occupations were concerned. They were pariahs in an empire of foreign might and culture.

GERMAN MINORITY.

In these regions the real ruler has been the Germans. It was the German *Zemindars*, who lorded it over the landed estates: The most important commercial undertakings were in the hands of German traders. And so far as literary, education and cultural tastes are concerned the indigenous Baltic population was way behind the minority of the Germanic race.

But both in Esthonia and Lettland the German "minority" was and continues to be infinitesimally small, almost non-existent, so to say, from the standpoint of number.

THE BALTIC CONSTITUTIONS.

It was because of the preponderance in wealth and learning, however, that the chauvinists of the late German Empire used to nurse and cultivate a so called "Baltic-problem" (*Baltentum*) in internal and foreign politics. To-day even the "nationalists" of Germany have learnt to take facts as they are, and although the German elements in the Baltic

states are bound to remain influential because of economic and cultural power their political importance as an "irredenta" is virtually nil. All the same the interests of minorities are not being neglected, and the League of Nations has seen to it that the national constitutions provide for 3 German members on the Estonian and 6 on the Latvian Parliament.

THE BALTIC UNION.

The League of Nations is functioning as one of the guardians, so to say, of these Baltic states. Another guardian has evolved out of themselves in the form of an Inter-Baltic Congress. Twice a year this congress holds its sessions in one of the four states including Finland and Lithuania.

Questions affecting the foreign relations, and especially the commercial policy of these nations are discussed between the delegates who are officially sent up by the governments to confer with one another on the more important problems.

Like the "Little Entente" of the Balkan states in the southern regions of "Eastern Europe" this Baltic Union of the states lying as they do to the north embodies another of the centripetal tendencies which should be regarded as undoubtedly a great formative force in post-war Europe. It is through these "international" agencies that "nationalism" has been slowly but steadily conquering fresh grounds on European soil and striking its roots deep wherever it has already acquired a footing.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA.

By MR. V. V. OAK, M.A., B.S.J., (*America*).

I have been drawing the attention of our leaders to the question of Foreign Propaganda through my occasional contributions to the daily papers and I think it is now high time to put these thoughts in a permanent form through the medium of a magazine. I do hope that due attention will be given to this question by our leaders. I have tried to leave aside sentiment and have given a clear analysis of the situation so far as I could after a careful study of this question throughout this country. I have travelled over 3,000 miles in the United States and have talked with a large number of American professors. However, with all the precautions I have taken to be impartial on this subject, I would not be surprised if I am accused of being rather 'out-of-touch' with the Indian sentiment at home and with the 'popular' yet vague beliefs of our people here in this country. With this much 'I'ism as an introduction I turn to the subject in question.

INDIA AS AMERICA SEES HER.

There is no denying the fact that the American public has very funny notions about

India even as we Indians have equally funny notions about this great democracy. The knowledge of the average American about India is that the people of our country are magicians well versed in Oriental witchcraft and trickery, that they are orthodox in the extreme, that they throw their babies in the Ganges and burn their widows alive, that Indian Rajas are despots and lead a very luxurious life surrounded by a beautiful Zanana (the recent Indore case has only helped to confirm this belief), and that the English are ruling these uncivilized people with the altruistic motive of 'civilizing' them. The cinemas too are having their own share in this matter and any plot woven around Indian surroundings is shown as ending in the so-called Oriental witchcraft and trickery. Add to it the busy British propagandists who are always ready to discredit the Indians in the eyes of the Americans by all possible means. Besides the regular propagandists like Prof. R. Hayden of the University of Michigan who contributes a column every month in the *Current History Magazine* and whose latest lie ended in calling the Swarajya party as an avowed "party of

violence," and men of Lord Sydenham's type who recently attracted so much of our attention by his acrobatic manoeuvres through the help of the *Current History Magazine*, we have a regular band of workers in this country who pose themselves as "Indians" and circulate all sorts of imaginable lies. Mr. Rustomjee, a luminary, 'born and bred in India,' and an 'eye-witness' of the blessings of Dyerism spends a lot of his time in carrying on propaganda against India by lecturing around San Francisco and Boston posing himself as an Indian. He is an eloquent speaker and carries his audience with him by his characteristically impressive though false lectures. His old age also impresses the audience.

Miss Cornelia Sorabjee, (who is now in India) and who appears before the American public as a representative of the Indian womanhood, writes many articles in various American magazines. Just to give the reader the kind of writing with which she dopes the American public I quote below a passage from her article in the September issue of the *Asia* magazine which has a very large circulation.

"Take the enticement of the Assam Coolies from their comfortable homes and from certain employment at a time of economic pressure upon the tea-gardens run by English planters. Gandhi's men lured them over miles of long, hot road, on the promise of increased wages, to take a steamer service crossing the river back to their home districts—the same service likewise being induced by the like agency to strike work. Along the banks of the river thousands of coolies died from cholera. The remnant were repatriated at government expense. . . Those who were suffering from economic conditions of the times were told that the rice was dear because the British had issued laws that this should be so, and deluded India to feed Germany. . . only the Mahatma can alter that. I know a case where the curse of leprosy was put upon a woman in the name of Gandhi because she wore Manchester sari. . . . As to the people who refrained from the practice of their professions (during the N. C. O. movement) the majority were profitless idlers, taking the doles collected from the poor and from women among the rich who in moment of emotion poured their jewels, wet with tears, at Gandhi's feet. . . . (In 1919) the extremists realized that at least a semblance of unity was necessary and that this could be achieved by

agitation outside the full-self-government issue. So that Rowlatt Act against sedition and the disrespect shown the Caliph by the Allies in the Treaty of Sevres were dragged in and proved momentary cement. Gandhi is already forgotten. . . . C. R. Das has given place to another. . . ."

NEED FOR FOREIGN PROPAGANDA.

In view of the damage that is being done to the cause of Indian freedom due mainly to our tacit silence and inertia to wake up to the need of the time, I believe we should now be 'up and doing' whatever little we can at this time of our national crisis. We cannot forget the fact that London is no more the center of the world, that honor now being transferred to New York. The commercial center which shifted from Venice to London has now come to New York and it is expected that very soon it will be further shifted to San Francisco. The word of America has a prestige behind it and it seems to me suicidal to forget this fact. The moral support of America is a great asset to our cause which will prove useful in due course. Having seen the necessity of doing something in the matter, let us now turn our attention to the practical methods that could be adopted.

THE AMERICAN PRESS.

The condition of the American press is very much different from the popular notions we have about it in India. On account of the highly industrialized state of this country, almost every paper is under the management of some capitalist. A few papers that are rather independent are avowedly pro-English and anti-Asiatic (e.g. *New York Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor* and others of the kind). In the opinion of these papers the Anglo-Saxon race has a peculiarly divine genius of ruling Asiatic nations which have never known, and cannot possibly have the capacity of forming a democracy. The British rule in India is regarded by them as a heaven-sent gift to the semi-barbarian and uncivilized people of India. Naturally, it will be almost impossible to approach the American people through them. Other papers would be glad to give us a chance, but as they are generally consumed by the middle and non-governing class their readers are not interested in International affairs and not at all in Indian affairs. Since the managers of

these papers have the motto of "giving the public what they want," we cannot expect much assistance from this source. Of the weeklies and monthlies the same thing can be said to a more or less extent. However, there are some excellent weeklies having a fairly large circulation,—the *Nation* and the *New York Republic*, but in the limited space at their disposal they cannot afford to give us much space.

It should not, however, be supposed that propaganda through the American press is impossible. If a couple of highly educated Indian women contributed articles to the papers, I am sure these will be published, especially because such a thing would be sensational in the opinion of the Americans who have been taught to believe that Indian women are very uneducated and are treated as beasts of burden, and that they are terribly orthodox and wear purdah as a rule, etc. If an Indian magazine is started here in this country on a large scale and conducted on American business methods, it is sure to prove a success. At present, an attempt in this direction, which was first initiated by Mr. Hari Govil and which was then taken over by Mr. Sayud Hossain, has been made and two issues of the *New Orient* have been published. So far, this attempt promises to be successful and would prove very useful to our cause. Our propaganda in this country *need not necessarily be political*. If we can only make the Americans understand a little of our culture and civilization, such a procedure would prove more useful than mere platform speeches against the oppression of the British rule. If the American press is giving more attention to India of late, it is not because of the political agitation that is being carried on there, but because of the spiritual side of our struggle under the leadership of Gandhi.

II.

Having seen what one could do in this country with the aid of the press, let us now turn our attention to another potent factor by which the ever-busy, dollar-is-my-God, typical representative of the highly industrialized order of society, sensation-loving American could be approached. Is there anything more appealing to a human being than a stirring platform speech? This is an expensive but more fruitful method of accomplishing our purpose. A tactful

speaker may get hold of the most influential people and win their sympathy and moral support to our cause. There is a live element in a speech which no newspaper reading can ever furnish. As a matter of fact, the visit of our beloved Poet Tagore and other notable leaders from India sometime ago has gone a long way in creating a very good impression in this country about India. Whatever may be the other short-comings of the Americans, one cannot find a better audience eager to hear and discuss our problems, if only men of real calibre come to this country and impress the people here with their sincerity and their *bona fides*.

India is attracting the attention of this country slowly but surely, thanks to the noble teachings of Gandhi. Writing to me on this question an American lady of English descent says:

".....of the present-day Hindu thoughts—though that country does not conform to Western ideas of civilization—I think they are rich with promise of a great future. The light has *always* come from the East; and will so continue through time.....It is simply extraordinary to see what I call 'the teachings' cropping up in all sorts of books and thoughtful articles.....In the January issue of the *Atlantic* there is a remarkable article about Hinduism..... Oh, I cannot tell you how I feel about all this—it's *such* a 'great day' for spiritual values to be emphasized. Will Young India meet the challenge squarely, or will politics prevail and the golden moment be lost for generations yet to come? I wonder!"

The best method of dealing with the question of foreign propaganda most effectively and efficiently is to send a few really good representatives of India to this country and to England with the mission of carrying on the gospel of truth about India to these people through the press and especially through the platform. If great personalities like Malaviya, Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Sarala Devi and others would contribute articles to some of the influential magazines in this country, I am sure their articles will be accepted because of the weight attached to their names. They do not have to leave India for this purpose. If we give our enemy a free field to monopolize the American press without making any attempt to refute their statements, we have no reason to cry like helpless children and say that the Americans do not know anything about India and so on?

A PERMANENT ORGANISATION.

It must not, however, be forgotten that propaganda in this country is not so important as in England. If the Indian National Congress thinks the task of carrying on propaganda in both countries too heavy, preference should be given to England. With the growing strength of the Labor party, it is becoming absolutely necessary to inform the British public about the true situation in India. While the salvation of a country lies from within, it must not be forgotten that the influence from without is worth attending to, especially in this twentieth century of ours when the world is so closely knit together. I do hope, therefore, that the coming Congress will take up this matter for serious consideration and appoint a permanent committee to deal with this question thoroughly and to take effective steps in the matter without further delay.

LACK OF ORGANIZING CAPACITY.

Living as we are in an age when isolation from the rest of the world is impossible, it has become absolutely necessary for us to copy some of the outstanding features of western civilization. The ability to organize successfully and efficiently is lacking in us; in fact, it is the bane of all Asiatic nations except Japan. The Indian National Congress is to be the future parliament of the United States of India and yet what an efficient organization we have! Letters addressed to the Congress by individuals other than those intimately connected with it are rarely replied. That has been the experience not only of this unfortunate writer, but of many others

with whom he had an occasion to speak on the subject. There is a permanent office of the Congress, but it has no fixed official address at all. It is high time we have one permanent office, a capital, so to say, for this body, with a permanent staff, the General Secretary alone changing, if need be, with the Executive Committee selected every year at the annual meeting of the Congress. Thanks to the efforts of M. Gandhi, the Congress is getting more and more business-like every year, but even then it must be admitted that we are yet no where near bringing the organization to an up-to-date western standard.

When all this is said and done, it must not be forgotten that our destiny lies NOT in the hands of the Americans or Englishmen, but in our own. A success achieved in a struggle because of the mercy shown by the opponent is not worth attaining as it will leave the weaker party always at the mercy of the stronger. The Japanese and the Anglo-Saxon race have become what they are not by making platform speeches or by begging foreigners' sympathy for their cause, but by sacrificing their lives by the hundreds and thousands. I am not ignorant enough to make a fetish of "Foreign Propaganda", nor do I desire distraction of attention of our workers from their program in India. However, I do feel that this work cannot cause any distraction. On the other hand, it is absolutely necessary as a preparatory training to our people who will have to handle International diplomatic relations, etc. sooner or later. I hope, therefore, that our leaders will give due attention to this question which I have been raising through the press for the last two years.

TEN WORLD PROBLEMS.

By A. GOPALJI.

I. THE IDEAL.

Happiness, real or fancied, has been the goal of all human efforts ever since the birth of

humanity. The greatest happiness of the greatest number has guided many a noble movement throughout the ages. It has been the cherished ambition underlying various Utopias

presented from time to time. The strongest kings, the greatest minds, the best reformers and the noblest saints have all tackled it with varying success. To-day it moves the most tender feelings in the hearts of the humanitarians. Every one fondly hopes of and devoutly wishes for the millenium of which he has but a faint idea. Foundations are made and charities given with great liberality and the best of motives but unfortunately to meet with little permanent success. The most sanguine hopes are entertained about elaborate plans and fancy schemes put forward from time to time to make a heaven of this earthly earth. I firmly believe that humanity can be made happy without impossible sacrifices.

2. THE PROBLEMS.

1. *World Peace*: It is the greatest single problem of the world to-day. All "civilized" countries of the world are making open or secret preparations for another terrible war. Disarmament is only a pious wish to be forced upon weak or small nations, never a settled conviction. If real and effective measures for international disarmament are not adopted in the near future, the world will be plunged into the abyss of a dark age. The most terrible war imaginable may be within sight by 1930.

2. *Birth-control*: The alarming multiplication of the submerged tenth is the greatest racial danger to the future of mankind. Safe and harmless medical means exist for sterilizing the hopelessly degenerate. Optional sterilization should be facilitated by every state, at least as an experiment to start with. Birth-control is a real necessity for the vast majority of the world's population. All intending parents should learn pregnancy-prevention methods.

3. *Race-improvement*: It is most unfortunate that persons of the highest culture should have the lowest birth-rate. It is a pity that man should breed the best races of flowers and fruits, horses and dogs, to the woeful negligence of his own. It is the duty of every would-be father or mother to study the subject and procreate with a definite choice and not a blind chance. Earliest influences succeed most, the importance-order being: those before, during and after pregnancy—infancy, childhood and adult-age. Breeding gods, geniuses and giants is a practical proposition. Every educated parent should study it.

4. *Economic freedom*: Civilization prides itself upon the extinction of slavery at least in advanced countries. But economic slavery is the worst of all forms of dependence. And it is universal. I firmly believe that every person has an inalienable right to the necessities of life. It is the most important duty of state to guarantee them. But the state-control of life necessities and guaranteed provision to all is impossible without Birth-regulation.

5. *Population Redistribution*. Every country should maintain only that number of people which it can easily feed with its own agricultural produce. This eliminates the fears and threats of starvation in days of war and useless preservation and transportation of food during blockade. The earth, if properly cultivated, can certainly support a much larger population, but, considering the existing effective distribution of food the world is terribly over-populated and requires a more rational re-distribution of population between continents and countries.

6. *Preventive-medicine*: The most terrible diseases have been rooted out in the West. Wonderful progress is being made with regard to tropical diseases. Properly tackled, 90% diseases can be nipped in the bud. Every child should be taught practical aspects of preventive-medicine. It should be brought to the door of the poorest in the remotest places. I recommend the free and wide distribution of brief practical pamphlets, written in popular style and endorsed by authorities inspiring confidence.

7. *Hygiene*: Every child should be taught personal hygiene. Public hygiene should be taught in the schools. Public opinion in the West forces people to keep a clean outside, regardless of the inside. Poor persons often wear clean fronts, collars, ties and cuffs, having the filthiest rags underneath. From a truly hygienic view point underwear is more important than overwear. Cleaning the feet is quite as important as cleaning the face. A real sense of cleanliness should be appreciated and encouraged.

8. *Education*: Perfect education should provide for a simultaneous development of the body, the mind, the heart and the soul. A brilliant graduate with an emaciated frame or dishonest habits, should do no credit to any university. One should know something of everything and everything of something. University examinations insist only upon mental efficiency, with some indirect recognition of

physical fitness, throwing the culture of the heart and the soul, relatively in the background. Examination system should be completely overhauled.

9. *Social Re-construction*: Ideas about the re-construction of society should be revised. The reformers should really identify themselves with the society they propose to reform. Propositions, lacking the background of reality, certainly do not go very far towards the solution of actual difficulties. And then no nation can rise or fall alone without materially influencing the others. Blessed isolation is no longer possible. Practical plans suited to the various peoples under different circumstances should be thought and worked out.

10. *Righteous-culture*: It includes a harmonious culture of the body, the mind, the heart and the soul. Every person should possess a righteous culture chart or book, something like a passport, giving up-to-date facts, authorized by suitable persons, about his physical, mental and spiritual achievements. Its annual revision, say every birth-day, should stimulate effort towards a higher life. Its consideration in employment would give it a real value. A working plan, based on common points, could be easily drawn up and tried optionally at least as an experiment to start with.

3. PRACTICABILITY

There is no absolute line of demarcation between the theoretical and the practical. With space and time, the deed and the doing, the line shifts and widens too. The word 'impossible' is said, and not without evidence in the history of human achievements, to be found only in the

dictionary of a fool. However the fact remains that there are grades of the possible, the practical and the probable. Other things being the same, the choice of the most effective grade, carefully considered in view of the particular traditions, conditions and ideals of a people is the safest guarantee of sure success. And bold action, without hankering for the fruit thereof, and right in the face of the gun, the criticism and even the opposition of the refractory, should be taken and maintained to the end. I have presented the ten problems of the world in their importance-order. The list is rather tentative and may be considerably modified. I firmly believe that they have practical aspects which can be turned into action with reasonably sustained effort.

4. APPEAL.

In the name of Righteous-culture (DHARMA) I invite the thoughtful to consider the problems presented. Truth should be taken on its own merits, no matter whether it proceeds from the prince or the pauper, the famous or the obscure, the learned or the fool. It prevails in the end. Let us recognize it the earlier and multiply the forces for good.

Everybody can do his little bit towards the making of a happier mankind. Suitable plans for various classes can be prepared. Action, real service, is the thing needed. It may be that of body, mind or money; thought, word or deed. Individual suitability is the touchstone of the proposition suggested.

Views and suggestions bearing on the above are welcome. Thoughtful criticism will be particularly appreciated.

BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS.

A LITERARY CAUSERIE (*from London*).

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

A Poet travels.

One of the most entertaining books of travel I have ever read is **Discursions on Travel, Art and Life** by Osbert Sitwell (Grant Richards

15/-), which was published last month. Mr. Osbert Sitwell has the reputation of a satirist of unusual candour and also of what Mr. Robert Graves would describe as a Left Wing poet of

this generation. In this book however is additional evidence of the versatility, the almost restless variability, of an author over-richly endowed with vivid impressions and curious ideas. These discursions reveal Mr. Sitwell as sometimes urbane in his humour and lightly-carried knowledge of men and places, of social and artistic epochs. The book is divided into four parts: (1) Southern Italy; (2) Cities of the phoenix (around Mount Etna); (3) Fiume and d'Annunzio (of whom Mr. Sitwell is a great admirer); (4) Teutonic Variations (which includes a delightful account of a visit to Bareuth and of the Margrave's Palace there).

As a revelation of the author's mind, not less than as a just comment on the book, the preface is excellent: "It is with yet more than his usual diffidence that the author begs to present these 'Discursions' to the public. But since volumes of travel are his favourite books, and travelling, rather than gold or hunting, his chosen form of exercise and sport, he will be perfectly satisfied if they communicate some of the pleasure he himself has experienced to the gentle reader. Nor, in his opinion, is it enough to describe the things seen; for one of the chief virtues of travel is that it enables the mind to voyage more easily, even, than the body, to move backward and forward through time as well as in space. At one moment the traveller is able to measure the dome of St. Peter's in Rome by that of St. Paul's in London, at another to contemplate the march of the Roman Legions and compare it with that of the passing Fascisti. He can flit from Italy to Spain, from architecture to music. For travel is like a drug that permeates the mind with an indefinite but unusual tinge, stimulating and releasing, imparting a greater significance than they possess to the things that interest and amuse it. These things, conjured up, will perhaps help the reader to take that holiday which circumstances may forbid him."

It is saying much, but not more than is justified, that *Discursions on Travel, Art and Life* will not disappoint the reader of this Preface and will even give him some happy surprises. For Mr. Sitwell is a poet and a satirist, and travels mentally even more richly and interestingly than he travels in the body; and yet few travellers know so well their way about the regions they select for visitation. You have, therefore, in a book like this not only an exciting itinerary but the vision and art of a

poet exposed in a peculiarly flexible prose which ranges from the most idiomatic and conversational manner to passages of vivid beauty, passages wherein the language, though skilfully maintaining its unstudied air, becomes subtly rhythmical and freighted with imagery which invades a reader's mind like inspired poetry. For examples take the concluding portion of the essay on Lecce, a town which, says Mr. Sitwell, "has a thousand beautiful buildings and no reputation. It has therefore never indulged in the intricacies of Venetian or Chinese Gothic, or in any variant or sport of Restaurant-Car architecture. It even dares to entertain Signor Marinetti, for perhaps it knows what Venice will learn too late, that Waring-and-Gillow's (a big cheap furniture store in London) and self-conscious Little-Art-Shops for peasant pottery are a greater menace to beauty than all the futurist poets and painters and musicians in the universe. Lecce has never been self-conscious; the lovely florid style of the early eighteenth century refined itself gradually into the simple shepherdese lines of 1760 and then slowly changed into the plainly-built, simple houses of to-day". He refers to Mr. Norman Douglas's *Old Calabria* for an account of the Flying Monk, San Guiseppe di Copertino, one of the horde of miracle-workers and saints produced in Southern Italy in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Then comes the concluding passage:—

"After the Piazza della Prefettura, the finest piazza in the town is that outside the Cathedral, an imposing though not particularly exciting example of sixteenth-century work. The square is an exceedingly large one, full of palaces. The Seminario, the chief building in it, rivals the Prefettura, and is the work of Ciuo, pupil of Zimbalo, who built it about 1705. Here also is the Archbishop's palace, a delightful arcaded building of the middle of the same century, less rich but equally elegant. The whole square has only one opening, where it tapers to a very graceful gateway opposite the Cathedral facade. It was our good fortune to see this great square illuminated on the night of Good Friday. In the fanatic atmosphere of Southern Italy the Church dares to move with the times, and a lavish use had been made of electric light. By the side of the Cathedral a large plaster grotto, brilliantly lit, showed the various scenes of our Lord's life. All the palaces and houses were

decorated with lines and garlands of light. Trumpets brayed mournfully in the distance, and from out the dark blue canal of the street floated a procession of strange figures, displayed by the flames of the torches they carried; for the wide square, still empty, though in a few minutes it would become crowded, seemed in the dusk like a stretch of blue water. On came the procession curling like a dragon, with mournful cries, wailing, and the brazen tongue of a trumpet, while high above were held up the illuminated sacred images and relics. All the figures in the procession were masked, figures from some ballet by Callot, or from a drawing of the inquisition by Della Bella or Goya. Some were dressed in flowing black with wild black hats, their eyes gleaming through the two slits in the long black cloth that fell over their faces. Some were decked out in light blue and pink—a sort of skit of blue, and coat of pink—while large red hats, like those of a cardinal, completed the costume; others again wore robes of silver and purple. After them followed an army of children singing in time to the slow waltz, which by some odd chance had been chosen for the occasion by the Municipal Band which wound up the whole procession. The children sang in the peculiarly nasal, shrill, meaningless voice of the South. The darkness had increased; it was night. The fixed garlands and festoons of lights now fully displayed the intricacy of the architecture; while the torches moving through the air, threw distorted shadows on to wall and pavement, gave false value to the stone carving, touched for a moment door or window, gilded a stone rose or triton, or threw a flickering patch of light like a halo upon some human face. The crowd was so very quiet; and framed by a wandering flood of light in a narrowing swirl of mermaids, roses and cupids, the sullen, bearded face of a monk peered down at the procession, as it slowly filed round the farther corner of the square and out again into the engulfing darkness."

Prose like this has all the merits and some of the defects or limitations of impressionist art. The very vividness of this description owes much to the imagination of the writer and also of the reader, and a visitor to Lecce who had read Mr. Sitwell's description might fail to recognize it, for looking casually and unimaginatively around us we generally note insignificant details as well as significant ones. But the

above description of the public procession is the result of selecting essential features, so that probably many a reader in India will think that he has seen something very similar to this in an environment that apparently belongs to another universe, in religion, art, and social custom. The truth is that art whether in prose or in paint discovers universal elements of human experience in every environment. The same vividness, in which objects, memories, light and shade stand out momentarily in sharp revelation before merging into the poet's streaming phantasmagoria is found in Mr. Osbert Sitwell's previous book of prose, the short stories entitled *Triple Fugue*.

* * * *

A Picturesque Centenary.

The clean fire of romance was never needed more than in this age. We are indebted to a greater extent than we know to the writer who sets free the popular imagination, opens a door into that land of heart's desire, that dream world, where men and women seem to live and die intensely, with a vividness long since worn off the world of hard facts. This is why if Richard Doddridge Blackmore was not a genius of the first water, nevertheless the centenary of his birth on 7th June, 1925, has just been celebrated by all kinds of writers in the English press, and a large number of holiday-makers this year have visited a piece of England called Exmoor which runs into the two counties of Devon and Somerset. For Blackmore wrote *Lorna Doone*, and that book has played magic in the hearts of countless readers. It goes on gathering fame and probably at this very moment thousands of youthful readers are breathlessly following the adventures of John Ridd or weeping at the disaster in the little church of St. Mary, at Oare, where.... "after ring and all was done, and the parson had blessed us, Lorna turned to look at me, with her playful glance subdued, and deepened by this solemn act.....Darling eyes, the clearest eyes, the loveliest, the most loving eyes—the sound of a shot rang out through the church, and those eyes were dim with death."

Visitors to Exmoor, impressed by the vividness of the narrative of *Lorna Doone*, have often gone looking for traces and records of purely imaginary events, and have even been surprised that places do not always

correspond to their description. Doone Valley especially is a disappointment to unwary pilgrims. It is but a fold in the hills near Mahnsmead, where the Badgworthy and Oare Waters meet to form the Lyn, and not the wild, steep place which is the very heart of the famous novel. There was indeed no Doone Valley at all until this hollow was so named after the publication of the novel, a striking example of the influence of imagination on facts. There is of course a basis, historical as well as topographical, for the romantic structure of "*Lorna Doone*". The battle of Sedgemoor was real enough; and the Baptist Doones were more substantial than legends. But facts were merely fuel for the flame of romance which burned in the mind of a middle-aged market gardener at Teddington. For such was the romantic author. Blackmore had purchased eleven acres of land at Teddington with part of a legacy from an uncle which opportunely relieved him from poverty and ill health at the age of thirty-three. He had been cultivating fruit and flowers for Covent Garden for about twelve years when *Lorna Doone* (his third novel) was first published in 1869, after being refused by all the magazines. But for the faith and enterprise of Blackmore's publishers (Sampson Low, Marston & Co.) the book would, as Blackmore confessed, have probably been sunk in the vast sea of failure which covers ten thousand times ten thousand novels.

There is something unusually appropriate therefore about the appearance now of a delightful little book, **The Lorna Doone Country**, which Blackmore's publishers, to mark the centenary, offer us for half-a-crown. It is full of coloured illustrations and pertinent notes about Exmoor, and leaves no doubt that many of Blackmore's descriptions are as accurate as they are beautiful. After all, the Teddington market-gardener was bred a West-country man, and his most famous book is the child of love and memory. To read *Lorna Doone* sympathetically—and one needs the equipment of youth to do it—is to have another door into the dominion of dreams opened inside oneself. The years that bear us away, changing emotion to a memory and love to a vague regret, are gentle with the Land of Lorna Doone, so that looking back we know it is but one version of the Land of Heart's Desire.

Hudson and Epstein.

Still more attention has been devoted in the press to the new plaque sculptured by Jacob Epstein for the bird-sanctuary in Hyde Park which was intended as a memorial to the late W. H. Hudson. Anyone who is acquainted with the work of both Hudson and Epstein will not be surprised that the latter's conception of the exquisite Rima in "*Green Mansions*" has deeply offended many Hudson worshippers as well as the majority of the public, which knows little about art but is ready enough to say "I like this" or "I don't like that". Well, I have now seen the famous, or notorious, plaque. I went to see it for the first time accompanied by Mr. Osbert Sitwell, for whom any problem of art, old or new, is of an irresistible interest. Set among the summer foliage in Hyde Park, with the sunlight slanting on it, the sculpture was obviously a very fine piece of work. But it was equally obviously not the kind of thing to please the public which loves the pretty figure in the same park of Peter Pan. For if Epstein is a great sculptor, he is certainly a morbid artist; and the beauty of this plaque is born of the marvellous rhythm in the design, the light and shadow and the movement of the lines. But the female figure judged physiologically is a horribly diseased woman of negroid type, with huge arms and swollen fingers out of all proportion to the assymetrical trunk. The symmetry of the sculpture is entirely in the complete design, which is mainly composed of the lines of the body leaning back and sideways, the two outspread arms, like two V's, which seem to be calling all the birds of the air, and the large bird under each arm, the plumage of which balances the wavy lines of the woman's floating hair at the top of the plaque. This wavy hair also artfully repeats the wave-like rhythm of the great outspread arms and the half-bent fingers. But so soon as the name Rima is attached to the figure of the woman, one inevitably is shocked to remember the sylph-like creature in "*Green Mansions*". There is no doubt that Epstein is a great sculptor, and probably his art would be unreservedly appreciated by a cultured Oriental.

Eros.

But it is interesting to contrast Epstein's fine panel which has caused so much discussion with the universally popular, and also good

piece of work, known as the Eros of Piccadilly Circus. That light and beautiful figure of a running, half-flying boy with his bow held before him was removed from Piccadilly Circus some time ago owing to work on the underground railway. He has now reappeared in public, having been set up again on his bronze pedestal in the Victoria Embankment Gardens close to Charing Cross, a better place certainly than the new County Hall with which he was threatened. But he no longer flaunts his pride like a chanticleer above his surroundings as he did on the Piccadilly Circus traffic-island. In company with a little group of London writers I wandered right round the Embankment Gardens on the day of his reappearance, trying to get a good view of him. Either the broken screen of foliage spoilt the outline of the figure, which has suffered a sea-change to a strange silvery hue, or else one saw the bandstand or the Burns statue occupying the near background, either of them being decidedly "out of order." It is said that Eros is to remain in the Gardens for the next two years, but no man knows if he will ever brighten Piccadilly Circus with his presence again.

Speaking of art and design, it is interesting, now that the gold sovereign is so rare, to re-read what Ruskin, in "Fors", said of the St. George and the Dragon, perhaps the only beautiful design we can boast of on our coinage. He wrote (in 1872): "As a piece of mere die-cutting that St. George is one of the best bits of work we have on our money. But as a design—how brightly comic it is: the horse looking abstractedly into the air, instead of where precisely it would have looked, at the beast between its legs; St. George, with nothing but his helmet on (being the last piece of armour he is likely to want), putting his naked feet, at least his feet showing their toes through the buskins, well forward, that the dragon may with the greatest convenience get a bite at them; and about to deliver a mortal blow at him with a sword which cannot reach him by a couple of yards."

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Trotsky as Literary Critic.

As a literary curiosity, if not as a masterpiece of criticism, *Literature and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, which has just been published in English (Allen and Unwin 8/6) is well worth reading. The average English reader is made

to feel his ignorance by the number of names of Russian writers he has never heard of which Trotsky fires at him. Of course one cannot form just estimates of writers by the test of politics, as Trotsky is naturally prone to do. Take for instance, his comment on a Russian poet, of whom I confess I had never heard:

'Mayakovsky's revolutionary enthusiasm poured itself enthusiastically into the Proletariat Revolution, but did not blend with it. His subconscious feeling for the city, for nature, for the whole world, is not that of a worker, but of a Bohemian.'

'This bald-headed street lamp which pulls the stocking off the street':—"This striking image alone, which is extremely characteristic of Mayakovsky, throws more light upon the Bohemian and city quality of the poet than all possible discussion."

If Trotsky is right in describing the above "striking image" as extremely characteristic of Mayakovsky, one feels that the poet has been pulling the leg of the Bolshevik chiefs with the same skill which Russian street lamps seem to display in pulling off the stockings of the streets. As a matter of fact the image is characteristic of minor French poets of the post-symbolist era.

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"H. W. M."

The work of the late H. W. Massingham, a Liberal with strong Labour tendencies, was an outstanding example of courageous and independent political journalism. An interesting volume *H. W. M. (H. W. Massingham)* (Cape 12/6) has been edited by his son, Mr. Harold J. Massingham, the writer on the birds and natural beauties of England, as a memorial to this fine man-of-letters and obstinate propagandist. It contains a selection of H. W. M.'s writings as a series of essays about him. Writing of his father, Mr. H. J. Massingham says:—"Of course he made many mistakes, as men of full and questing spirit must do, while his way of handling a theme, in a belief so unwavering, by a manner so abrupt, through a mentality so sharp, in a swoop so precipitate and yet so wonderfully skilled, did set a good many people by the ears. His dagger-thrusts hurt: he knew where to plant them, and a blazing zeal (not to say zest), a Covenant's purpose though not his faith, put a sinewy force behind the blow. Yet I do not think it

would be true to say of him that he came to literature and the wider issues of life from the narrower campaigns of politics, with a mind set and steeled by conflict into grooves of pre-determined thought. Such a view overlooks his amazing resilience and expansiveness of mind. . . It was well for a man possessed of so individual a force that he had made himself master of a peculiarly impersonal and objective style which kept his charging spirit close down to its theme." There is a warning as well as inspiration in the life of "H. W. M." for journalists of strong convictions. Other contributors to this volume who write about Massingham are Bernard Shaw, Vaughan Nash, H. M. Tomlinson, H. W. Nevinnson, H. N. Brailsford, and J. L. Hammond.

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Mr Belloc Again.

Mr. Belloc is a busy author now-a-days. His *Cruise of the Nona* which I referred to in the last causerie has since been hailed as a masterpiece of mingled autobiography and essay-writing. He is doing a history of England, the first volume of which has caused the kind of controversy we might expect, for Mr. Belloc has always seen English history as an inextricable part of European history, and European history has a story of civilisation cradled by the power of Rome. His satirical wit is now directed in a lighter vein at the abominated financiers. His new novel *Mr. Petre* (Arrowsmith 7/6) is a feast of fun with a sting at the end. The Parliamentary system of government, various modern "isms" and the working of British legal institutions are all turned into shuttlecocks to be knocked about joyously in the air by the skilful satirist. The story of Mr. Petre is itself rollicking fun. The original John Kosciusko Petre is an American millionaire with an irresistible reputation for irresistibility, so to speak; the type which makes gossip twitter and society tremble at a frown, because society, with a little theatrical assistance from the millionaire, insists on regarding him as a Napoleon. Mr. Belloc imagines a simple-minded English gentleman who has lost his memory and finds the identity of the renowned Petre thrust upon him, although his real name was the harmless one of Peter Blagden. "Mr. Petre could not escape, what no man can escape, the influence

of his activities, even though these activities had been thrust upon him. He had fallen, alas!, to looking at the financial columns of his paper. It had become a daily habit". For no sooner had the clerk at the Hotel Splendide convinced the absent-minded Mr. Blagden that he was really John K. Petre than he was inundated with money-making schemes, and unlimited credit, and endless requests for financial advice. Even the medical profession does not escape Mr. Belloc's fun when the bogus Mr. Petre has to consult two famous specialists.

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Another Novelist.

Day of Atonement (Chatto & Windus 7/6) is a new novel from the pen of Mr. Louis Golding which justifies the anticipation that he is Mr. Israel Zangwill's successor in English letters. It contains a remarkable display of the narrative imagination and great skill in writing and it is a worthy successor to his previous novel, *Forward from Babylon*, the epic of a young Jew in European society. It must be more than five years ago that I first met the author of *Forward from Babylon*. He and Thomas Moulton and Victor Branford were the leading spirits in that brave little venture, *Voices*, "a magazine of prose and verse", now, alas! deceased. Golding, I think, was still at Oxford, but his irrepressible zeal for writing threatened to overwhelm Moulton's editorial barriers and to flood the adventurous pages of *Voices*, in which, during the first year, Golding's work played probably the biggest part from the point of view of the general reader. His almost boyish enthusiasm and youthful brilliance made him not less distinguished as a budding poet than as an attractive personality. We met, that first time, in a little underground cafe off the Charing Cross Road. Golding, with the big fiery eyes of the Jew with genius, and a slightly disreputable sartorial appearance (as is meet for the student) was burdened with a heavy bundle of books, some of which I believe he was reviewing, the others being pabulum for his academic degree at Oxford. I am not sure if Golding's first book, a volume of poems entitled *Sorrow of War* had then been published. He was at any rate an enthusiastic and prolific composer in verse at that time, and over cups of coffee he pro-

duced an old envelope and read out some lines of a new poem which Moulton was to publish in the next number of *Voices*. We expressed our good opinion of the lines, but it was clear that the poet himself was well satisfied with them. And truly the editorial Moulton was justified in publishing them. The poems in that book and in the later volume of verse entitled *Shepherd Singing Ragtime* will bear re-reading. There were some tricks and violences in them, but the evidence that a true poet was responsible for these two books, and the recently published *Bronze Moon and Brass* is ample.

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Edith Wharton's New Novel.

It is a far cry from the sombre shadows and the brilliant propaganda of Mr. Golding's *Day of Atonement*, which describes the agony of a Jew's conversion to Christianity, and as a kind of protest against the destructive warring of creeds like Judaism and Christianity hailing a revival of Paganism—it is a far cry from this moving book to the comparatively trivial problems to which Mrs. Wharton nevertheless imparts a certain tragic intensity in her new novel, *The Mother's Recompense* (Appleton, 7/6). Mrs. Wharton is one of the best American novelists living, though this is not one of her best novels. The central theme of *The Mother's Recompense* is the old and perhaps eternal jealousy between mother and daughter interested in the same man. But the ingenious plot of this story places the mother in a tragic dilemma. The mother is presented sympathetically as a woman who was driven to run away from her husband. She leaves her baby with her mother-in-law, and on the latter's death her daughter, now a young woman, comes to live with her. All is well until the daughter becomes engaged to a man whom the mother is horrified to recognize as a former lover. The man appears to be suitable in other respects as her daughter's husband, and the mother therefore decides to preserve her daughter's happiness and to keep the secret. There are many dramatic situations in the book cleverly handled, and the story is more satisfying than the last novel, with a somewhat similar tone, by Mr. Somerset Maugham, entitled *The Painted Veil* (Heinemann 7/6), which is the story of a woman's betrayal of her husband for a man who proves himself a cad. The chief

character undergoes such great changes, from a weak-minded adulteress to a clear-sighted and noble-thinking woman that the reader is unable to believe in her, recognizing all too clearly the author's over-ready cleverness in supplying the circulating library market.

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An American Poet.

Mr. Calc Young Rice, well known in America as the author of several plays and volumes of verse has had some of the latter published in England lately, and the last of these, *A Sea Lover's Scrip* (Hodder and Stoughton 5/-) has just reached me. It is a companion volume to *A Pilgrim's Scrip* published last year, and brings together those lyrics and ballads of the sea which have appeared in various periodicals and in more general collections of Mr. Rice's work. I would like to quote a characteristic piece, for there must be many readers who do not know Mr. Rice's work to whom it would appeal.

THE SHORE'S SONG TO THE SEA

Out on the rocks primeval,
The grey Maine rocks that slant and break
to the sea,
With the bay and juniper round them,
And the leagues on leagues before them,
And the terns and gulls wheeling and crying,
wheeling and crying over,
I sat heart-still and listened.
And first I could only hear the wind in my
ears,
And the foam trying to fill the high rock-
shallows.
And then, over the wind, over the whitely
blossoming foam,
Low, low, like a lover's song beginning,
I heard the nuptial pleading of the old shore,
A pleading ever occultly growing louder:—
O sea, glad bride of me!
Born of the bright ether and given to wed me,
Given to glance, ever, for me, and gleam and
dance in the sun—
Come to my arms, come to my reaching arms,
That seem so still and unavailing to take you,
and hold you,
Yet never forget,
Never by day or night,
The hymeneal delights of your embracings.

Come, for the moon, my rival, shall not have
you;
No, for tho' twice daily afar he beckons and
you go.

You, my bride, a little way back to meet him,
As if he once had been your lover he too, and
again enspelled you,

Soon, soon, I know it is only feigning!

For turning, playfully turning, tidally turning.
You rush foamingly, swiftly back to my arms!
And so would I have you rush; so rush now!
Come from the sands where you have stayed too
long,

Come from the reefs where you have wandered
silent;

For ebbings are good, the restful ebbings of
love,

But, oh, the bridal flowings of it are better!

And now I would have you loose again my
tresses,

My locks rough and weedy, rough and brown
and brinily tangled,

But, oh, again as a bridegroom's, when your
tide, whispering in,

Lifts them up, pulsingly up with kisses!

Come with your veil thrown back, breaking to
spray!

And oh, with plangent passion!

Come with your naked sweetness, salt and
wholesome, to my bosom;

Let not a cave or crevice of me miss you, or
cranny,

For, oh, the nuptial joy you float into me,

The cooling ambient clasp of you, I have waited
over-long,

And I need to know again its marriage meaning!

For I think it is not alone to bring forth life,
that I mate you;

More than life is the beauty of life with love!
Plentiful are the children that you bear to me
the blossoms,

The fruits and all the creatures at your breast
dewily fed,

But mating is troubled with a far higher
meaning—

A hint of a consummation for all things.

Come utterly then,

Utterly to me come,

And let us surge together, clasped close, in
infinite union,

Until we reach a transeendence of all birth, and
all dying,

An ecstasy holding the universe blended—

Such ecstasy as is its ultimate Aim!

So sang the shore, the long bay-scented shore,
Broken by many an isle, many an inlet bird-
embosomed,

And the sea gave answer, bridally, tidally
turning,

And leapt, radiant, into his rocky arms!

By the way, Mr. Rice's wife is Alice Hegan Rice, the well known author of *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*. I have just had the pleasure of meeting Mr. and Mrs. Rice in London, which they have been visiting. It has been said that artists should not marry, but they are a very charming disproof of this ancient maxim. They co-operated in one collection of stories, called *Turn About Tales*, and Mr. Rice told me that a new volume of stories by himself will be published in the autumn over here.

THE PERSO-ARYANS AND THE INDO-ARYANS IN INDIA.*

By THE HON'BLE MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*.*(Finance Member, Bihar and Orissa).*

I feel highly honoured by the very kind invitation extended to me by Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala to contribute a Foreword to his book on Indo-Iranian Religion. Mr. Hodivala has already made his mark in the realms of scholarship by his earlier work called *Parsis of Ancient India*, which displayed a spirit of research deserving of acknowledgment at the hands of students interested in throwing light on that obscure period of Indian history, which he dealt with in his book. In his present work, which I have the honour to introduce, the talented author has embodied the result of his researches in the realms of Indo-Iranian mythology, theology and philosophy. The text of the book was originally delivered as a series of six lectures (at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, towards the end of 1923) which were much appreciated by those who had the advantage of hearing them. The lectures well deserve the permanent form, in which they are now appearing, by reason of their being (apart from their possessing other merits which I shall advert to later) a pioneer work on a subject, which should be of the greatest interest and importance alike to the Parsis and the Hindus, who are both descendants of the great Aryan race, the examination and analysis of whose mythology, philosophy and theology in its original form, prior to its bifurcation into the Indo-Aryan and the Perso-Aryan communities, is the subject-matter of the book, which I have gladly undertaken to introduce to the reading public.

"The principal object of these lectures," says the learned author, "is to present in a detailed form the parallel that runs between the religions of the Aryans and the Iranians." By "Aryan" Mr. Hodivala means the Indo-Aryans, namely that branch of the Aryan race which came into India after its separation from their brethren, who went into Persia and settled

there, and are known as the Perso-Aryans or "Iranians," as the author prefers to call them. The six lectures deal respectively with (1) Ritual and Ceremonial, (2) Asura Varuna and Ahura Muzda, (3) Mithra and Fire, (4) Minor Divinities, (5) Cosmogony and Eschatology, and (6) Mythology and sundry matters. It would thus be seen that the scope of the book is quite comprehensive, as it covers practically the whole range of the subject. I have said above that the book deserves appreciation by and recognition at the hands of scholars and students of the subject as a pioneer work in its line. I do not think I am wrong in making this claim for the work under consideration—for though the subject may be found dealt with in scattered articles in periodicals in English and in the Continental languages, and also in contributions to such composite works as the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Dr. James Hastings, and in other similar works in German and French, Mr. Hodivala's book is, as far as I am aware, the first treatise which has attempted to deal in a systematic form with the parallelisms in the religions and mythologies of the Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans, and that in a spirit of scientific research.

But this is not the only thing in its favour which this book may claim to its credit, for to say that a book is a pioneer in its field not unoften implies that it would not bear a critical examination and that it should be dealt with leniently. Mr. Hodivala's lectures do not stand in need of any appeal for lenient handling; on the contrary, though the first work of their kind, they display such sound scholarship and are marked by so rich and rare a spirit of research that even one disposed to be hypercritical would be hard put to it in picking holes in the main contentions advanced by the author. It is obvious that no one could deal satisfactorily with the subject of Indo-Iranian religion, who did not know thoroughly both the ancient languages of India and Persia. It is a pleasure to bear testimony that Mr. Hodivala is not only

*Being a "Foreword" to "Indo-Iranian Religion" by Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala (Bombay, 1925).

a scholar of the ancient language of Persia, but of Vedic Sanskrit as well. His lectures are replete with quotations extracted from the Vedic literature, bearing appropriately on the various points he seeks to establish. Being equally familiar with both the languages, he has had naturally great advantage over other writers on the subject, who knew only one or the other. It is also clear from a perusal of the book that its author has completely mastered the literature dealing with the subject, which is available in English and the other European languages. It is not surprising, therefore, that armed with the double advantage of knowing the classical languages of Persia and India and possessing familiarity with European books on the subject, he has been able to produce a work marked by critical acumen, and characterised by ripe judgment and learning of a high order.

II.

To say all this is not to imply that there are no points in this book on which opinions could not reasonably differ from those expressed by the scholarly author of these lectures. In the march of the advancement of learning there can obviously be no finality, so long as the study of a subject is to continue to make progress. Students of modern thought are familiar with the phenomenon that in almost all the branches of knowledge, accepted theories of but a few years back are as unoften as not discarded in favour of new ones, believed to be abreast of the latest research. Such is also the case with the subject-matter of Mr. Hodivala's lectures. I shall give only one instance to illustrate my point. On pages 26 and 27 of the book, after quoting a number of original texts from the Rig Veda showing a clear indication of monotheism, the learned author goes on to say: "Turning to Zoroastrianism we see that the doctrine of monotheism had been fully established in the time of Zarathustra and even in the Peshdadian period. It seems highly probable that some of Indo-Iranian Rishis were the originators of the monotheistic conception, which was readily caught hold of by the Iranian people who stuck to it while the Aryan mind was still wavering." Now this seems to me, with the greatest deference to the scholarship of the author, a rather doubtful contention in the present state of knowledge. The popular impression that the Zoroastrian religion in-

culcates not so much monotheism as dualism, does not seem to me to be entirely unfounded. I am not unaware that the view expressed by Mr. Hodivala is one which has found favour with many scholars, both in the East and the West. On a question of this nature I would be the last person to rely upon my own knowledge or judgment. If I venture to express any doubt as to the soundness of Mr. Hodivala's contention, it is because I find that Dr. M. N. Dhalla, (himself one of the high priests and admittedly an acknowledged authority on the subject) in his interpretation of the theology of both the Avestan and the later periods, writes as follows at page 48 of his well-known work called *Zoroastrian Theology*:—"The arch fiend who disputes the kingdom of Earth with the Holy Spirit (Spenta Mainyu or with Ahura Muzda) who introduces discord and death in the world, who strives to thwart the purposes of God is Angra Mainyu or the Evil Spirit. *He does not owe his existence to the good spirit. He is independent. Consequently he is co-eternal and co-existent, is not co-eternal with the god-head.*" Now this passage, if accepted as a correct interpretation of the data available to us on the subject, will not sustain Mr. Hodivala's contention about Zoroastrian monotheism. In fact, the dualistic teaching emphasised by Dr. Dhalla is largely accepted as a characteristic feature of Zoroastrianism and many people regard it as a satisfactory solution of the perennial problem of the origin of evil in this world. Now, I need hardly say that my object in referring to this point is not to contest the correctness of Mr. Hodivala's proposition even on the authority of Dr. Dhalla, but to show that there are yet in the realms of Avestan scholarship unknown worlds to be conquered by scholars and researchers, for whom these lectures will illumine the path of progress, by reason of their being suggestive and thought-provoking, and a book like this which challenges study and reflection is all the more deserving of welcome.

III.

I shall now turn to another aspect of the subject. Mr. Hodivala in the last paragraph of the book dealing with the difference between the ancient Indian and the ancient Iranian religions writes as follows:—"With the Indians

*The italics in the above quotation are mine.—S. S.

speculation led to the complete abolition of all barriers between God and man, to a mystic pantheism, and to an absorption in the universal Ego, in contrast with which the world became an unsubstantial phantasm and sank into nothingness. For the Iranian people, on the contrary, practical life and the real world filled the fore-ground. Pantheism was the chief characteristic of both the nations; with the Persians it was always positive—affirming the world and life, taking joy in them and seeking union with the Almighty God. With the Indians it was negative, denying world and life, and seeing the ideal in Moksha or the cessation of existence (*Encyclopædia Britannica* 11th Edition, 21. p. 204).” Now I decline to be drawn into a controversy with the scholarly author in regard to the characteristics or the development of the ancient Indian religion, or its effect on the outlook on human life, fortified as he is with the authority of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*! But I whole-heartedly agree with him in all that he says about the religious outlook of the Iranian people, in the passage quoted above. That their practical genius made them disparage metaphysical speculations as idle attempts at the impracticable, and led them to develop an irrepressible optimism as a distinctive phase of their mind, is a fact which cannot be questioned. Taking this view of the subject, I agree with the author that “piety in thought, word and work was the chief precept of the Zoroastrian religion”, and that “the whole fabric of the religion was based upon the three virtues of good thought, good speech and good action”. This I am glad to say has been the key-note of the creed of the great prophet of Persia throughout the ages, and in the various countries where the followers of his creed have lived and still live and flourish. The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar said nothing but the barest truth when (in paying an eloquent tribute to the late Grand Old Man of India) he spoke as follows of the Parsi community at large: “Dadabhai Naoroji belonged to the great Parsi community and if we take stock of his life and example, may I not say with perfect justice and truth that in his career in all he did, in all he suffered, and in all he taught, he was a prophet of Zoroaster’s religion personified and incarnated, because he was the man more than any body else of pure thoughts, of pure speech, of pure deeds—the sum and substance of Zoroastrian religion. Therefore,

it is no exaggeration to say, and it is not marring the beauty of the religion to say, that he was the second Zoroaster sent to India to make the sun of righteousness and of India’s future progress shine more and more by means of our pure thoughts, our pure speech and our pure deeds.” No sensible person but will gladly endorse the above dictum.

IV.

Although I have ventured to respond to Mr. Hodivala’s request to write a Foreword, it is not because I am vain enough to imagine that I have a right to do so on the score of possessing any claims to scholarship. The reason why I have gladly acceded to the request is because I am deeply interested in the well-being of the Parsi community, both on personal and political grounds. Ever since I was in my teens, in the early nineties of the last century, I have had the good fortune of having come under the benign influence of some of the greatest Parsis, and it was at their feet that I received my training in public life and political affairs. So far back as 1890 I had the privilege, when studying in England, of being brought under the ennobling and inspiring influence of Dadabhai Naoroji, and I may claim to have had the unique honour of having canvassed for him in 1892, in his constituency of Central Finsbury, when he was, the first Indian, returned to the British House of Commons. His interest in me lasted since throughout the remaining period of his long life, and I owe to his guidance and inspiration a great deal in my career as a public man. Since my return from England in 1893, after my call to the Bar, I was brought into intimate contact with the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the late Mr. Behramji Malabari, and both of these great Parsis and great Indians, left indelible impress upon my work in the spheres of political and social activities. I advisedly refrain from mentioning the names of those other eminent Parsis who have been my life-long friends and to whom I owe much, but who are still fortunately amongst us. But I cannot omit all reference to the sense of pride and satisfaction with which I have paid frequent visits to Tata-nagar and Jamshedpur, in my province of Bihar, since I came to be connected with its Government in 1921. That a howling wilderness has been transformed, in the course of a few short

years, into a thriving industrial centre of more than one hundred thousand people, is a standing monument to the genius of Jamshedji Tata, the greatest captain of industry that India has produced so far. In fact, when I recall how the Parsi community, numerically so small, is great beyond measure in social progress, political talents, constitutional agitation, commercial and industrial enterprise, and in large-hearted charity and philanthropy, and how much India owes in her march on the road to modern progress to her Parsi sons, I feel that one of the greatest and happiest days in the history of our country was that on which the Parsi refugees from Persia landed on the Indian shores. I have read in an essay by Dr. Jiwangi Jamshedji Modi that the Parsi Dastur who headed the first band of Parsis that landed on the very hospitable shores of India, after the Arab conquest of Persia, said to the ruling Hindu Prince of Sanjan—“*Hami Hindustanra Yar bashim*” which means “We will be the friends of India,” and Dr. Modi claims that the Parsi community “has done its best to be true to the promise of being friendly to Hindustan.” No fair-minded person, familiar with the history of India since the Parsis came to this country, will doubt the correctness of Dr. Modi’s assertion. The Parsis have repaid their debt to India by having taken a very prominent and active part in the material, social, intellectual and political advancement of Western India, in particular, and India, in general, and they gave (to their adopted land) in Dadabhai Naoroji, who is justly so regarded, the father of constitutional political agitation in the

country, and in Sir Pherozeshah Mehta the greatest political leader of his time.

Nor, judging by its great past, can it at all be doubted that this intellectual, progressive and influential community is bound to play an even greater part in the building of India’s future. Mr. Hodivala writes at page 38:—“The Aryans and the Iranians were in far ancient times one people, observing the same religion. The instances of close parallelisms which we have given above form only a link in the long chain of arguments, which corroborate the unity of the two nations in pre-Vedic times.” As they were then outside the boundaries of India, so they are now fortunately once again on the soil of India, brought together, by a chain of circumstances, as integral and component parts of one great nation—the Indian. For better or for worse—I certainly believe for better—their lots are again cast together to work jointly for the amelioration of India and for the regeneration of the ancient and historic land of which they are both inhabitants. Imbued with such ideas I naturally offer a cordial welcome to Mr. Hodivala’s work which seeks to establish the original identity, in race and religion, of the two great Aryan races which have met again on the soil of India, and I commend its earnest and careful perusal not only to scholars and students of the subject of Indo-Aryan theology, mythology and philosophy, but also to all public men and publicists interested in the pressing problem of bringing about greater social and political fusion amongst the various communities inhabiting this great country.

CHINESE CAMEOS.

By MR. F. HADLAND DAVIS.

I.

THE ELIXIR OF LIFE IN ANCIENT CHINA.

The zest for life, following the terrible ravages of the Great War, seems to have

increased of late. The cry of Professor Osler, “Too old at forty”, is heard no more, and medical science is active in restoring youth to the aged. We hear much of the thyroid gland and of the vitalising value of vitamins. Ten years ago we pinned our faith to Metchnikoff

milk. To-day we see a new lease of life by resorting to monkeys. We are ready to yield to the latest fad provided we can become virile centenarians. It does not require the imagination of H. G. Wells to perceive that we are beginning to keep young for a much longer period than would have seemed possible to the Victorians. Whether we shall finally reach human immortality is a matter of the most doubtful conjecture. Such a state of affairs would certainly lead to many complications, and make it desirable to know how we could colonise the stars.

Our craving for more years in which to work and play is really a modified form of the ancient quest for the elixir of life, with this important difference, that while our aims are materialistic, the ancients sought to make the best of this world and the next.

It is a far cry from Republican China to those days when certain men of the Celestial Kingdom retired from the world, and, in mountain hut, or grove, or cave sought to discover the elixir that would confer immortality, transmute base metals into gold, and banish sickness and pain. At such a period emperor and peasant alike were enthralled by the wonders of magicians who made light of the pomp and circumstance of courts, and who claimed to have gazed upon glories more fair and more enduring than the splendour of kings. It is more than probable that alchemy had its original source in China, and from thence came to Arabia. Alchemists all over the world seem to have thought that it was not worth while to be able to make gold at will and in abundance unless at the same time the power of death could be overcome. Wealth, fabulous wealth, and eternity to spend it in, seems to have been the aim of those who laboured in this particular direction.

Some of us are rather inclined to associate alchemy with a certain form of necromancy, which Benvenuto Cellini has so amusingly described in his *Autobiography*. For my part I not only regard alchemy as the beginning of chemistry and the basis of medicine, but I see in that ardent quest something that is essentially spiritual. It is not all nonsense. There underlies those tinctures and powders and strange herbs, and all the paraphernalia connected with the search, the grace of persistent human effort. Browning has made Paracelsus an immortal figure, and

Dr. Dee, who lived in the spacious days of Good Queen Bess, presents a fascinating study. Who can forget the pathos of Balthazar Claes in Balzac's "The Quest of the Absolute"? "Matter etherealised, and given off," he cried to his wife, "the secret, doubtless, of the Absolute! Only think of if I should be the first—I the first—if I find it out... if I find... if I find...!" But Balthazar Claes never found the Absolute in this world. He who had analysed human tears died of a broken heart, and only in death did that poor, weary soul discover the secret. The quest for gold made from base metals and the search after human immortality have failed, as far as those earnest seekers were concerned, but they contributed to science for all their random dreaming.

The significance of the search for the elixir of life is nowhere better illustrated than in ancient China, and it is most clearly defined in a later form of Taoism, so remote from the teachings of Lao Tzu, or his great exponent, Chuang Tzu. The teaching of Confucius, even if we only regard it as a system of morality, has much to commend it. He introduced a system of ethics that was of immense value to the individual and to the State. No one will deny the wisdom of his Golden Rule, or his wise assertion that there should be unity in human relationships. He stressed the value of filial piety, and when loyalty was the keynote of his discourse he did much in setting a good example as far as the requirements of this life were concerned. But the cold truths of Confucius and the abstruse sayings of Lao Tzu did not satisfy those who desired to break down the barrier that separated mortality from immortality.

There were men in ancient China who would have none of the dismal utterances of the founder of Taoism, men who asserted that life was good, provided we could have more of it. They also believed that the celestial world not only existed but that it was accessible to those who were fortunate to find the right key. These men were adventurers, charlatans, if you will, but they believed, without a shadow of doubt, that the secret of life and death could be discovered. They ate various concoctions, experimented with many substances, learnt to breathe in a certain way, and at length claimed to have found that key which Omar could not find. They flew through the

air, either in body or spirit, for the purpose of entering the Palace of Jade, or in order to have the pleasure of listening to the discourse of the Eight Immortals. It is comforting to observe that even magicians, who flew through the blue sky on the back of a heron and turned snow into gold, were not always infallible, and could not invariably control their destinies. Before T'ieh Kwai Sien-sheng allowed his spirit to voyage through the air, he bade his disciple keep watch over his body during his absence. "If", said the sage, "I do not return to the world within seven days, you may dismiss my earthly remains into space." Having uttered these words the master's spirit flew up into the sky, and his disciple remained by the silent body. On the sixth day it so happened that the watcher was called away to attend his dying mother, and on that day the spirit of his master returned, only to find that his earthly body was not longer vitalised. The spirit, no doubt not a little displeased, entered the body of a lame and crooked beggar, who had just passed away, and in this decrepit shape the philosopher continued his existence.

Now, most of us have a liking for marvels, if we have something akin to Peter Pan, and never quite grow up, never quite lose touch with romance. There were, however, humorous cynics in the Land of the Blue Gown who simply laughed at these fantastic stories without for a moment believing in them. I have a fancy that the following story about the Duke of Lu-yang must have come from a merry fellow who wanted to poke fun at the elixir of life. It is said of the Duke of Lu-yang that after drinking the elixir of life he rose to Heaven in broad daylight. In his excitement he dropped the vessel that had contained the precious liquid. His dogs and poultry sipped the few remaining drops, and immediately sailed up into the sky after their master. We are not told if the fowls laid eggs in the clouds, or if the dogs snapped at the shins of the Eight Immortals!

What is the Chinese elixir of life, that is also the elixir of gold and the panacea for all ills? When, two hundred years before the birth of Christ, the poet Szema Siang-jin spoke of "chewing the blossoms of the *k'ung*," he was referring to the wonderful jadestone tree that grows on Mount Kw'en Lun, the abode of the Western Royal Mother. This tree was "10,000 cubits in height and 300 arm-spans in

circumference," and the eating of its blossom conferred the gift of immortality. The word *k'ung* (jadestone) is the symbol for all that is most beautiful and precious, and in Chinese poetry it is used as a synonym for whiteness or spotlessness. The radiant face of the moon is sometimes described as "the lake of *k'ung*." Considering that the jadestone has for centuries been regarded by the Chinese as symbolical of all that is supremely excellent, it is not surprising to find that it figures largely in Chinese alchemy. The Taoist philosophers, taking for granted that the jadestone tree of Heaven revealed the greatest strength combined with the purest effulgence, soon began, by what we should call sympathetic magic, to attribute all manner of miraculous virtues to the gem. From the mountain producing it, P'uh Tsze asserts, a liquid flows which, after ten thousand years, becomes solidified into a substance as clear as crystal. If a certain herb be added it once more becomes liquid, and a draught of it confers the gift of living, not for ever, but for a thousand years. If a more liberal potation is swallowed, it will enable the happy magician to soar into the air and commune with the Immortals. The gum of the peach tree, combined with the powdered ash of the mulberry, was said to cure all diseases, and also to confer the boon of immortality. The *k'ien* tree (cassia) that grows in the moon has similar attributes, but it is said that the bodies of those who have eaten the sacred leaves become pellucid as crystal. It may be that the Chinese God of Medicine had derived miraculous sustenance from this source, for he could look into his stomach and watch the action of drugs, a gift none of our physicians possess to-day. It is probable that the conception of the *k'ien* tree was borrowed from the Buddhist *sutras* where reference is made to the tree of the King of Drugs that is said to grow on the Himalayas.

The old Chinese philosopher's conception of gold is interesting. To him gold has not always been gold, but the result of progressive evolutions, from the first immaterial principle of creation to silver, and finally to the precious metal itself. Another theory is that gold is the perfected essence of mountain rock, which in a thousand years is converted into quicksilver. The quicksilver has been produced by the female, or lunar, principle in Nature, and does not become gold until it is acted upon by the

masculine, or solar, principle. This compound, when treated in a particular way, became the powder of transmutation, and also the elixir of life, or "the golden draught."

These gold-making, eternally-living adepts had many wonders to see, many marvels to recount in language that was never lacking in imagination or in picturesque and poetical detail. They could commune with Lao Tzu and the Eight Immortals, or watch Kieh Lin, the Old Man of the Moon, tying together with a red cord infants who were destined to be joined in future wedlock—for in China marriages are made in the moon and not in Heaven! They could see the great tortoise that supports mountains on its back, or walk through the halls of the great palace of Jade that lies far, far away beyond the blue sky. They could listen to the exquisite lute-playing of Siao She, converse with famous beauties, whose loveliness had been enhanced in the celestial regions, or gaze upon the portal of the Pure Supreme Mansion of the Immortals.

More wonderful than these marvels was Kw'en Lun, a far-away mountain in the Hindu Kush, for was it not the abode of Si Wang Mu, the Western Royal Mother? It was regarded as the central mountain of the earth, and round its base flowed the blue river, the white river, the red river, and the black river. On the mountain stood Si Wang Mu's beautiful palace. An old Chinese writer thus described it: "It has walls piled high in nine-fold gradations—and upon it grow trees and grain. On the west there are the tree of pearls, the tree of jadestone, the tree of the *suan* gem, the tree of immortality. At its foot flows the yellow Water which, after three windings, returns to its source. It is called the *Tan* (gold) water, and those who drink of it escape death." We are also told that on the terraces of this mountain were "fields of sesamum" and "gardens of coriander", the seeds of which are eaten instead of ordinary food by the votaries of longevity. Beside these fields and gardens stand twelve dazzling towers of gems, all built of five-coloured jadestone, and, in addition, there is the Lake of Jewels. Then there is the glory of the Western Royal Mother herself, with her azure birds and her vast company of attendants. Amid such scenes of splendour the Emperor Muh, nearly three thousand years ago, was entertained by Si Wang Mu, and it is recorded that the Western

Royal Mother paid a visit to that monarch with a vast company of fair maidens.

We have now followed the fantastic story of the elixir of life in ancient China. It would be easy to dismiss the whole conception as a brightly-coloured fairy story; but it is more than "a tale that is told". Behind these preposterous adventures there is surely to be traced a craving after the beautiful. There were toil and self-sacrifice in all these efforts, as well as charlatanism that imposed upon the minds of the credulous. The paucity of the teaching of Confucius and Buddha and Lao Tzu fostered a desire to lift the veil that hides this world from the next. There is, if we would have the patience and tolerance to see it, much pathos, much that stirs the heart to pity in these poor strivings of Chinese alchemists. They tried to find happiness through the perilous paths of magic. Caught in the glamour of a restless impulse that was destined to stir the West later on, they thought perpetual youth was to be found in the waters of crystalline jadestone, or in the peach tree, or in the mighty cassia tree that grows in the moon. In the moon? What a place for all impossible longings! In ancient China the cry was for an extension of life, and to-day, after more than two thousand years, we are conscious of the same desire. We want to remain young, but instead of swallowing liquid gold, or masticating the leaves of certain trees, we banish decrepitude by the kindly service of a monkey, till we are in some danger of growing a prehensile tail as long as the vanishing pigtail of a Chinaman!

II.

RIVER LIFE IN CHINA.

Chinese poets have sung of river life in the Flowery Kingdom as if rivers existed for the sole purpose of providing romantic pleasure. We see fair ladies almost swooning from the effect of the excessive beauty of their surroundings, and young men drinking wine and singing songs amid a cloud of falling peach-blossom. Hundreds of years ago it was believed that the yellow River had its source in the Milky Way, and as that stellar stream was associated with two lovers who could only meet once a year by crossing a bridge of magpies, lucky, we may suppose, on that occasion, it is hardly to be wondered at that

the Chinese are decidedly sentimental when spending a spring or summer day on the river. There was something about flowing water that suggested magical adventure, especially to those who had the imaginative mind of the Taoists and were not content with the ethical teaching of Confucius. It was thought that there might be some river that led to the Land of Heart's Desire. Indeed, there is a story told of one man who found such a country while pushing his boat through a grove of peach trees. He is said to have passed into a cave where he discovered a land of rich fields, fine pools, and a wealth of mulberry and bamboo. The people wore clothes of a strange fashion, and we are told that "young and old alike appeared to be contented and happy." All of which is gentle and pleasing allegory of a poet who had been permitted "to go back for a brief span to the peach-blossom days of his youth." When I see a picnic party on the Thames, or a Cockney with a bowler hat rowing his best girl upstream to Eell Pie Island at so much an hour, I cannot help thinking that in Old Cathay the pleasures of the river were of a more poetic kind.

T'ao Ch'ien gives a charming account of his return home: "Lightly, lightly, speeds my boat along, my garments fluttering to the gentle breeze. I inquire my route as I go. I grudge the slowness of the dawning day. From afar I descry my old home, and joyfully press onwards in my haste. The servants rush forth to meet me; my children cluster at the gate. The place is a wilderness; but there is the old pine tree and my chrysanthemums. I take the little ones by the hand, and pass in. Wine is brought in full jars, and I pour out in brimming cups. I gaze out at my favourite branches. I loiter against the window in my new-found freedom. I look at the sweet children on my knee."

Long ago there lived a mandarin called Peh-ya. Having attended to official business he desired to return by water in order that he might see once more familiar scenes of his youthful days, and two boats were provided for his accommodation. In the flowery language of Old Cathay we are told that "The wind-filled sails advanced amid the thousand tiers of blue-green wavelets, while beyond the sunlit waters were the distant hills of piled-up turquoise".

Peh-ya entered a chain of lakes that extend from Hanyang to beyond the Hill of the Nine Recluses. When the moon shone upon a scene of entrancing beauty, the mandarin ordered a boy to light the incense brazier and bring forth his harpsichord. While playing a plaintive tune upon this instrument one of the strings snapped. Peh-ya was much annoyed, and said: "There is some villain who owes me a grudge, or a robber bent on stealing the treasure in the boats. If he is not among the trees yonder, he is certainly hiding among the tall reeds."

It was a curious thought to associate with a broken string, but in the learned mandarin's opinion it was sufficient to account for his misfortune. Boatmen were sent to search the banks of the river. A humble woodcutter was discovered, who explained that he had listened with pleasure to the notes of the harpsichord. The mandarin, still nettled by the broken string, scoffed at the woodcutter's words, but was sufficiently composed to ask him the meaning of the music he had heard. The rustic answered without a moment's hesitation, and his reply was so neatly expressed that the astonished Peh-ya invited the woodcutter to enter the mandarin's boat.

The woodcutter came into the vessel, removed his straw cape and rain hat, to reveal beneath a blue cloth wrapped round his head and a cotton jacket bound with a white girdle. With much dignity he entered the cabin where he found the official seated with a glow of lamps about him. The mandarin must have been rather a wearisome pedant, a crusty old fellow out to catch his humble guest, for no sooner had the woodcutter taken a seat than he was questioned as to the origin of the harpsichord. The visitor gave such a learned dissertation on the subject that the mandarin could not withhold his admiration, but his praise was tempered by suspicion. The fellow had talked like a Chinese encyclopædia. He might have learnt his speech parrot fashion.

Resolving to test the youth still more drastically, Peh-ya renewed the broken string and commenced to play, bidding his guest interpret the music. Whether the mandarin played airs descriptive of mountain scenery or of running brooks, whether he struck the strings joyously or sadly, the woodcutter readily expressed the thoughts that had lingered in the musician's mind. Peh-ya's

ungenerous doubts were now finally dispelled. With profuse apologies he exclaimed: " 'Amid the rocks the priceless gem is hidden. And he who judges after the outward appearance and garb cannot fail to slight the most wisely virtuous everywhere.' "

Learning that the woodcutter's name was Tsz-ki, the now affable mandarin bade him occupy the place of honour on his left, and tea and wine were brought for their mutual refreshment. Peh-ya inquired how it was that one with so much ability had not secured a worthy position "among the bamboo and brocade", that is, a post among the ruling classes. "Why vegetate and wither," said he, "when you might flourish as a scholar?" When the mandarin learnt that the young man occupied the humble calling of a woodcutter solely that he might be near his aged parents, the official was deeply moved. Here was filial piety so self-effacing that Peh-ya hardly knew how to express his admiration or how to make a fitting return to one so altogether estimable. "One's acquaintance may fill the earth," said he, "but heart-interpreting friends are rare indeed. If in my various vicissitudes I may be linked with you in the bonds of sworn brotherhood, it will be an unspeakable enrichment to my whole life."

At midnight, with incense rising from the brazier, the mandarin clad in silk and fox furs, the woodcutter in cotton garments, went through the eight obeisances, which were similar to those used at a Chinese betrothal.

The next morning the friends parted, and Peh-ya agreed to return to the same place in a year's time in order that they might renew their happy friendship.

When Peh-ya came to the same riverside again, he stood on deck and looked in vain for Tsz-ki. Seeing him not on the river bank or among the wind-blown bamboos, he commenced to play his harpsichord in the hope that the sound of music would attract him as it had done a year ago. But the longed-for greeting did not come, and full of apprehension Peh-ya went on shore and visited the village where his friend had lived. There he met an old man, the father of Tsz-ki, who told him that his son was dead. Together they visited the grave, and Peh-ya having sung in a trembling voice about his friend, cut the silken strings of his harpsichord and dashed it to pieces on

the young man's grave. Saying to the old man: "I was one with Tsz-ki and he with me," he went his way. Thus ends a charming story of what may be described as a river friendship, a tale that commenced with a broken string, blossomed forth into the melody of happy union, and was finally ended in a separation where the joyous music was hushed to silence.

I have tried to convey something of the romance of river life in China as it existed many centuries ago. I now attempt to give some account of Chinese boating in modern times. If in doing so it is shorn of poetic glamour, it is not without its human interest, and is certainly not devoid of stirring adventure.

It must be remembered that the rivers of China have been the most important highways and byways of the country from the far away days of the Grand Canal to the present time. Orientals are not famous road-makers, and the ill-kept roads in China, with their delapidated bridges, are by no means always desirable for carrying the traffic of the country. Nature has decked those roads with gorgeous flowers, but Nature has also, in angry mood, torn those highways assunder by storms of great violence. And so in China it is found expedient to make full use of the many rivers and lakes for getting from one part of the country to the other.

The River Yangtze, or "Son of the Ocean", is a magnificent river that flows across the centre of China. Great steamers can travel up for six hundred miles, and for another fifteen hundred miles it flows through the richest provinces in the kingdom. Here may be seen strange-looking junks and sailing-boats, of most varied pattern and construction, fighting their way against an ebbing tide, pursuing a zig-zag course through mighty gorges where the river looks like a silver serpent, a twisting and tumbling creature that can scarce endure the company of ships. But the little vessels go on to the distant west notwithstanding the rush of water, countless rocks and innumerable waterfalls. "Day after day and week after week, with the steady patience of the indomitable Chinese . . . they at last cast anchor two thousand miles away from home in the far off harbour in the west."

More famous than the Yangtze is the Yellow River, associated with the names of many heroes and sages and with many stirring

events in Chinese history. It is known to-day as "China's Sorrow", for when the mountain snow melts and rain descends in a solid mass of water, the Yellow River becomes the Yellow Demon, tearing down villages and submerging walled cities. If China's road-makers and road-repairers are negligible people, there are others who have successfully grappled the difficulties of their rivers by devising boats shaped in a myriad ways to suit the countless dangers associated with such a life in China. Thousands are born and bred on Chinese rivers. Their boats are their homes, and they marry, bring up children and breathe their last within sound of running water.

Mr. J. Macgowan gives an interesting account of his experience in a Chinese boat about twenty-four feet long and six feet wide. The vessel contained a cabin, ten feet long, for the use of passengers, and beyond a clear space that reached the stern. There was in addition a hold, only two feet deep, used for steering, rowing, cooking and the sleeping accommodation of the Captain and crew. At the bow men rowed, or hoisted or lowered sails as occasion required. Only Orientals, used to folding themselves into compact positions, could tolerate for a moment such confined quarters, and those Chinese boxes that fit one inside the other until they reach the size of a lump of sugar, or something still smaller, are characteristic of the people themselves. They are not only "content to fill a little place," but they do so cheerfully, and with no discomfort of any kind.

At nightfall the crew gathered round a smoking jar of rice. Chopsticks went from mouth to mouth as rapidly as knitting-needles in efficient hands, and jokes flew about that circle of jolly fellows as if life were a jest and laughter the best gift in the world. One by one the man dropped into a shallow opening in the deck. Heads and feet performed a kind of jigsaw puzzle, and in a space where even dead sardines would murmur, these merry, imperturbable men fell asleep and awoke the following morning as refreshed as if they had slept in a spacious English bedroom with the inevitable open window.

There are much narrower quarters in the boats belonging to the poorer class of Chinese fishermen. Their vessels are usually not more than twelve feet long, and the small mat-shed in the centre is the only protection in rough

weather. Here husband and wife and children manage to live. A string is fastened to the leg of the youngest child, for should he tumble overboard, and he often does, he can be fished out before the accident becomes fatal. Sometimes in a fishing boat, that is no more than a human nest on the water, may be found a pig. Being born and bred in China he thoroughly enjoys his narrow quarters. Joy is characteristic of these simple fishing folk, and only when death takes away the chief rice-winner is their silence on these vessels.

Chinese boats constructed for negotiating the rapids are marvels of ingenuity. Their sides are not rigid and massive but lithe and supple. They yield and give when the pressure of running water is most severe, or when the little vessel turns almost at right angles to avoid a dangerous rock. As soon as one of these boats gains momentum, passengers on board display a terror-stricken look. We read: "All at once a jagged-looking rock, around which the tide froths and foams, appears in the very line the boat is being steered. It is distinctly visible, and yet the Captain keeps on his course, as though he did not see it. Every one holds his breath and trembles as he thinks of the crash and the instant destruction of the boat when it dashes on the rock that seems flying upstream to meet it. There would be a panic were it not that the Captain stands like a carved statue, unmoved, with his black, piercing eyes fixed with an intensity of gaze upon the sinister object ahead. And still the boat moves on; the banks seem to fly faster and the hills look on with silent terror at the catastrophe that is about to happen, when, just as she is within a few feet of the rock, the man in the bow swiftly darts out his pole and with strong thrust diverts her course. In an instant almost she is careering on in safety with the danger slowly disappearing astern." The passengers smile. The Captain lights his long bamboo pipe, and all rejoice in slow, safe travel past scenes of entrancing beauty. Then once more turbulent water, strained faces and strained nerves, for a trip on the rapids is an alternating experience of dream travel and horrible nightmare.

Whether we study river life in China as it existed thousands of years ago, or as we find it to-day, there is one Chinese trait that has not changed with the passing of time, and that is

an intense love of life and an ardent devotion to Nature. Ssu-k'ung (A.D. 834-908) wrote:

The bright river, unfathomable,
The rare flower just opening,
The parrot of the verdant spring,
The willow trees, the terrace,
The stranger from the dark hills,
The cup overflowing with clear wine
O for life to be extended . .

Amid the charms of the Natural,—

Ah, who can compass it?

We have seen most of these things depicted on a Chinese screen, but all may be found in the heart of almost every man and woman in China. The perfumed lady of the T'ang dynasty and the fisherman's wife of to-day are one in the desire that the River of Life may never end, that it may flow on for ever.....
"Ah, who can compass it?"

GAMBETTA AND HIS LOVE LETTERS.

By MR. WILLIAM PURVIS.

If all the women who have stood behind the great men of the earth since the beginning of time could be marshalled on the open plain of history, what a marvellous company it would make! Not all the writers of fiction, from the novelist of the cave-man down to Corelli and Caine, have imagined an army of women more wonderful than that gathering would be. Most of the figures in this fascinating assembly would be utterly unknown women; many of them—the majority, one likes to think—would be good women, very good women; but many, one is sure, would be no better than they should have been. Now and then, through personal knowledge, books of memoirs, or other means, we get glimpses of the feminine influences that have moulded to finer ends the men who, in turn, have moulded the world. Here and there club talk or the fierce glare of scandal in the courts will give us passing glimpses of the other sort of woman. But one half, one tithe, has never been told—nor can ever be—of the working of the greatest thing in the world upon the lives of the great men of the past and the present, and so upon the rise and fall of nations. I am inclined to believe that the unknown mothers and wives and friends of the world's great men have had a deeper and more direct and lasting effect on the development of morals and philosophy—that is to say, of civilisation—than all other influences put together. Almost all the men

who have done big things in history have had remarkable mothers; most of them, one imagines, must have had wives who inspired them, or (if not that exactly) spurred them on. Léon Gambetta, the father of the Third French Republic, the man who laid the stone on which the permanent peace of Europe has been a-building for forty years when rudely shattered by the Armageddon of 1914, had a great mother. "A peasant," says one of the authorities writing of Gambetta's mother; "a descendant of an old French family, of good blood," says another; perhaps she was both; for where in all the world shall we find better blood than that of the old peasantry of France, the men and women from who have flowed much of the liberty and more of the valour of the modern world. Any way, Gambetta's mother was that best of mothers—she who struggles bravely to give her son the best of mental culture and concerns herself no less with the culture of his heart. When she sent him forth from his southern home to conquer Paris, the old lady warned her Léon, not against the small and ephemeral temptations of the city, but against the danger of selling his life for a mess of pottage, of losing his soul whilst he made his fortune. "Thy Country: that is thy vocation," she said; and Gambetta never forgot the saying or neglected the sayer. She shared the glory of his triumphs; she and his noble friend Léonie

Léon. I use the word "noble" advisedly, albeit Léonie Léon was without the pale. For the tale of the loves of men and women of genius, of the quiet self-sacrifice of loving women for the men they love, contains no chapter more beautifully tender and appealing than this of which Léonie Léon was the central, though close-veiled, figure. The story as told in "The Heart of Gambetta,"* by Francis Laur, mainly by means of the love-letters of the statesman to his lady reads like an immortal romance; and it is hard to believe that the renewing youth of humanity will ever let them die. They must take their place in the gallery where already we keep the tale of Héloïse and Abélard, Paolo and Francesca, George Sand and De Musset and Chopin, Cowper and Mrs. Unwin, Keats and Fanny Brawne; these and a dozen other famous love affairs, charming or painful, tragic or only comic-tragical.

I.

Léon Gambetta died forty-three years ago; and there were terrible whispers around his death-bed of a jealous woman and a revolver. Léonie Léon was the woman; she was not jealous, but simply faithful to the end; and the rumours were the usual lies of the café gossip. After Gambetta's death Léonie disappeared; she died in 1906, and before she passed away she gave M. Laur a hundred of Gambetta's letters, part of some 2,000 written by him, covering the nine years beginning in February, 1873, and ending in September, 1882. Gambetta wrote to her every day; "because, with the exception of their holiday excursions to Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, their meetings in Paris and at Ville d'Avray," they rarely saw one another. "Many of my Gambettis: comrades," declares M. Laur, "are indignant with me for ascribing to Léonie such commanding influence upon the great Tribune at every important step of his career." Yet these letters of Gambetta, despite their amiable extravagance, seem evidence enough. The outward manner of the man, as well as his inmost thoughts, was influenced by Léonie. One day she was curing him of meridional habits of theatrical gesture and careless expectoration,

the next urging upon him a conciliatory meeting with "that monster Bismark," or acting as unofficial embassy to the Vatican. From the day when they came together she was his Sun, the centre around which moved all his varied life. Before his eyes, in success and in failure, were the stirring, soothing eyes of Léonie; before hers always Gambetta—his career and his country. He was a Freethinker, she a devoted Catholic; yet they worked splendidly together for the re-establishment of France among the nations, for the stability and grandeur of the Republic. Their meeting and their parting alike recall the fateful episodes of a Euripidean drama. One day—in 1869 (or '70)—whilst speaking from the tribune in the Chamber of Deputies, Gambetta saw a beautiful young woman sitting in the front row of the public galleries. She did not applaud, but she followed keenly with her eyes "the utterance of the young giant, the most eloquent of Frenchmen, and the most magnetic since Mirabeau." Gambetta sent her a note, which she read and tore up. Again he saw her at the National Assembly, and again he sent her a note. This she read and placed in her bosom, but nothing happened. Some years later Gambetta met the lady at a friend's house and promised to meet her again next day in the gardens of Versailles. There she told him of her secluded life in the provinces, her misfortune, her coming to Paris. Gambetta told her of his mother, of his hopes and fears for France and himself. Moreover, he offered her marriage. She elected not to be his wife, for several reasons. First, she was afraid that her past might prove detrimental to his career; secondly, she would require the sanction of the Church upon their union, and this was opposed alike to all Gambetta's private principles and public policy. So for ten years they were affectionate and faithful to one another without the aid of the customary bonds; and then—then came Gambetta's political eclipse, his physical break-down, the retirement in comparative poverty to a country cottage, the revolver mishap, Gambetta's illness and death: this last almost on the day that was to have been his wedding day, the scruples of Léonie having in the end been overcome.

II.

Several of these letters—and the best of them—are, in fact, addressed to "Dear Adored

* "The Heart of Gambetta." By Francis Laur. Authorised translation by Violette M. Montagu, with an Introduction by John MacDonald. (John Lane. 10s. 6d.)

Wife," others to "My All-Beloved," "My dear Idol," and the like. Two of the most charming read as follows:—

Dear Adored Wife, 1874.

We have the same feelings; our souls have never been more attuned, and I enjoy to the utmost a love such as the noblest minds imagined in past times. Thou alone, among all women, hast known how to lead me to the very summits of passion and communion of spirit. All sensations seem alike to me, all delicate, all exquisite, and the most sensual longings are purified by the domination of mind. My brain is filled with an endless theme of meditations and hidden joys; and it is to thee, to thee alone, that I owe this better and more beautiful world, vainly sought after and never found by so many great hearts among the shameful temptations of an ill-governed life. And so I adore thee as the saints adore God, as a pure spirit. I press thee passionately in my arms; come to-morrow and any time thou wilt I will throw myself at thy feet.

* * * *

January 13th, 1875.

Dear Beloved Little One,

Thou art the most incomparable little charmer that Nature's hands ever fashioned, and I daily feel myself overwhelmed with gratitude to fate for choosing me among all mankind to witness this dazzling fairy-tale of grace and enchantment.

I can never decide whether my heart or my head is the more delighted; when I think I have settled it, when my heart feels most deeply touched, then the head protests and proves that it has the greatest cause to be transported and enamoured. Yesterday thou didst go beyond me, thou didst surpass thyself; I am still under the spell; thy little letter, so delicious, so interesting, prolonged my ecstasy, and I began my day's work under the happiest auspices.

And see what a great and splendid victory we won to-day! The French army is saved, the future assured, our country will renew itself; we shall live just long enough to hail the avengers of our country's wrongs; and that day we can proudly cry: "Our love was the spirit which inspired these patriotic efforts, and my Léonie was the soul of those efforts."

* * * *

In another epistle of the former year we have a quaintly French touch in the sudden descent from emotional ecstasy to practical business:—

The horizon grows lighter; one can see the dawn breaking; still a little patience, and we shall see

the glorious dawn of our happy and united life! Be brave and hopeful. Remember that I love thee more than life, more than fame. I throw myself at thy feet.

P.S.—Olivier's reception is indefinitely postponed

Sometimes, apparently, as the wisest woman will, Léonie had foolish suspicions that her lover found her dull—because she laughed so seldom in dark days of national disaster. Gambetta's denial is charming; it is from the first of the letters now reproduced:—

I like to feel thee perfectly natural, easy, swayed by thy own serious nature, ennobled, playful, without affectation or reserve. That is just how I would have thee, how I imagined thee, a true woman, strong of heart and head, always superior to life's emotions and to the blows of fate. . . . Besides, one must never force oneself to laugh; laughter must be born, must be spontaneous; it is only wholesome and seemly when provoked by happy circumstances, and very seldom, in our sad times, can it be found. . . . I adore thee; I kiss thy beautiful eyes

In other dainty or significant letters Gambetta says:—

Thou art a fairy, and I know nothing more gracious, more kind, than thy delicate thoughtfulness. . . . I beg thee to come back at once, so that I may scold thee at leisure. . . . We will spend another of those divine evenings which seem to me on the morrow like the memory of some supernal happiness.

Well hast thou said "Thou dost only put into words what my heart well knew when thou declarest that in thy presence I should ever feel strong and take fresh courage." Thou art ever my clear-sighted, steadfast counsellor. . . . I see thee always inspiring my best deeds, wisely guiding my actions, and I love thee as the Greeks of old loved their household god Minerva. . . . Thou whom I know to be the very essence of my actions and the better part of my reason. To lessen my love for thee would be to disown thee and to renounce everything after which I am seeking. . . .

The spring-time of thy life has come back again; never have I seen thee so gay, so calm, so sparkling, so enchanting; I am still quite intoxicated with happiness. I cannot express to thee what joy it was to me to feel myself so young again. . . .

I really want to see thee; I cannot wait any longer. Thou art my life, my intellectual and moral "patria"; and I am homesick. . . . I have grown so

accustomed to consult my oracle that I cannot do without her. . . .

Love is my viaticum; if, thanks to thee, I did not find in the depths of my heart the hope and confidence placed there by thy delicate hand, I should really be inclined to give all this troop of ungrateful idiots and fools the slip, and turn hermit somewhere. Thy divine and potent qualities have kept me to my duty, impelled me to act. . . . Life would be a lie, unworthy of living, without a companion in arms like my Léonie; and so I do more than merely love her; I obey her, and I mingle my love for her and for my country into one passion. . . .

Who decreed that truth should not walk the world naked? That most exacting of human characteristics, which will only consent to be commended or led when deceit or force is enlisted. But enough of this misanthropy. I come back to thee; I press thee in my arms; thy touch, even in imagination, gives me strength and courage.

If I had Pope's pen I would write a little poem on the lost ear-ring, and profiting by the occasion, I would reveal the secret of our love to all posterity. . . . Let us be content to live our poem; let it be our pride to love each other, let us mock posterity; it will know enough to envy us, though it cannot imitate us. . . .

No one knows the real intoxication caused by political triumph who has not already tasted it in love. . . . Thou dost not know how adorable thou art; and that is thy only failing.

I run about the woods looking for new spots for our next walks, laughing like a child. I think that to-morrow I shall bring thee to my cottage, and I exult. . . . I would gladly lose all sentiment of my personality to possess thine. . . .

Thou hast taught me the real definition of perfect happiness; a life composed of days like yesterday. . . . Thou alone bindest me to life; I am sick of everything else.

Take great care of thy delicate self for my body and soul are dependent on thee. . . . In future, if thou wilt, we will never part again.

Within a year or so death had parted them, and Léonie Léon began her long sad journey, lasting near upon a quarter of a century. I know few love stories whose closing pages were more poignant than hers, yet in my mind's eye I can see this shabby old woman in her shuttered suburban chamber, joyously recreating over these crumpled letters during that lonely pilgrimage, the glowing phases of a love that made a great man and helped to remake a great nation.

BOOKS PRIVATELY PRINTED.

By MR. T. GORDON COOPER.

With the art of printing so much improved of late years, it seems almost wasteful that such bad materials should be used in the production of books. How many booklovers can tell a tale of split bindings, blotched type, and faded paper? He is lucky who cannot. The generality of books suffer from one, if not more of these defects. The only exceptions to them are those books which have the doubtful benefit of being privately issued—one cannot say published without glaring ambiguity. With them no trouble has been spared, but in many

cases it has been utterly wasted, as I will endeavour to show shortly.

I must confess to begin with—and I do not feel any shame at doing so—that I have a rooted objection to privately printed books, which I cannot overcome. I class them with large paper editions, prize bindings, and signed proofs of famous pictures, as things above me, things I cannot have, or else they come to me in the form of waste paper, and I feel them as things beneath me. But, prejudice aside, what good are they to anybody? In what have they

advanced the knowledge of the world? They have defeated the very object for which printing was invented. Most of them might have remained in manuscript without loss to anybody but the printers. All of them would have left but a small gap in the ranks of English literature, had they remained unborn in the minds of their authors. I think I hear a reader mention that my remark would apply equally well to many of those issuing from the public presses, but—I will not make the answer I intended. I am not a reviewer. The few that deserved printing at all, deserved also a better fate than an edition of some twenty, fifty, or say, a hundred copies. A miser, hoarding his wealth is despised by all. Why then this hoarding of a store of knowledge from a public that might benefit considerably from it? That is the crux of the matter—either the book is not worth printing, or it is worth the printing of as many copies as will sell, not forgetting a few besides for the amusement of posterity. The real reason—though one which the authors will not admit, talking of ‘hostile audiences,’ ‘bread to dogs’ ‘pearls before swine,’ in fact of anything that will conceal their true meaning—is that the authors want the glory of seeing themselves in print, without the responsibility a larger publicity would bring. What seems to induce many writers to issue their books privately seems to be an unconquerable desire to prove that a prophet can acquire a certain amount of honour in his own country—if he pays for it. O rash desire!

Private presses, when first established, undoubtedly helped in the spread of civilizing ideas. As in the days of the early renaissance, a noble’s following was not complete without his poet and his philosopher, so later, as the printed books spread over every country, he must needs add a press to his other household goods. As might be expected, nothing more valuable issued from these than the effusions of the aforesaid bard and philosopher. Still they kindled the flame of literary zeal in many a humble heart—and incidentally formed an easy means of publication for the early Elizabethan plays. It is not till the reign of James I. however, that any notable work issued from among these numerous ineffectual babblings. In 1613 the celebrated George Withers commenced publishing, from his own press, those satires, which, under the title of ‘Abuses stript and whipt,’ made his name

famous, not to mention a hundred and one minor productions in prose, and verse, published continuously up to 1606. Owing to official persecution, of one sort and another, he had to keep his press very private indeed, as witness his words in the Premonition to his ‘Britain’s Remembrance’ (on the Plague of 1635)—“I was fain to imprint every sheet thereof with my own hand, because I could not get allowance to do it publicly.”

Ben Jonson, also in his ‘Time Vindicated’ introduces him under the name of ‘Chronomatrix’ and says of him, that he kept his printing materials

“In a hollow tree, where to conceal him,
He works by glow-worm light—the moon’s
too open;”

Nothing else of note was printed till the beginning of the last century, when about 1830 or 1831 appeared a satire, by a lady of high position, but of plebian origin, which though seventy years have passed, reads as clearly and pointedly as if only written a few days ago. and fresh from the press. Times change indeed! Seventy years have made no change in the subject with which this pamphlet (it is nothing more) deals. But I will let my readers judge for themselves, from the following extracts—

*‘Prospectus of a Plan for the Improvement
of the Fashionable Circles.’*

“It has long been a subject of reasonable lamentation amongst those who have the advantage of frequenting the very highest circles of fashions that most useful and necessary article of consumption, small talk, or polite conversation, has for want of proper care and cultivation, fallen grievously into disrepute, so that the designation itself bears within it the stamp of ridicule. Great wits will not descend to talk small, and the small talk of fools is too insignificant to be tolerated”

It then went on to explain that the

“Royal Intellectual Bazaar would be pleased to supply jokes, anecdotes, criticisms, etc., at moderate terms, as also—“Criticisms on the Fine Arts, in packets, each containing fifteen well-turned sentences. Those on music will be accompanied by the first two bars of five popular airs by Rossini and Weber, for such

persons as can hum a tune. Those on painting will have in the packet twelve technical terms of art and the names of sixteen great artists of the Italian and Flemish schools to be introduced by the purchaser as opportunity may offer—1s. 6d. each packet."

It seems a pity that such a really brilliant piece of satire as this pamphlet seems to be should have been so limited in its numbers, and issued so long ago. It is topical enough for the needs of the present day.

An example of how money has been wasted by the private—and I might say unjustified—issue of a work of a purely temporary nature is furnished by Lord Bute's *Botanical Tables*, published for the Queen in 1785. Twelve copies only were printed at a cost of £1,000 per copy. In thirty years the work was useless! Sir Richard Worsley's *'Collection of Antiques'* hardly justified by its literary, artistic, or archeological worth the expenditure of £27,000 on the 250 copies published. The only defence for such prodigal waste of money is that it most probably gave employment to hands that would otherwise have been idle, and caused the circulation of money that might in any other circumstance have remained hoarded!

Again, Sir Egeon Bydges in 1873 established a private press at Lee Priory, and beyond the works of himself and his relations, printed nothing worth printing beyond a very limited edition of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*! The worth of this edition, from a literary point is greatly reduced, however, by the fact that each copy in it cost at least as many guineas as the reprint issued a few years later cost shillings. The publisher in this case was

William Pickering, of 57 Chancery Lane, who will be remembered as the publisher of the renowned *'Aldine Poets.'*

Occasionally the reluctance of authors to give general circulation to their productions causes much loss to the literary public, as in the case of an English translation of a Latin poem by Marc Antonio Flaminio, who was patronised by Cardinal Pole, and whose death occurred in 1550. This version was by the Rev. E. W. Barnard, son-in-law to Archdeacon W. Vaughen, who was responsible for its publication. It is, as far as I can find, the only translation in use extant, and its literary value can be judged by the opening lines, which run thus,—

Dear mansion, once my Father's home
Sweet farm, his pride and joy!
Ye could not shield, ye could not save
When he was carried to the grave,
His little orphan boy.
A stranger came with iron hand
Lord of that evil day;
And drove me forth with weeping eyes
To seek through toil and poverty,
My miserable way.

The publications of such societies and associations as the famous Roxburghe Club hardly fall within the category of privately printed books, but even these show rather bad taste in the selection. What book of this club, save perhaps for the two *'Chester Plays,'* has any real value, taken as literature? What is there save a collection of good bindings and nice paper to show for the expenditure of some thousands? Nothing.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—VI.

SLAVERY AND SOCIETY.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

The Promiscuity of Exploitation.

Exploitation has very little respect for colour, creed or blood. It does not discriminate between latitude, longitude or altitude as things by themselves. It is egoistic by its nature and judges conduct solely by utility. It looks to nothing except net profit, that is, the ultimate gain determined by subtracting cost from sale-value. Exploitation means, in the ultimate analysis, nothing less than the outward expression of the desire to eat bread in the sweat of neighbour's face. The neighbour may live next door or in the remotest corner of the earth. He may be a Christian or Mussalman, a Polytheist or Animist, a Pantheist or Buddhist, he may have any colour of the spectrum on his skin. He may live in the tropics, in the temperate zone or in the arctic circle. He may be a Negro, a Chinaman or an Esquimo. Entire humanity is open to the embrace of the exploiter. He has no respect for sex or human conventions, determining the mutual relations of the sexes. To him Ethnography and spectrography, geography, and physiography, theology and biology, thermology and meteorology are all irrelevant. He wants to eat bread and to avoid irksome work. He wants freedom for himself absolutely and thralldom for the rest of the world relatively. He is a parasite by nature and his code of ethics is the code of the parasite.

Primitive Slavery.

In primitive times slaves had the same blood as the master because the master had no opportunity of enslaving men of a different blood. As population increased men of dissimilar blood approached one another, not in love but out of necessity. They came within striking distance of one another. This enabled exploitation to improve its ethics a little. Slaves of the same blood were not emancipated

at once, but the master began to feel a sort of respect for consanguinity. Next as the locomotive contrivances increased in usefulness the exploiter began to distinguish between close and remote neighbour, till the entire world was discovered with all its variations of colour, creed and blood; and the differential treatment which the exploiter introduced seemed for the time being to point to the conclusion that exploitation would be gradually thinning at the centre and would thicken towards the circumference, thus allowing opportunities for a great advance in morality. Man by nature shows different degrees of kindness and cruelty to different species of animals. Perhaps he is least kind to those species which are remotest from him in blood according to the geneology prepared by the followers of evolution. The moral sentiment is relative. Love becomes rarified by diffusion; hate gets stronger by expansion. This was the principle of morality which men at one time cherished. But recent course of history has undeceived them. The eye of exploitation is fixed upon efficiency, net result, profit, interest and rent.

Greek Slavery and Civilisation.

Greek civilisation advanced by consanguinous exploitation. The slaves had the same blood as the freemen. Imperial Rome had latterly the advantage of alien blood. Neither civilisation entertained the ideal of free labour. Even the highest idealist in these two nations supported slavery as the essential factor in the progress of civilisation. The function of the freeman was to plunder, that of the slave, to produce. It was a nice division of labour. Civilisation was either military or industrial. The military branch was in the hands of free men, and the industrial branch was relegated to slaves. Even the fine arts were in the charge of the latter, and most of what makes Greece so beautiful down to the present time is the

work of slaves. Slaves were divided for skilled and unskilled labour. The former had leisure and opportunities for acquiring knowledge. They were free in the sense that so long as they attended to their own duties, they were free from the growing anxieties incident to finding food, clothes and shelter by their own exertions, while their work was irksome. At the present day western civilisation pretends to have more respect for the artist than for the soldier, for industry than for military operations. Herbert Spencer thinks that in the order of time industrial civilisation succeeds military civilisation and is therefore more esteemable. In this vein the slaves of Greece, particularly those engaged in the fine arts, are more esteemable than the military heroes. At all events in the progress of Greek civilisation slaves were given different ranks. There must have been formed something similar to classes or castes among them and the highest classes of slaves would appear to have lived comfortable lives, so far as such lives are possible without political freedom. Indian society of the present day may be compared to the slave society of Greece. Many an Indian lives as comfortable a life as any Britisher. A barrister's income is higher than that of the Viceroy; his intellectual abilities may be quite as high as those of the best Britisher at home or abroad. But with all that he carries the badge of bondage hanging to his neck. The meanest white man enjoys privileges which he cannot aspire to. The most comfortable Indians with high incomes and higher intellectual calibre are contented with their position in Society. A few loathe such incomes and comforts and prefer to live in huts, though palaces are open to them; and wear coarse clothes and eat coarse food, though they can command the finest products of the sartorial or culinary art. Their aspirations have taken a new direction. They loathe to be remembered as the best slaves of Greece, and love to live as the meanest freemen.

It will appear that while the generic name of slave was retained in Greece to the end, there was great unlikeness between one slave and another, classes and ranks being implicitly formed in the slave branch of society, similar to classes and ranks which undoubtedly existed among free men in that ancient world. The Greek population was in fact divided into two primary castes, *viz.*, the caste of freemen and the caste of slaves. The freemen were Brah-

mins and Kshatriyas and slaves were Vaisya and Sudras of the Hindu social system. A slave might occasionally become free as a Vaisya or a Sudra might become a Brahmin. Of course there was nothing to prevent a freemen from becoming a slave, as there was nothing to prevent a Brahmin from becoming a Sudra or Vaisya. However such exchange, we may be sure, was rare.

Exploitation of neighbour in the middle ages.

North-Western Europe, which began life with the fall of the Roman Empire, was, in the beginning divided into the two castes of freemen and slaves. But their social progress took a different form. The slaves were first turned into serfs, and the serfs were in course of time turned into villeins. The villeins gradually became yeomen, and yeomen became gentlemen. This was the theory on which social progress advanced. In practical life towards the close of the middle ages slaves, serfs, villeins, yeomen and gentlemen subsisted simultaneously and only the partition walls were thinner and lower than in the Hindu caste system. Down to the end of the eighteenth century serfs were all but indistinguishable from slaves. In some respects their condition was worse than that of the latter, *e.g.*, in respect of the necessities of life. They worked as hard as slaves and ate worse food and wore cast off rags, while there was no body responsible for their health and life except themselves. Herbert Spencer believed such gossip as came from America before the civil War of secession, regarding the estimation in which the emancipated Negro was held by the bond slave of the same race, who, it is said, showed his contempt for the former by exclaiming, "there goes the man who has no master to take care of him". Most serfs in France might have reasonably envied the slave in the same way if only their psychology were agreeable. However all over Europe as a matter of principle, slavery became non-existent shortly before Columbus and other adventurers began to scour the oceans in quest of new lands.

Columbus and his Psychology.

The moral psychology with which Columbus landed in the New World was primarily teleological Darwinism. There was a anachronism

involved in it for Darwin only discovered what already existed in the heart of Europe, *viz.*, the firm conviction that the world was meant to be the ultimate play ground for the fittest for survival. It was an amphitheatre for gladiatorial exhibitions, triumphs and cheers. This psychology was re-inforced in the Spanish mentality by the success which the Spaniard had recently achieved in their contest with the Moreccans who after seven centuries of domination in Spain had been, less than a year before Columbus' departure from Barcelona, finally expelled from the country. Spain had proved herself fit for survival against the dreaded Moroccans. She was fit for survival against the other Christian powers, and surely against Kublai Khan, who ruled an unknown country with illimitable possessions in portable gold but not being Christian lacked the power of Divine grace and was therefore too weak to resist the onslaught of a Christian power divinely equipped with the necessary moral energy required for ascendancy. There was a strong mixture of perverted Christianity and pragmatic chauvinism in Columbus' psychology. He was inspired by the complex desire for wealth, power and divine grace which last could be secured only by faith. A pious man actively engaged in the complicated affairs of the world is a dangerous character. He believes in God, in His grace and preferential treatment rendered to the faithful, in His power of condoning and pardoning offenders against the law of nature as well as the Decalogue. He need have no respect for the sermon on the mount which prescribes a costly procedure of life, beset with insurmountable difficulties at every point, and has therefore less chance of bringing salvation than faith, which appeals to a personal God, made of the same stuff as man, as evidenced by the Book of Genesis which says that man was made in the image of God. For him the interests of the other world are secured, and for the purpose of gratifying his ambitions in this he need not be trammelled by those mean fetters of moral scruples which torment the heart and hinders the adventures of the sceptic. The psychology of Columbus, of almost every white man that left the shore of Europe in ships bound for America, extending over centuries until the abolition of slavery was anticipated by the swarms of immigrants, who appeared by the power of the dismal devil at home and

destitute of worldly ambitions preferred to pour into the new world in quest of wages and bare subsistence, that is to say until the hope of wealth and comfort gave way to the fear of premature death as the inspiring angel of the activities of human life. This was the period when in the personnel of the immigrants there were substituted, for those who had failed to eat bread in the sweat of other peoples' faces, such as had failed to eat bread in the sweat of their own faces, nay, even by sweating for others; that is to say when unemployment replaced ambition as the motive force of immigration. This psychology was irrespective of nationality and of religion which was soon divided between Catholicism and Protestantism, for Luther had substituted justification by works for justification by faith; christian faith and primitive pragmatism has maintained their union down to this day.

Christian Faith and Pragmatic Faith.

Christian Faith in the forgiveness of God super-imposed upon the "ape and tiger" quality of the Nordic race had endowed Western civilisation with tooth and claw that have never lost their redness—has made that civilisation the most glorious in the world. This I think, is what Benjamin Kidd means by the "Ultra-National sanction of christianity which in alliance with the Darwinian law of development, has enabled western civilisation to march with mystic steps, forward and even forward". Strange credit bestowed on Christ and his crucifixion by a Christian! But Christ himself is not likely to accept this flattering revelation of his mission—this extreme unction in his distress floundering against contemptuous agnosticism. Christianity has need to be saved from her friends! In the same fashion another Christian, more sedate and philosophic than Kidd, *viz.*, Professor Wundt, gives God credit for blessing mankind by means of a curse. He says:—"No curse could ever have proved itself so rich a blessing as the curse recorded in the biblical story of creation: 'in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread'. Man has grown to be a moral being; and he owes this growth not least to the fact that for him the earth is not a paradise," (page 295, *The Facts of the Moral Life*). Is not the avowed mission of Western civilisation to turn this world into a paradise?

To what moral degradation is Western Civilisation trying to hurry down man? What man has grown to be a moral being by the curse? Is it the man who evades the curse and eats bread in the sweat of the other peoples' faces, or the man who sweats for others, and yet fails to eat an adequate quantity of bread? For whom has the curse proved to be a blessing? Having dethroned Christianity, Christians are crucifying Christ once again on the Calvary hill of science. Did Christ mean by the kingdom of God on earth the empire established by western civilisation throughout the earth? Is it possible to identify the moulding potentialities of the sermon on the mount with the power of steam and electricity which has enabled man to have a clearer conception of humanity in the flesh by annihilating geographical distance? Is it reasonable to identify the universal hate which brings humanity together for purposes of exploitation with the universal love preached by Christ divinely designed to bring men together in the spirit? To associate the book of Genesis and the Gospels with the *Origin of Species* and the *Descent of Man* for the purpose of showing that western civilisation has advanced by the united power of Christianity and natural selection is tantamount to avowing that the promised second advent of Christ stealthily happened in the middle of the last century when Christ appeared marked as Darwin and Paul as Spencer:—Huxley having, Peter-like, denied him at the last moment by his Romanes lecture on Evolution and Ethics.

It would be disingenuous to show undue deference to the taste of the reader by here resisting the temptation to expose the real source of the fallacy by which theology and sociology are attempted to be sarcastically reconciled by modern rationalism. Christianity has been defeated and rejected and in poetical life by the aggressive violence of western science, but Christian theology has never been more cruelly humiliated than by apologetics covetly trying to elevate it into fallacious concordance with Darwinian biology and Spencerean sociology. To represent the curse of Adam as the primitive mode of enunciating the theory of the struggle for existence, and the ascendancy of the ethics of western civilisation as the regaining of paradise may furnish proof of human ingenuity in casuistry but the eastern mentality which created the biblical idea of paradise, of its loss

and recovery, will take a long time to fall into line with a mode of thinking which follows its own choice and convenience in alternately regarding "man" as the collective personality of mankind and as a mere individual of the meanest significance in the creation of nature, which is not deterred by irrefragable facts of sentient experience even from regarding the aggregate of Humanity as of less moment than its collective personality, to say nothing of the aggregate of the majority of mankind. The sufferings of the curse of Adam, now camouflaged into the struggle for existence, are borne by millions of individual men, women, and helpless children for numberless generations, while the blessings of the moral life, of the regained paradise and the Spencerian Utopia are enjoyed by man as the collective personality of humanity. Further, that ultimate condition visualized nowhere except in the fertile imagination of the man of science, though admittedly one which can be continually approached but never reached by man, is now being fore-tasted by a small fragment of humanity which by a spurious jugglery of thought passes for the entire collective personality of mankind. The error lies, it seems, in identifying a small residuary abstract personality with the total collective personality of humanity, which last may be regarded as an eternal being without beginning or end, *i.e.*, free from the limitations of birth and death. Many individuals suffer for the benefit of one individual. Many classes in a society suffer for the benefit of one class. Many races suffer for the benefit of one race. The "Many" are concealed behind the cloud, while the "one" is brought into conspicuous prominence, the reality of the method is minimized while the ideality of the "end" is magnified for the purpose of destroying real fear and creating false hope. The gospel of spurious optimism is the revelation of the devil, preached for concealing pessimistic actualities behind the screen of camouflaged potentialities—for concealing the suffering of the rejected majority of mankind behind the possibilities of enjoyments reserved for a small residuary minority at the fag-end of Eternity with the additional prospect (revealed by another science) of the sun cooling down to a point which will turn the earth into a travelling church-yard.

The Foundation of Civilisation.

All civilisations so far in the history of the world have been founded upon the desire for the evasion of the curse of Adam, and their development has depended upon the strength of this desire combined with the power to gratify it. In other words, exploitation is the foundation upon which rests and thrives civilisation. Western civilisation has thriven most because exploitation has been most widespread and penetrative in its operation. All civilisations are at start and at bottom immoral. Western civilisation tops them in that respect. The ultimate aim of civilisation is to attain to the highest moral perfection. The aim of western civilisation too seems to be the same. Whether it will ever attain that perfection is problematical. But it is certain that down to the present day the ethics of that civilisation has shown nothing compared with its intellectual development. There are some philosophers who think that instead of advancing it is, as a whole, receding; that though individuals in their natural behaviour show great progress, the collective personalities of group-life morally behave as if they were in the primitive tribal state, and that the abnormal, nay, the monstrous development of intellectuality has served only to deepen the natural sentiments and instincts of cosmic life, and to make them more effective against similar personalities developed under dissimilar circumstances. The value of the morality of the individual personality, nay, the aggregate value of the morality of the individuals of group is as nothing compared with the value of the morality of the corporate personality of that group. Here lies the secret of the abnormal progress of western civilisation. It is brilliant to look at. It is rotten inside. It is state organised with strong muscles and nerves, but weak at heart, while it is distinguished for reckless, adventurous propensities, which bring it glory but are fraught with danger—the danger, common to all thrilling adventures, of pressure on the heart.

The conflict between morality of the individual and that of collective personality may end in one of two ways: (1) In the triumph of the morality of the individual or (2) in the victory of the morality of the group-life. In the first case western civilisation will lose its distinctive traits and gradually

veer towards the civilisation of the east. In the other case the antagonism between different group-personalities, national or communal, will lead to decadence and ruin. The recent course of history points to this latter conclusion.

The value of a civilisation depends upon a combination of the love of power, the love of wealth and the love of beauty in a definite proportion. In every civilisation these three loves show fluctuations. In Greek civilisation the love of power was greater than the love of beauty, and the love of beauty greater than the love of wealth in its most prosperous days. The apotheosis of the love of beauty, transcending the love of power and of wealth marks the climax of civilisation. It marks also the beginning of the end. The love of beauty in Greece outgrew the other two loves and led to her political downfall. In western civilisation the love of wealth is outgrowing the other two loves. The love of power is fast losing its inherited dignity and worth as an end and a thing by itself. It is now valued more and more as a mere means for the gratification of the appetite for wealth. The love of beauty holds the lowest place in the heart of this civilisation. It glories in the abundance of comforts and convenience, the outcome of the love of wealth helped by the love of power. Its adventures and expansions have been prompted by the first, and its success has been attained by the second love.

Who opened the gates of the new world where wealth lay actually and potentially in as great profusion as in the famous Valley into which Sinbad the Sailor was dropped by the Eagle, which carried a Snake in the claw? It was Columbus who opened these gates. He has obtained imperishable renown in the history of Western civilisation and he deserves more. He was the pioneer in exploitation. I shall therefore dwell upon his experiences, as the founder of the most characteristic aspect of western civilisation. His adventures were prompted by the love of wealth and the love of power. He enjoyed the highest glories of western life, and suffered the lowest depths of humiliation. The vicissitudes in the fortunes of western civilisation bid fair to be similarly distributed and that makes the life of Columbus more interesting still.

Columbus and his exploitations.

Columbus was a Genoese by birth and was born about the year 1450. He was a student at the University of Pavia. He preferred a life of adventure on the sea to the drudgery of his father's trade of wool-carding at Genoa, and actually started on his nautical career before he was fifteen years old. He traversed a large part of the known world, visited England and made his way to Iceland and Friesland. "I have been seeking out the secrets of nature for forty years," he says, "and wherever ship has sailed, there have I voyaged." He had a commanding presence, was above the middle height, with a long countenance, rather full cheeks, an aquiline nose, and light grey eyes full of expression. He was humane, self-denying, courteous. He was singularly resolute and enduring and possessed greatness and constancy of mind in adversity.

At what precise period his great idea came into his mind there are no means of ascertaining. A great invention or discovery is often like a daring leap, but it is from land to land, not from nothing to something. He studied cosmography and arrived at a fixed conclusion that there was a way by the west to the Indies. Cardinal Aliacos' *Cosmographia* impressed him deeply. "When he promised a new hemisphere," writes Voltaire, "people maintained that it could not exist, and when he had discovered it, that it had been known a long time." He was introduced by the Duke of Medina Celi to Queen Isabella who referred his plan to her confessor Fra Hernando de Talavera, who was afterwards Archbishop of Granada. The latter summoned a Junta of cosmographers to consult about the affair. These cosmographical pedants, accustomed to beaten tracks resented the insult by which Columbus was attempting to overthrow the belief of centuries. They combined to crush Columbus with theological objections—texts of scripture were adduced to refute his theory of the spherical shape of the earth, and the weighty authority of the fathers of the church was added to overthrow "the foolish idea of the existence of antipodes; of people who walk, opposite to us, with their heels upwards and their heads hanging down; where every thing is topsyturvy; where the trees grow with their branches downwards, and where it rains, hails and snows upwards." Las Cases displays wisdom when he says that the great difficulty of Columbus

was, not that of teaching, but that of unteaching; not of promulgating his own theory but of eradicating the erroneous convictions of the judges before whom he had to plead his cause. The Junta decided that the "project was vain and impossible." Ferdinand and Isabella merely said that with the wars on their hands they could not undertake any new expenses. When six years later they agreed, the estimate of expenses was found to amount to £308 only. The actual amount collected for the purpose did not exceed £350. The royal treasury was too poor to give this money and the queen expressed her readiness to pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds. The king looked rather coldly upon the propositions of Columbus. King Henry the Seventh of England when approached by the brother of Columbus showed similar coldness. "The ultimate event" remarks an author, "would justify King Ferdinand's caution; for it would be hard to prove that Spain has derived aught but golden weakness from her splendid discoveries and possessions in the New World." This remark has a world wide eternal value. The law of the heterogeneity of ends is mysterious in its operations and it would be premature to judge the value of western civilisation by its present success.

An agreement was executed by Columbus with the King and Queen of Spain which stipulated that Columbus should be made Admiral of the Seas, and Viceroy of all the continents and islands discovered by him, and should have a share, amounting to a tenth part of the profits of all merchandise, be it pearls and jewels or any other things that may be obtained from the discovered countries. Columbus agreed to contribute the eighth part of the expenses of the expedition.

The sovereigns authorised Columbus to press men into the service, for it was difficult to obtain crews. Eventually three vessels of small size, one hundred tons burden each, were manned with 90 mariners, and provisioned for a year. The whole number of adventurers amounted to a hundred and twenty persons of various nationalities, including among them two natives of the British Isles.

The expedition set sail on a Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492. The day on which Columbus landed in the new world was also a Friday, viz., the 12th of October, 1492.

Columbus clad in complete armour and carrying in his arms the royal banner of Spain descended upon the shores of the small island, which had first greeted him, and which he found to be like "garden full of trees." In numerous lines along the shore stood the simple islanders looking on with innocent amazement. The great business of the day then commenced; and Columbus, with due loyal formalities, took possession on behalf of the Spanish Monarchs, of the island (Guanahani) which he forthwith named San Salvador.

Columbus speaks of the people in his diary thus:—"Because they had much friendship for us, and because I knew they were people that would deliver themselves better to the Christian faith, and be converted more through love than by force, I gave to some of them some coloured caps and some strings of glass beads for their necks, and many other things of little value, with which they were delighted and were so entirely ours that it was a marvel to see. They afterwards came swimming to the ships' boats where we were, and brought us parrots, cotton-threads in balls, darts and many other things and bartered them with us for which we gave them such things as bells and small glass beads. They went totally naked as naked as their mother brought them into world. They were well made with very good countenances, but hair like horse hair, their colour yellow, and they painted themselves. They neither carried arms, nor understood such things for when swords were shown to them, they took hold of them by the blade, and hurt themselves. They ought to make faithful servants, and of good understandings, for they very quickly repeat all that is said to them, and it is believed they will easily be converted to Christianity. There was no faith or preoccupations to be destroyed, and the constructive work would proceed on flat uncovered ground. Christian mission work has always succeeded in such ground and has almost invariably failed where old convictions had to be destroyed."

Near the Rio del Sal the Indians were very gentle without knowing what evil is, neither killing nor stealing.

The first Indians that Columbus met had some few gold ornaments about—"poor wretches, if they had possessed the slightest gift of prophecy they would have thrown these baubles into the deepest sea!" This exclamatory remark is made by Helps to anticipate

how the New World has suffered for the possession of a little gold and how the Old World is now suffering from the possession of too much gold unequally distributed. Every man and every nation, civilized, semi-civilised or uncivilized, have good reason to throw these "baubles" into the deepest sea; and the wonder is they do not but stick to them till it is too late.

Of the people of another island Columbus remarks:—"They are a loving, uncovetous people, so docile in all things that I assure your highnesses I believe in all the world there is not a better people or a better country, they love their neighbours as themselves, and they have the sweetest and gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile." The Admiral resolved to found a colony in this island, "having found such good will and such signs of gold." Columbus was at heart determined to annihilate both the "good will" and the "gold." Columbus wittily concludes by observing that providence dealt with the Indians as a prudent father who has an ugly daughter, but makes up for the ugliness by the help of a large dowry. By the ugliness in this case he means the seas to be traversed, the hunger to be endured, and labours to be undertaken for securing the bride. The bride-grooms were brigands. They took possession of the dowry and assassinated the poor wife in her youth.

The second voyage consisted of seventeen vessels laden with horses and other animals and with plants, seeds and agricultural implements for the cultivation of the new countries. Artificers of various trades were engaged and a quantity of merchandise and gaudy trifles, fit for bartering with the natives, were placed on board. There was no need to press men into the service now; volunteers for the expedition were only too numerous. The fever for discovering was universal. Columbus was confident that he had been on the outskirts of Cathay and that the scriptural land of Havilah, the home of gold, was not far off. Untold riches were to be acquired, and probably there was not one of the 1500 persons who took ship in the squadron that did not anticipate a prodigious fortune as the reward of the voyage.

At Porto Rico they found houses and roads constructed after a civilised fashion.

At Navidad Columbus found that the little colony he had founded in his first voyage had been entirely destroyed. The fort was

razed to the ground. Not one of the settlers was alive to tell the tale: Columbus was requested to rebuild the fort but he declined to restart the colony, because the disgusting licentiousness of the settlers had offended the Indians to such an extent that whereas they had at first regarded the white men as angels from heaven, now they considered them as debased profligates and disturbers of the peace, against whom they had to defend their honour and their lives.

Shortly after Columbus sent home from the Cannibal Islands some Indians as slaves. He remarked in his despatch "For the advantage of the souls of these cannibal Indians, the more of them that could be taken the better." He suggested that the cargoes employed in carrying live-stock and other necessities from Spain be paid for the slaves taken from amongst the cannibals; but their highnesses set aside the proposition.

In one of the islands the Spaniards went straggling over the country; they consumed the provisions of the poor Indians, astonishing them by their voracious appetites; waste, rapine, injury and insult followed in their steps, and from henceforth there was but little hope of the two races living peaceably together in those parts at least upon equal terms. The Indians were now swarming about the Spaniards with hostile intent; they had passed from terror to despair. In Cibao the Indians killed eight Spanish soldiers and set fire to a house where there were forty ill. Columbus engaged the Indians in battle, routed them utterly and took a large part of them for slaves.

The Indians not daunted by the issue of this battle continued to molest the Spaniards at St. Thamas. The admiral sallied out with two hundred men and routed in battle the Indians who numbered one hundred thousand men! "In speaking of such a defeat," remarks Helps, "the modern reader must not be lavish of the words, 'cowardly', 'pusillanimous,' and the like until at least he has well considered what it is to expose naked babies to fire arms, to the charge of the steel-clad men on horseback, and to the clinging ferocity of of bloodhounds. A horrible carnage ensued upon the flight of the Indians. Many of them, being taken alive, were condemned to slavery."

The admiral resolved to secure the person of the Chief by treachery. Instructions as thoroughly base and treacherous as can well be

imagined were given for the purpose of capturing him. The trick succeeded and the chief was sent to Spain for trial, while his forces were again engaged in battle and put to flight. Some were killed; some taken prisoners; some fled to the forests and the mountains; some yielded, "offering themselves to the services of the Christians if they would allow them to live in their own ways." Skirmishes like these must be looked upon as the origin in the Indies of slavery, vassalage, and the system of *repartimientos*. The admiral had sent four ships laden with slaves to Spain. He now took occasion to impose a tribute upon the whole population of Hispaniola. It was thus arranged:—Every Indian above fourteen years old, who was in the provinces of the mines, or near to these provinces, was to pay every three months a little bell full of gold; all other persons in the island were to pay at the same time an arroba of cotton for each person. Certain brass or copper tokens were given to the Indians when they paid tribute; and these tokens being worn about their necks, were to show who had paid tribute. In 1496 service, instead of tribute was demanded of certain Indian villages, whose inhabitants were ordered to work the farms in the Spanish settlements. This was the beginning of the system of *repartimientos*.

Many of the so-called free Indians of Hispaniola had, perhaps, even a worse fate than that which fell to the lot of their brethren condemned to slavery. Finding no other way of getting rid of the Spaniards they bethought them of the desperate remedy of attempting to starve the Spaniards out by not sowing or planting anything. But this is a shallow device when undertaken on the part of the greater number in any country, against the smaller. The scheme reacted upon themselves. They had intended to gain a secure though scanty sustenance in the forests and upon the mountains, but though the Spaniards suffered bitterly from famine they were only driven by it to further pursuit and molestation of the Indians, who died in great numbers of hunger, sickness and misery.

Shortly after Columbus's return home from his second voyage one Pedro Nino, a Captain of the admiral's, announced his arrival in Cadiz with a quantity of "gold in bars." A pleasant thrill vibrated through all Spain in all classes of people from the monarchs downward,

at this announcement. It eventually turned out that this Nino was merely a miserable maker of jokes and that the 'gold in bars' was only represented by the Indians who composed his cargo, whose present captivity was secured by bars, and whose future sale was to furnish gold!

In 1496 Don Bartholomew Columbus sent to Spain three hundred slaves from Hispaniola. In 1497 two very injudicious edicts were published by the Catholic sovereigns, upon the advice of Columbus; one authorising the judges to transport criminals to the Indies; the other permitting those who had committed any crime to go out at their own expense to Hispaniola, and to serve for a certain time under the orders of the admiral. Three years afterwards Columbus had the inconsistency of declaring; "I swear that numbers of men have gone to the Indies who did not deserve water from God or man."

There were frequent insurrections among Indians. There was also great insurrection among the Spaniards, who had come out with very grand expectations and who found themselves pinched with hunger, having dire storms to encounter, and vast labours to undergo, who were restrained within due bounds by no pressure of Society; who were commanded by a foreigner, or by members of his family, whom they knew to have many enemies at court. With such men, (not worthy of water) the admiral and his brothers had to get useful works of civilisation maintained. On complaints lodged against Columbus by his compatriots, Roldan, the chief justice, took sides with the latter. The result was that Bobadilla, who was sent as a commissioner to make enquiries, took possession of the admiral's house, summoned him before him, put him out and his brothers in chains and sent them to Spain.

Poor Columbus! his chains lay very heavily upon him. He insisted however upon not having them taken off unless by royal command, and would even keep them by him, ordering that they should be buried with him. "In these chains," remarks Helps "Columbus is of more interest to us than when in full power as Governor of the Indies."

First as a "popular pilot," then the viceroy of a New world; alternately hoping and fearing, despondent and triumphant, he had passed through strange vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. But no two events in his life stand out in stranger contrast to each

other than his return to Spain after his first voyage, and his return after the second. The Queen did not wholly excuse him, neither did she inflict any specific punishment on him. He was however not reinstated in his Government at once. Bobadilla, Roldan and associates perished in the ocean when returning to Spain. Columbus himself after making some further discoveries in the new world died at Valladolid on the 20th of May, 1506.

It will appear from the above brief account of the adventures of Columbus that gold was the primary object of his expeditions. Gold was to be obtained anyhow. If it could be obtained by simply cheating the Indians in the name of Barter nothing could be better than this civilised arrangement. If it could not be so obtained the use of force was the next best method. If gold could not be obtained in adequate quantities by these methods, other sources of wealth were to be tapped, and if necessary the Indians might be made to work like slaves, and sold like slaves; and if they showed signs of resistance they might be slaughtered without compunction. Columbus, the King and the Queen were all absorbed with the desire for gold. Entire Spain was obsessed with this desire. The ultimate result has been that Spain has achieved a "golden weakness" among the civilised nations of Europe. The love of gold has proved to be a curse to the Spanish nation. Wherever this love has run to excess it has ruined nations. The foundation of western civilisation is laid in this love, for gold is the symbol of wealth, and wealth is what sustains and develops civilisation. Want creates wealth, and wealth creates wants. But the creative power of wealth is greater and more vigorous than the creative power of want. The result is that in the long run a surplus of want remains to torment mankind. Man is maddened by it. His life loses its moral value, and all his intellectuality is divided towards finding the means of allaying this maddening influence of want. He forgets the ten commandments, flings away the sermon on the mount, and runs among his neighbours, dishonours them, tortures them and slaughters them, until he falls down exhausted, and is carried home half-dead, disgraced, disgusted, disinebriated, disillusioned. This is the end of civilisation. This has been the way in which all civilisations have ended. Old age is the time for the contemplation of God, and old age

means the exhaustion and disillusion which follows from the conflict between want and wealth. The philosophy of life follows the madness of life. In its death-bed Indian civilisation found solace in vedantism, Greece in Plato and Rome in stoicism. Western civilisation threatens to commit suicide before old age has crept over it to induce contemplative soporiferousness. It has lived a wild life of war and industry, of pillage and production, of grabbing and grinding, slaughtering and slaving. Its wealth is increasing faster. Its madness is coming to a climax and the world is expectantly working for the end. Will it die without extreme unction? If it does not, what form will the last sacrament take? There is no want of philosophers in the civilised world today. But man, the individual, has lost his value and is now a mere organ of Society, and society rejects the unction of vedantism, Plato's physis and Stoicism. Some new form of solace is wanted, but it is not forthcoming.

The King and Queen of Spain, particularly the latter were unwilling to reintroduce slavery. But slaves were thrust upon them by Columbus. The monarchs found it hard to resist the temptation of selling them for the sake of the revenue, for the slaves represented "gold in bars". They discriminated between prisoners of war and prisoners of peace. They accepted the former and showed disinclination to receive the latter. Their admiral was shrewd enough to turn peace into war. He imposed tribute upon them, pinched their backs, emptied their stomachs, fermented their brains by molestations and sword-cuts and drove them to war, and captured them as prisoners, and finally sold them as slaves. The discriminative wisdom of the monarchs saved them from hell-fire without depriving them of their profits or revenue. It must be borne in mind that wars which Columbus waged in the new world were civil wars. He had taken possession of that world on the very first morning of his arrival, by raising the royal banner of Spain on the shore of the island of Guanahani. That formality was not repeated in every island discovered because ceremony held at Guanahani embraced the possession of the entire new world, which had been divinely conveyed by the pope of Rome, acting as the Vice-Regent of God, to the Catholic monarchs of Spain. The prisoners therefore were not, properly speaking, prisoners of War, but rebels and offenders against the state, non-co-operators,

whose life, liberty and property were already at the disposal of the monarchs by right of the fact that the royal banner still flapped on the shores of Guanahani. This makes the discrimination meaningless. The rebels were not prisoners of war, but criminals and therefore liable to imprisonment and transportation with hard labour superadded. What was technically objectionable was that these criminals were sold as slaves and not made to work murally or extra murally like ordinary prisoners of jails. It may be suspected that King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella had doubts in their minds as to the legality of the possession formally taken by Columbus, and as to their right of ruling the new world. That right was surely not obtained by conquest in the beginning. The conquest came after the possession. The whole recalls to mind the philosophic discourse dialogued between St. Mael and Monk Bullock in Anatole France's *Penguin Island*. I give below part of the discourse believing it to be interesting and instructive sociologically and juridically:—

"Whilst the Monk Bullock, was pronouncing these words a big penguin with a fair skin and red hair went down into valley carrying a trunk of a tree upon his shoulder. He went up to a little penguin who was watering his vegetables in the heat of the sun and shouted to him; "your field is mine". And having delivered himself of this stout utterance he brought down his club on the head of the little penguin, who fell dead upon the field that his own hands had tilled.

"At this sight the holy Meal shuddered through his whole body and poured forth a flood of tears, and in a voice stifled by horror and fear he addressed this prayer to heaven:—

"O Lord, My God, O thou who didst receive young Abel's sacrifices, thou who didst curse Cain, avenge, O Lord, this innocent penguin sacrificed upon his own field and make the murderer feel the weight of thy arm. Is there a more odious crime, is there a grosser offence against thy justice, O Lord than this murder and this robbery?"

"Take care, Father," said Bullock, gently "that what you call murder and robbery may not really be War and conquest, those sacred foundations of empires, those sources of all human virtues and all human greatness. Reflect above all, that in blaming the big penguin you are attacking property in its origin

and in its source. I shall have no trouble in showing you how. To till the land is one thing, to possess it is another, and these two things must not be confused. As regards ownership the right of the first occupier is uncertain and badly founded. The right of conquest, on the other hand, rests upon more solid foundations. It is the only right that receives respect since it is the only one that makes itself respected. The sole and proud origin of property is force—in that it is august and yields only to a greater force. This is why it is correct to say that he who possesses is noble. And that big red man, when he knocked down a labourer to get possession of his field, founded at that moment a very noble home upon this earth. I congratulate him upon it.”

Having thus spoken Bullock approached the big penguin, who was leaning upon his club as he stood in the blood-stained furrow:—

“Lord Greatank, dreaded prince”, said he, bowing to the ground, “I am to pay you the homage due to the founder of legitimate power and hereditary wealth. The skull of the vile penguin you have overthrown will, buried in your field, attest for ever for the sacred rights of your posterity over this soil that you have ennobled. Blessed be your sons and your sons’ sons! They shall be Greatanks, Dukes of Skull, and they shall rule over this island of Alca”.

In the above passage Monk Bullock artistically expounds the latest and most approved theory of the origin of rights of property. It suggests also the best theory of the origin of society and of its development with all its implications of inequality, complicity, interdependance, homage and patronage, antipathy and sympathy. The big penguin and the little penguin were individuals in the state of nature; the moral life was yet non-existent. It was waiting to be created. The penguin created the germ of the moral life with the help of the trunk of a tree which he carried. The only point open to criticism in the Monk’s explanation is that the use of the epithets “big” and “little” to distinguish between the two penguins is not only superfluous but misleading. They indicate the existence of an original inequality of a permanent nature existing between the two penguins. But no such permanent inequality is necessary for the the purpose of enunciating the theory. The

accidental possession of the trunk, the symbol of superior power in the hands of one of the penguins was enough, and it matters little whether the victorious penguin had the larger or the smaller stature between the two. The theory assumes that the victim had no trunk of tree in his possession at the time, and that is enough, nay more than enough, as no opportunity was given to the latter to resist the aggressor.

It may be urged that neither the Indians nor the Spaniards were in the state of nature at the time when Columbus took possession of the new world at Guanahani. But down to the present time, although individuals show more or less ethical progress, group-life is on the same dead-level throughout the world. Nations are in the state of nature still. Their ethical condition was, if possible, worse in the fifteenth century, when western civilisation was only trying to be born. Gunpowder was the determining factor in the assertion of Spanish right to the new world, as the trunk of the tree was in the more ancient instance adverted to by the great French Savant.

It will be remembered also that slavery does not slowly come into being in society, but marks the very beginning of its growth. It is born with the birth of society, and it develops with the development of the latter. It assumes different forms and names at different stages of social progress. It begins with the distinction between those who have and those who have not, and ends with the same, it may be, more or less slightly modified. Names do not matter. The foundation of society is laid in a simple antitheses, by whatever name we may call it. This antithesis is sometime between master and slave, Capital and labour, feudal chief and serf, landlord and tenant, etc. Civilisation may create intermediate classes, but all bats are either birds or animals and behave as the one or the other whenever any important dispute has to be settled. The life and liberty of the slave are at the disposal of the master. The Indians have disappeared from the face of the earth; and people are apt to suggest that the master did not use his discretion wisely in exterminating them. More recently Negro slaves have been emancipated in America; and some people suspect that it would have been better for them to have disappeared like the Indians. These are questions of opinion only. The progress of civilisation does not

wait for the verdict of man. It moves by the pressure of its own weight. This however is not the place to deal with the problem.

Further I shall state here that the Spaniards are responsible only for the beginning of American civilisation. Further development took place under the guidance and control of other nationalities. There are "Dukes of Skull" still ruling the continent; but they are not the descendents of the original "Duke". They have changed their manners and methods, but the original moral sentiments still retain their pristine purity. There may have been a little adulteration here and there, and camouflaged explanations may have been advanced by historians and Jurists, but the main structure is unaltered. It is still truly gothic in its character and architecture.

Columbus was the father of western civilisation in more senses than one. He was the pioneer explorer. He was the pioneer exploiter. He was the pioneer who broke the fangs of official Christianity which resisted the progress of science. It was he who pointed out that the earth was a sphere and not a flat rectangular structure surrounded by walls of mountains from one of which the sun rose and in another sun set. Official Christianity formerly believed that the earth was at the centre of the universe and that firmament with the sun, moon and stars moved round it. It probably had no belief regarding the position where God's will was supreme and where He had his throne surrounded by angels and whence Christ descended in glory upon earth. The axe was laid at all these beliefs by the theory on which Columbus based his conviction that the empire of the Grandkhan in the east could be approached by continually sailing towards the west. The theory was discussed by a Junta of clerical cosmographers and rejected by them as obscure and destructive of Faith in Christianity. But the greed of Gold was the supreme passion of Europe. Isabella and Ferdinand had no difficulty in persuading themselves that the earth was spherical because

the new world offered chances of hitherto undiscovered gold. The discovery of gold and not the discovery of a new hemisphere was their primary object. Columbus was regarded as an Ali Baba. Even the Pope was coaxed out of his apostolic convictions by the greed of gold, for without his permission and testament the catholic monarchs could never have ventured to send ships out on the deep sea to discover new land, and a new truth so destructive of Christian faith. Giordano Breend and Galileo suffered for this poisonous truth even long afterwards, probably because they offered no promise of gold. It is not impossible that the revolt of Christendom as represented by the reformation had exacerbated the Pope, who inspite of the advantages derived from the discoveries of Columbus, was determined to arrest the growth of truth which threatened to deprive him of the church dues of Europe. Here too gold was set against gold, Church revenue against American gold. The Pope still lives, but the time of which I am speaking was critical for Popedom. It has escaped by giving up half, but the whole of it, stock lock and barrel, was in danger at the time. Spain has suffered heresy. She has acquired a golden weakness by the discoveries of Columbus. The other nations of Europe went over to America after the reformation has finally set aside the Christian cosmography as supported by the Pope, and no charge of hypocrisy can be laid against them. It is difficult to say whether western civilisation has gained more by Columbus's discoveries of land or by his discovery of the truth of science which rendered the discovery of land possible. Columbus was in error in his geometrical calculations about the position of the empire of the Grandkhan. But the error has been permanently consecrated by the common consent of Europe which still gives the name of the Indies to the new world, qualified by the epithet "West".

(to be continued.)

IN MEMORIAM: C. R. DAS.

(5 Novr., 1870—16 June, 1925)

"Oh for the touch of a vanished hand;
For the sound of a voice that is still."

* * * *

"His voice is silent in your council hall
Forever, and whatever tempests lour
Forever silent; even if they broke
In thunder, silent; yet remember all
He spoke among you, and the man who spoke;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumour flow
Through either babbling world of high or low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

Premature death has robbed the country of a great leader and politician. The tragic commonplaces of the grave sound a fuller note as one of the greater servants of humanity passes out of sight. These classic words, which John Morley wrote on the death of John Stuart Mill, occur to our mind when we contemplate the aching void which has been caused by the sudden passing away of Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das at Darjeeling (on the 16th of June last) where he had gone to enjoy a brief spell of rest. His tragic disappearance from our midst has plunged the whole of India in unspeakable grief, and the party which he led with such wonderful tenacity of purpose, such remarkable skill in tactics and such rare self-sacrifice has naturally suffered the most. It is too early yet to assign to Mr. Das his proper place in the National Valhalla—but his name and fame have overleaped the limits of continents, so that distant communities, scattered in different parts of the world, have held meetings to express their profound sorrow at the untimely end of a career, which was unique in many respects in the political annals of Modern India. Death's scythe has of late been but too busy amongst the leaders of Indian public opinion and political workers and reformers. Like an insatiable archer it has, within a brief period, struck down many distinguished and eminent Indians—curiously all sons of Bengal—Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee, Sir Asutosh Chaudhari, and now last but not least, Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das. It is, however, some consolation that in the case of the last, his death has acted as that one touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, and the British have joined the Indians in mourning the loss of the great Indian leader. Such genuine manifestations of affection and woe had never been witnessed before in this country, on the loss of any one. That the Secretary of State, the Acting Viceroy (Lord Lytton) and the Governor-General (Lord Reading), should have paid their tributes to the great leader of Indian public opinion, and that the representative of European commercial interests, should have also joined the demonstrations organised by the

spokesmen of different creeds and sects, is the highest testimony to the work and worth of the great departed. It may safely be said that—judged in the light of the posthumous honours paid to him—no other Indian politician touched the imagination of so wide a world as did Mr. C. R. Das. Another thing that may be appropriately said of him is that nothing so became him in life as the leaving of it. His dramatic end befitted best an adventurous career like his. Mr. Das died at the supreme moment, as did Wolfe at Quebec and Nelson at Trafalgar. He would have loathed to lag superfluous on the stage and he has escaped the catastrophe which generally overtakes men who linger outstaying their hour of welcome. Mr. Chitta Ranjan Das was truly a versatile man and he bore a very prominent share in moulding the destinies of his province, in particular, and the country, in general, as lawyer, journalist, publicist, politician and political leader—to say nothing of his work in the field of Bengalee literature. We shall try to present in the next issue of the *Hindustan Review* a critical appreciation of his career—so far as it is possible to do so at present. Suffice it to say of him now that he was one of those of whom it can safely be said, after death, that he has joined the

“choir invisible
Of those immortal dead, who live again
In minds made better by their presence.”

LORD BIRKENHEAD SPEAKS AT LAST.

By MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI, *Chief Editor of the “Leader”*.

“The pace Lord Birkenhead sets is surely dangerously slow. Part of Lord Birkenhead’s speech suggests that he relies on the growing economic prosperity of India to allay the impatience of Nationalism. We think this is a dangerous miscalculation. Our adversary is not economic discontent, much less is it a preference for democratic or parliamentary as against a bureaucratic form of government. What we have to reckon with is the strongest instinct that gives driving force to the creed of Nationalism, the dislike of alien rule. If we endeavour to prolong our Raj indefinitely, that instinct sooner or later will violently wreck it. No country can be safely ruled except by its own people. Our aim must be as soon as possible to find or train forces in India that can give India a civilised and stable government.”—Extracts from the leading article on Lord Birkenhead’s speech in the *Manchester Guardian*.

I.

The principal event of the month was unquestionably the speech delivered by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords on the 7th of July. Everything conspired to invest the event with an almost unprecedented importance. The Governor-General of India had been summoned to confer with the Secretary of State, His Majesty’s principal adviser on Indian affairs. It had been thought that it was not enough that the two exalted functionaries should keep each other fully informed of his opinions by means of letters and cablegrams, the latter including those ‘personal’ and ‘secret’ messages of which so much has been said since the publication of the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission. Lord Reading, while in England, was given a private secretary and a room at the India

Office, and had a number of discussions with his official chief, the younger and more brilliant, Earl of Birkenhead. From time to time, the Secretary of State had been expected to make a statement of his policy, but as often he had delayed for time on the ground that the conferences with the Governor-General on leave were to take place or were in progress. In the meantime, his lordship was 'letting himself go' at sundry minor functions and speaking the language, at times of the conciliator, but more frequently of the Great Moghal.

In this country too, events were happening. The 'Nationalist' coalition in the Legislative Assembly had broken up and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the more powerful party, was emburdening himself of many columns of the newspaper press to demonstrate that everything was wrong with Mr. Jinnah, whom he accused and convicted of the offence of 'political sagacity'! The Hindu-Muslim *pourparlers* on separate electorates and communal representation had come to nought, while united action by the progressive political parties seemed to be as distant as ever. The Bengal Legislative Council, in the absence of Mr. C. R. Das at Patna, had recommended the appointment of Ministers and yet after their appointment, rejected the demand for grant of their salaries. In the Central Provinces, 'I dare not' has always seemed to wait upon 'I can't' and, thanks to the conflict of personal ambitions (so it has been audibly whispered), the Government continues to be carried on without the assistance of Ministers. Mrs. B. S. P. went ahead with her Commonwealth of India Bill, a commendable effort upon the protection of which that lady has brought to bear her unique powers of organisation and determination, and it has received a volume of public support, but this can by no means be described as being unanimous, if we refer to the detailed contents of the Bill and not to the general propositions of which the clauses are an embodiment.

Outstanding importance were the movements of the opinion of Mr. C. R. Das. The irreplaceable opponent of the bureaucracy suddenly came out with an unaccountable disavowal of all manner of sympathy with violence as a political method. It is not at all suggested that he had not always been of the identical opinion. But when a leader speaks there must be some occasion for the utterance and it was not

thought that Mr. Das would have gone out of his way to think aloud platitudes; that there must be an esoteric significance about the publication of his opinions at that juncture. They were followed by his presidential address at Faridpur, which gave as much relief and satisfaction to Liberals and Independents, as it caused heart-searchings among his own followers. Was a brighter day dawning after all? It might have smiled upon distracted political India; it might not have. No one can tell. But the incalculable and unforeseeable happened. Mr. Das suddenly passed away at Darjeeling on the 10th of June. It is not the purpose of these notes to attempt an estimate of Mr. Das's place among Indian public men, past or present, or to write a study or an appreciation of the man, the politician or the patriot. It will only be relevant here to say that it is yet too soon to appraise with any degree of correctness what may be the precise effect of the sad event upon the future of the party he led with indomitable courage, and indirectly on Indian politics and public life, in general. One effect, however, it has apparently produced already. It has not only reconciled the Swaraj party to the policy of the Faridpur speech, it has led them almost to swear by it as the political scriptures left by their late venerated leader. It will not, however, do for any Non-Swarajist to build too much hope upon this circumstance. There is something mercurial in their political composition, and the acceptance of a nominated membership of Government Committee may the next day be followed by a recital of the decalogue of obstruction and civil disobedience. What exactly is the policy the party will follow, from time to time, is not by any means the easiest of questions which a public man can set himself to answer. Nor can one say with confidence what excuses they may not continue to afford to the Government for adopting a policy of stagnation or of retrogression in dealing with the reasonable national aspirations of even moderate-minded reformers. But we are anticipating, and should get back to the 7th of July, the House of Lords and the speech of the Earl of Birkenhead.

II.

It was in such circumstances that the Secretary of State rose in Parliament to make his pronouncement after study and considera-

tion which had extended over a period of eight months. The normal period of gestation was nearly complete, but the child that was brought forth was far from being robust or healthy. It was feeble and anæmic to a degree. If the delivery had taken place earlier and without the trained and prolonged nursing of the doctor (diplomat) from India, it need not have been different. Dropping the inataphor, the speech that was read out was profoundly disappointing and most unsatisfactory. Lord Birkenhead's self-satisfaction at the improvement of the financial position of the Government of India need not detain us, any more than the stress he laid upon the necessity of agricultural development. The noble earl's observations upon the latter subject may be said to be rather amusing. Because Agriculture is a provincial and transferred subject, for the administration of which Ministers are responsible to Legislative Councils, therefore the paternal British Government are handicapped in their benevolent efforts to modernise agricultural methods and thereby increase production. Who that knows aught of the subject can easily restrain a smile on reading this self-complacent opinion? Apparently all will be well if British officers can be imported into the service without limit of numbers! As if the foremost reform that is needed in the department, in almost every province, were not to eliminate a very large number of such officers who are already there and to put in qualified and competent Indians in their places to work with an intelligent appreciation of the special conditions of the problem in the various parts of the country! A Howard, a Mann, a Clarke are the exceptions—which prove the rule. Lord Birkenhead's study of the Indian problem did not probably extend to the provinces, or he would have discovered that a perennial difficulty of Ministers of Agriculture was to get funds from the Finance Department—Bihar and Orissa may be an exception in this respect.

On the subject of Indianization of the Army Lord Birkenhead had not only nothing hopeful to say but said what was positively discouraging. The deliberate pace of the scheme of gradual Indianization of eight units as a necessary preliminary to any further step forward is to be persisted in. Which means that an Indian national army in charge of the defence of India remains a far-off dream and is not to be brought within the range of *practi-*

cal politics, we know not for how long. We are to get on with our British army of occupation and our appalling military expenditure and our inferior status militarily and politically, and in addition we are to go on bearing with the British politicians' and soldiers' lay sermons on the absence of any such entity as an Indian nation and on the absurdity and impossibility of self-government or responsible government for a people who are not one, who can not defend themselves but must be defended by foreign bayonets! We are thrust back to the unenviable position described by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons when he said in effect that Britain's policy was to keep down Indians disqualified for undertaking the defence of their country and to use this very circumstance as the most powerful argument to withhold from them political power to administer their own affairs.

Before coming to the purely political part of the Birkenhead portentous pronouncement we may dispose of the passages of it in which the position and prospects of the British civil services were explained. British officers were, are and will be the salvation of India. They are indispensable now—we are told—as they ever were, and will be no less so in the days of Lord Birkenhead's and our children and children's children yet unborn. They have to carry on the administration, they have to do justice between warring factions and communities, they have to teach Indian Ministers the *a b c* of the art of government. Naturally, they must be paid handsomely and compensated in every manner for shouldering the white man's burden so heroically, stoically and unselfishly. And the people of India, or the politically-minded among them, having shown themselves both inappreciative and ungrateful, the British officers' position must be guaranteed by an Act of the British Parliament which no profane Indian hands may touch and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India would, for all time, be the statutory guardian and protector of their rights and interests. The 'steel frame' speech of 1922 over again—Mr. Lloyd George having spoken then in the House of Commons and Lord Birkenhead now in the House of Lords! Responsible government for India? Oh yes, why not? But just so much or so little of it as may be compatible with the guaranteed position of the British services without whose eternal protection the

millions of India's grown-up children will surely be nowhere!

III.

Really amusing it was that the Secretary of State should have asseverated that no decisions had been taken by any authority and he was not standing in his place to announce any. What was the declaration about army policy if not a decision, or (if he wishes to be meticulously accurate) the re-affirmation or the confirmation of a decision adverse to Indian opinion? What was his expression of opinion followed as it immediately was by the piloting of necessary legislation through his House of Parliament, about the present and the future of the Civil Services, if not a decision and a decision so incompatible with an advance to the goal of responsible government? Lord Birkenhead summarily rejected the able Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee. Was this not the announcement of a decision? As regards the Majority Report, he said that action should be taken on the recommendations embodied in it as far as possible? Was this not a double decision—(1) that it was that document alone that had been or was being or would be considered and (2) that not all that Sir Alexander Muddiman, Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith, Sir Arthur Froom, Sir Muhammed Shafi and Sir Bijoy Chand Mahtab Bahadur deemed it prudent to recommend might be considered safe enough by His Majesty's present advisers, that they might not think it right to go as far, to travel as fast as these five conservative officials and politicians were prepared to ask the Government to do? Lord Birkenhead endorsed and accepted the provincial Government's verdicts on the working of the diarchical system in their respective provinces. Was there no decision here? Did not the statement mean that the opinions of the dissenting Indian members of Executive Councils and Ministers, past and present, as well as of the representatives of public bodies had been rejected by Lords Birkenhead and Reading and, therefore, by His Majesty's Government as a whole? There is to be no immediate advance. Is there no decision here, and a very momentous one, too? Diarchy has not been a success but it has not been a failure; it has not been a failure but it has not been a success. It can not be allowed to continue indefinitely but it must be worked. His Majesty's Government are not

bound to wait until 1929 for the constitution of the Statutory Commission provided for by the Act of 1919 but none will be set up now. The Commission may be accelerated if all political parties in India will work the present system in a genuine spirit of co-operation. That all parties but one have really fulfilled this test is of no importance. It is that one, the most highly organised of parties in India, which should reverse its declared election policy and fall into line as a body of honest co-operators. Suppose they will. Well, we shall soon be near the year 1929, by the time they will have earned a certificate that not only have they accepted the responsibilities of office, but they have acted in office like honest co-operators. Of course, the givers of the testimonials will be our Governors, Finance Members (except in Bihar), Chief and other Secretaries, heads of departments, the British services and officers generally,—all, of course, of the 'steel-frame' make—and possibly European Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations and the European Association!

My Lord Birkenhead will be graciously pleased to consider any agreed scheme of constitutional reform that may be put forward by Indians. In the first place, the preparation of a scheme in full details is not the work of non-official public men. In the second place such a scheme, put forward by them in 1916-17, was not accepted. It was destroyed by criticism, by the then Secretary of State and the then Viceroy. In the third place, the resolutions of the annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation of India have embodied the outlines of such a scheme. Fourthly there is the Commonwealth of India Bill of which the National Convention is the parent and sponsor. Fifthly, the 'round table conference' for the drawing up of a scheme asked for by the Legislative Assembly in February 1924 has never been agreed to by the Government. Sixthly, the recommendation of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Paranjpye—the honoured patriots who signed the Minority Report of the Muddiman Committee—that an authoritative body with comprehensive terms of reference should be set up without delay by His Majesty's Government to recommend measures to put the constitution on a permanent basis with provisions therein for automatic progress at stated intervals, has been summarily rejected by the

two famous lawyers—a former Lord High Chancellor and a former Lord Chief Justice—who were closeted together in that unpromising building, the India Office, and therefore, it must be presumably by His Majesty's Government as a whole. In the face of all these, it was an eminently safe thing for Lord Birkenhead to do to promise consideration of any agreed scheme that might be placed before him. Not (as Lord Winterton took care to explain almost immediately afterwards in the House of Commons) that the Secretary of State invited any body to produce a scheme, he only consented to consider it if it was submitted to him. But as a condition precedent of such honour being accorded to it, it must have behind it the support of all the parties in India. Swarajists and Liberals, National Home Rulers, Independents and Nationalists, Muslim Leaguers and Hindu Mahasabhaites, if not the members of the European Association as well, must all have

agreed to the scheme before His Majesty's Secretary of State could or would condescend to examine it or to cause it to be examined on the merits. Verily, it is a most encouraging promise!

That Lord Birkenhead's is a truly unpromising speech, we hope we may now confidently reiterate. An utterance that could satisfy neither the *Morning Post* nor the *Daily News*, neither Swarajists nor Liberals. That in an hour and twenty minutes of carefully-composed manuscript eloquence so little that could yield any satisfying result—from the Indian point of view—was perpetrated by one of the living masters of the English language, is, indeed, a tribute that has been richly earned by and is here ungrudgingly accorded to the Right Honourable Fredrick Edward Earl of Birkenhead, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India—may his shadow never grow less!

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

New Light on Old India.

The Heart of Aryavarta. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. (Constable & Co., London) 1925.

By PROFESSOR AMARNATHA JHA, M.A.

We had the pleasure last year of reviewing, in terms of appreciation, Lord Ronaldshay's *India: A Bird's Eye-View*. The present volume is, if possible, even more welcome, and affords one more proof of the profound knowledge of the Indian mind and deep sympathy with Indian aspirations which one has learnt to associate with the name of the cultured ex-Governor of Bengal. Books by ex-Indian satraps abound: sometimes enriched with administrative wisdom, sometimes looking wistfully to the land of regrets and of rupees, sometimes full of venom and spleen calculated to wound the educated Indians, whose self-appointed guardians they pose to be; occasion-

ally full of racy, harmless anecdotes, but hardly ever betraying any real acquaintance with the Indian mind, any familiarity with Indian traditions and customs, almost never looking beneath the surface, or troubling to peer beyond to-day to the problem that is eternal and vital rather than ephemeral and unimportant. The three volumes that Lord Ronaldshay has written on India are all based on wonderfully accurate and deep knowledge and reveal a mind of singular receptivity, a style of great charm, a desire to get to ultimate verities. We have much pleasure in welcoming these books—and specially the last called the *Heart of Aryavarta*—as really highly important contributions to the solution of what is known as the Indian problem.

Now what is the Indian problem? Is it economic? Or is it mainly political? Does the question of reforms, of full provincial autonomy, of responsibility in the Central Government, and the rest, really touch the issue? Is the trouble social in origin? Whatever its nature

and origin, is it a passing phase, an external ailment curable by careful medical treatment? Or is it rather deep-seated, radical and beyond the ministering of physic? Is it the consequence of administrative measures that can be undone, or is it impossible of solution? To questions such as these Lord Ronaldshay suggests answers, and it is a tribute to the sanity of his outlook that he retains a robust optimism for the future. He is no dark prophet foretelling the wrath to come; he points rather to the road that enables us to catch a vision of the land of promise. But before we consider his views any further, we may mention one or two circumstances that to a slight extent detract from the value of the book under consideration. The first of these is its title: it is frankly unattractive and in a measure inexpressive. Himself conscious perhaps of this, he offers the following explanation in the preface: "Aryavarta was the cradle of the civilisation and culture of the twice-born peoples, the call of which rings so insistently in the ears of their descendants at the present day. When, therefore, I speak of the Heart of Aryavarta, I am thinking not so much of the geographical centre of a tract of country, as of the feelings of pride and affection for all that Hinduism stands for in the eyes of the twentieth century heirs of those early Aryan tribes, which were exhorted to dwell in the sacred land lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains." In spite of this apology, the title gives practically little indication of the extreme fascination of the contents. Then, again, the author suffers from another limitation: his experience is almost entirely limited to Bengal. There are, too, a number of mistakes in the spelling of Sanskrit words; normally this would not matter at all. But they disfigure a work of such importance. We may mention, as instances, Jaganath (p. 44); Paramahamsha (p. 51); Badralok (p. 82); Juguntar (p. 126); Yagnavalkhya (p. 166); Brighu (p. 223). On page 84, the meaning ascribed to "Brahmacharya" is not correct. These are all the defects that we have noticed after a very careful perusal of the book. They are not many and do not detract from its permanent value but they should not have been allowed to appear in a work of such great importance.

II.

The subject which engages Lord Ronald-

shay's attention is "one of the most engrossing and fateful episodes in the recent history of mankind—the creation under the ægis of Great Britain of a vast Asiatic Empire, Eastern by birth and tradition, to a large extent Western by training and upbringing." This vast paradox is one which thoughtful Indians themselves have frequently pondered over; the clash and conflict of the two very divergent forces causes the unrest, the unsettling, the cataclysmic upheaval that is so characteristic of the social and political existence of the educated classes. Time was when

The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient deep disdain,
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

was regarded by Europeans as a correct representation of the state of affairs in India and the East, and this well-known stanza of Mathew Arnold's was almost done to death by Anglo-Indian writers on India. Even Lord Ronaldshay quoted it (presumably) with approval, in the second volume of his Indian trilogy called *India: A Bird's Eye-View*. But it is no longer held to be a counsel of perfection on things Indian—at any rate in the present century.

Peoples, races, and tribes have, from age to age, poured into this land, with the unvarying consequence that they have been assimilated into the adaptable texture of Indian life. The Indian had been content to watch like a detached onlooker on this spectacle of foreign hordes descending like locusts, only to be caught by India's irresistible charm, and finding themselves irrevocably domiciled here before they were quite conscious of the fact. But with the advent of British rule the situation materially altered; a deeper stratum of the surface has been dug up and disturbed than was originally realised; a stronger force, a subtler influence has been at work. Subconsciously, perhaps, but nonetheless undoubtedly a generation of Indians grew up that longed to discard all their "Indianism," that sedulously aped the manners and customs of the West, that boasted that it even dreamt in English. A supreme contempt for the learning, the traditions, the manners of the East was an article of faith with them. Fed on Mill, Comte, Morley, Frederic Harrison, Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephen, they considered it the right thing to be indifferent to

religion. Thus in thought, in home atmosphere, in belief, in manners, they completely divorced themselves from their elders and from those of their fellows that had not received Western training. They began to consider themselves intellectual and social patricians. At the same time the heady wine of western nationalism intoxicated them; a new political consciousness was awakened and the bond of a common language (English) brought the various communities to a common political platform. English became the official language of the Indian National Congress; the most influential Indian newspapers and periodicals came to be written in English; and the Indian could talk with greater ease of Mill and Muirhead, Adam Smith and Ricardo, Gibbon and Macaulay, Milton and Tennyson than of Kanada and Shankaracharya, Chanakya or Kamandaka, Kalhana or Abul Fazl, Kalidas or Hafiz. In the Indian colleges and schools, English was adopted, all over the country, as the medium of instruction. Insidiously but effectively, this process of weaning the Indians from their wealth of cultural heritage was completed, and an intellectual half-caste was the product.

And now comes the reaction which has been well-described thus in words quoted by the author: "The people in general are becoming more and more dissatisfied with being turned into mock Englishmen. An ever-deepening national impulse is compelling India to go back to the fount of her own traditions and her own culture, to insist upon developing along her own lines so that she may be able to contribute to the knowledge of the world instead of being merely a recipient of such knowledge as may be vouchsafed to her." But what appears to Lord Ronaldshay to be the tragedy of the situation is that men of moderate views and balanced judgment have not prevailed in the controversies which have arisen round the constitutional developments of the past few years, that the victory has been with men of extreme opinions full of bitter racial feeling. It is a pity, so it appears to us, that this aspect of the problem has been so prominently brought out in the preface of the book; it is one of the least important and most transient phases of the situation; it is also one the treatment of which is most open to adverse criticism; and happily it is one that throughout the book occupies on the whole an inconspicuous place. We prefer rather to recall the author's words: "For the

political extremist with his bitter racial animosity, his acrid polemics against Great Britain, his extravagant unreason and his threats of criminal violence, the Englishman will find it difficult to entertain sympathy. But to the cultured Indian who does not fall into the error of mistaking hatred of other people for love of his own, with his innate courtesy, his responsive nature, his intellectual attainments, and his high ideals, he will assuredly be attracted."

III.

A mention of the chapters will indicate the range of the volume before us: an unique experiment; origin and growth of the system; the flowering of an Indian language; Navadvipa and its associations; the new wine of the West; at the cross-roads; a re-orientation of aim; perverted patriotism; panegyrics of the past; Ananda Math; The Song of the Lord; characteristics of Indian Art; sex symbolism; an Indian Renaissance; Indian Monism; a problem for the Pundits; the letter of the Vedanta; the spirit of the Vedanta. It will be seen that of the twenty chapters most deal with questions that affect Hindus alone. To that the author's reply is: "The spirit of modern India is in a large measure a manifestation of the pride of race of the intellectual Hindu—a thing born of a rapidly awakened consciousness of past greatness, giving birth in its turn to an extreme sensitiveness to any suggestion of inferiority where East and West come into contact."

As a word-painter, Lord Ronaldshay's skill is great. Indeed he challenges, in this regard, comparison with his great chief, Lord Curzon, some of whose vivid descriptions in *Tales of Travel* are destined to live. With more poetic feeling for beauty than Lord Curzon, Lord Ronaldshay has a feebler sense of the grandeur and bigness of things. The temptation to quote some of the more striking passages in this book is strong. Here is an account of a visit to the ancient seat of traditional learning in Bengal, Navadvipa, or Nadia: "The scene that lingers most vividly in my memory is one set in the dim evening light in the Chaitanya Chatuspathi, where my attention was suddenly caught and riveted by an overwhelming and altogether irresistible sense of familiarity. Where had I seen all this before?

I was searching darkly through the chambers of my mind for an explanation, when it unexpectedly welled up into consciousness. Here was being enacted before my eyes one of those scenes described with such graphic effect in the pages of the New Testament. Ascending by a narrow winding stairway, we came to an upper room. This was long and narrow, and barely furnished with a wooden table and a few chairs. At the table was seated a venerable pundit who might have been taken from a stained-glass window; and grouped round the table were twelve pupils. A soft twilight filtered through the lattice windows, showing up only the salient objects in the room. At one end of the table a tall and massive wooden candlestick stood on the floor, its solitary flame forming a point of light which showed up against, rather than illumined, the surrounding dusk. The effect was striking, the tense faces of the disciples at that end of the table being lit up and their white garments showing sharply against the gloom of the dark panelled walls. The eyes of the twelve were fixed upon the face of the master as he expounded to them the canon of the Sanskrit law. Now and then he would pause, and a question would be put and answered. The scene was that of the *guru* and *chela* of ancient India. It might equally have been that of the Master and the disciple of Galilee."

Here is another passage, in a different vein, describing the site of the Gurukul near Hardwar: "For now, as then, the soul of India feels irresistibly the urge towards Nature. She still delights to linger in reverent prayer in softly lighted glades of the silent forest, as in the hushed aisles of a cathedral not built by hands; now, as then, she listens for 'the still small voice' calling to her from the infinite soul of the world, in the eternal murmur of her glorious rivers, hallowed by the adoration of generation upon generation of the great and unceasing migration of mankind across the toil-worn sands of time; she still sees in her mountains—immutable and sublime—the divine handiwork of the unseen, but ever-present architect. And amid such surroundings she still seeks a place of spiritual reconciliation, where the finite may approach the infinite, a meeting-place between the soul of man and the soul of the world, a vast temple of nature where, if anywhere, the eternal manifests itself to man as God immanent—omnipotent, omniscient, yet lovingly accessible."

Many more such passages of great literary charm can be culled from the book with ease but we resist the temptation.

IV.

Into the many momentous questions with which Lord Ronaldshay deals it is obviously not possible for us to enter. We commend to the educationalists of the country his wise observations on the results of English Education and the consequent neglect of the Indian languages. His condemnation is severe, and the much-vaunted Sadler Report hardly touches the heart of the matter. "The high school and undergraduate courses," the ex-Chancellor of the Calcutta University truly observes: "are essentially western courses, unrelated to Indian life as it was lived before the advent of the British. They are rigidly mechanical, and altogether lack that intimate relationship between teacher and taught which was an outstanding feature of the indigenous system." This is the logical consequence of the educational policy of the Government, first enunciated in 1835 in the uncompromising language of Macaulay who asserted that a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole literature of India and Arabia, and of the announcement of Lord Hardinge, in 1844, that for the future preference would be given, in all appointments under Government, to men who had received a western education.

The chapters dealing with the Indian languages are confined only to Bengali, for obvious reasons. It is amusing to recall that the original set-back to the cause of the vernaculars was given by the Indians themselves. Indian members of the Committee of Public Instruction expressed their opinion that "anything said or written in the vernacular tongue would be despised in consequence of the medium through which it was conveyed." Lord Ronaldshay's comment on this is sympathetic: "It is sometimes forgotten that just as India of the nineteenth century felt the necessity of a foreign language as its vehicle of learning, so did Great Britain in the sixteenth and preceding centuries experience the same necessity. For centuries English occupied the same position as did the vernaculars of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In cultured circles it was regarded as the jargon of the people..... Englishmen can scarcely view with anything

but sympathy, then, the attempts of modern India to strike root once more in her own intellectual soil."

V.

Those familiar with the modern renaissance of Indian Art do not need to be reminded of the genuine and practical enthusiasm which Lord Ronaldshay evinced for it. It will, therefore, be with deep interest that his chapters on the Characteristics of Indian Art and Sex Symbolism will be read. He is right in describing thus the aim of the Indian artist: "He is not in the least concerned to reproduce a faithful likeness of his objective surroundings. His object is to catch the reality that lies behind the appearance of things. His art is in keeping with his philosophy. The world perceived by the senses is unreal, it is a veil behind which reality lies hidden. He has no desire to reproduce any part of the chequered pattern into which the veil is woven; rather does he strive to make manifest that which lies behind it.....He does not copy what he sees with his outward eye; he meditates upon his subject, and then gives form and colour to that which is created in his mind." That the author has grasped the significance of Indian Art is abundantly clear from his remarks on Nataraja: the image is invariably represented as four-handed and with the left foot raised, the whole giving the impression of a figure in violent motion. Surrounding it is an aura of flame. For the Indian the Nataraja is the plastic presentation of a whole philosophy. In the whirl of the dance he sees the primal energy which gives life to all existence and so sustains the universe. Those who have seen the magnificent image of Nataraja in Chidambaram will realise the correctness of this interpretation.

VI.

We must, reluctantly, leave the other chapters; they can only suffer by condensation. The whole book is imbued with a desire to be fair and just, to enter into the skin of the Indian people, to diagnose the condition with patient sympathy, to suggest remedies with disarming diffidence and modesty. The spirit of the volume cannot better be summed up than in the concluding words of the epilogue, describing Sir Jagadis Bose: "His face was lit up by the fire of enthusiasm, and expression

and voice alike became those of the seer—of the man with a message for mankind. There could be no shadow of doubt that in treading the pathway of the golden mean he had not merely retained but had enhanced the value of his Indian parentage, or that in the Empirical knowledge of the West he had found the complement of the intuitive knowledge of the East. But let him speak for himself. Telling the world long since of his discovery of the thinness of the partition between organic and inorganic matter, he said: It was when I perceived in them (the results of his experiments) one phase of a pervading unity that bears within it all things—the mote that quivers within ripples of light, the teeming life upon the earth and the radiant sun that shines above us—it was then that I understood for the first time a little of that message proclaimed by my ancestors on the banks of the Ganges thirty centuries ago: 'They who see but one in all the changing manifoldness of this universe, unto them belongs eternal truth—unto none else; unto none else!'"

THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF WORLD'S STORIES.

The Ocean of Story. Englished from the Sanskrit of *Katha Sarit Sagar* by (the late) C. H. Tawney, and edited in ten volumes by N. M. Penzer. Vols. I, II and III (1924-25). (Privately printed for subscribers only and issued by C. J. Sawyer, Ltd., Grafton House, London W. 1.) 1924-5.

Lovers of stories, all the world over will acclaim with one voice the appearance of the first three volumes of Mr. N. M. Penzer's scholarly and superb edition of the late Mr. C. H. Tawney's translation of the well-known Sanskrit classic, called *Katha Sarit Sagar*, now issued with introduction, fresh explanatory and elucidative notes, and terminal essays. The complete edition will be in ten handsome volumes—exceedingly well-got-up—printed on stout paper, with proper spacing, by the Riverside Press, Ltd., of Edinburgh, on paper which has been specially made for this unique issue. The publication is strictly limited to one thousand and five hundred sets, for private

sale. The size is Royal 8vo—which is handy—and the binding is black buckram, with gold medallions on the front cover and back, and with a gold ribbon marker and top edges gilt. Although this marvellous collection of stories was published in English between 1880 and 1884, it is practically unknown in Europe. The reasons for this are that it was issued in Calcutta, where the circulation was small and the work was never reprinted. The intrinsic merits of the book, coupled with the fascination of the tales themselves and the material offered to the students of Folk-lore, Anthropology and Comparative History of Literature, make it a thousand pities that, except to Sanskrit scholars, it is almost unknown. Hence, why Mr. Penzer's reprint deserves a very cordial welcome. The translator of this work was the late Mr. C. H. Tawney—Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta—who carried out the difficult task of a literal translation in a manner only equalled by his great contemporary, Sir Richard Burton, in *The Thousand Nights and One Night*.

Sir Richard Burton knew the *Katha Sarit Sagar* well, and fully realised that in comparing the Indian and the Arab works the resemblances were as remarkable as the differences. The Arabs certainly possessed a wonderful gift of imagination and of exaggeration, but compared to that of the Hindus it pales into insignificance. There can be no two opinions about it after reading the views of Burton. So concise and informative was his summing-up of the subject-matter of the *Katha Sarit Sagar* and its comparison to the *Nights*, that no apology is required for referring to it. He points out that the thaumaturgy of both works is the same: the Indian is profuse in demonology and witchcraft; in transformation and restoration; in monsters as wind-men, fire-men and water-men; in air-going elephants and flying horses, in the wishing-cow, divine goats and laughing fishes, and in magic weapons. He delights in fearful battles fought with the same weapons as the Arab uses, and rewards his heroes with a "turban of honour" in lieu of a robe. There is a quaint family likeness arising from similar stages of society; the city is adorned for gladness; men carry money in a robe corner and exclaim: "Ha, Good!" (for "Good, by Allah!"); lovers die with exemplary facility; the "soft-sided" ladies drink spirits and princesses get drunk whilst the eunuch, and the

bawd (kuttini) play the same preponderating parts as in the *Nights*. The Brahman is strong in love-making; he complains of the pains of separation in this phenomenal universe; he revels in youth, "twin-brother to mirth"; and beauty "which has illuminating powers"; he foully reviles old age and he alternately praises and abuses the fair sex. He delights in truisms—such as: "It is the fashion of the heart to receive pleasure from those things which ought to give it," etc.; "What is there the wise cannot understand?"—and so forth. He is liberal in trite reflections and frigid conceits and his puns run through whole lines; this in fine Sanskrit style is inevitable. Yet some of his expressions are terse and telling—e.g. "ascending the swing of doubt"; "bound together [lovers] by the leash of gazing"; "two babes looking like misery and poverty"; "old age seized me by the chin"; (a lake) "first essay of the Creator's skill"; (a vow) "difficult as standing on a sword's edge"; "my vital spirits boiled with the fire of woe"; "transparent as a good man's heart"; "there was a certain convent full of fools"; "dazed with scripture-reading"; "the stones could not help laughing at him"; "the moon kissed the laughing forehead of the East"; "she was like a wave of the sea of love's insolence" "a wave of the sea of beauty tossed by the breeze of youth"; "the king played dice, he loved slave-girls, he told lies, he sat up o' nights, he waxed wroth without reason, he took wealth wrongly, he despised the good and honoured the bad" with many choice expressions of the same character. These few references to Burton's opinions will satisfy the students of Anthropology and Folk-lore of the supreme scientific value of the book.

II.

Since the days of Mr. Tawney and Sir Richard Burton great strides have been made in the unravelling of Indian history, the study of the origin of Indian races—their manners, customs and literature—while many contributions to the journals of the learned societies have shed light on subjects which were formerly buried in obscurity. All this fresh information which has accumulated in the last forty years or so is of the greatest importance to a work such as the *Katha Sarit Sagar*. It not only affects the work itself, but helps to elucidate the tragic history of the Court of Kashmir at the time when the author, Somadeva, was the favourite

Court Poet. Considering all this and weighing over in his mind all these facts, it was a happy inspiration for Mr. Penzer to have approached the late Mr. Tawney with a view to reprinting the entire translation, embodying the fresh information published since 1880. The idea was welcomed by Mr. Tawney, who only regretted that his advanced age prevented his taking any further active part in the enterprise, which he well knew would take years to complete. The general scheme of the work, however, was mapped out and the scope of the new annotation was discussed at length. The necessity of an Introduction was realised, and in the very week that Mr. Tawney died details of the terminal essays and other matters were to have received his attention. Though the editor was thus denied the opportunity of a last conference with the translator, nevertheless his rich stores of knowledge of Anthropology and Folklore have stood him in very good stead in the work of the annotation and elucidation of the text and he has been also successful in securing the services of eminent scholars to write an introduction to each volume. Thus the first volume is introduced by Sir Richard Temple, the second by Sir George Grierson and the third by Dr. M. Gaster.

Turning now to the work itself—the fountain-head of the world's romance—one is amazed with the astounding diversity of the tales, for it contains a mass of stories of every conceivable kind. Animal stories dating back hundreds of years B.C., legends of Rig-Veda days explaining the creation of the earth, harrowing tales of blood-sucking vampires, beautiful and poetic love stories and vivid descriptions of terrible battles between gods, men or demons, all these are found in this storehouse of romance. Nor is it all surprising, for it is an admitted fact that India is the true land of romance, more so indeed than either Persia or Arabia, for India's own history is a romance hardly less exaggerated and enthralling than the tales themselves. The collector of these stories, Somadeva, was a man of genius, who rightly ranks next to Kalidasa among Indian poets. His power of telling a story in a clear, entertaining and absorbing way is only equalled by the richness and diversity of his subject-matter. His knowledge of human nature, the elegance of his style, the beauty and force of his descriptions and the wit and wisdom of his aphorisms, are masterly in their execution. On the other hand, in most eastern

collections of tales (especially Indian), the way in which fresh stories are embedded in other ones and the bewildering rapidity with which one follows another, makes the reader long for Ariadne's thread to lead him safely out of the labyrinth. The editor, therefore, has taken special care to provide an efficient thread in this new edition. A system of numbering the stories has been introduced, that not only makes the reading easy, but acts as a guide to students of Comparative Folklore. The *Katha Sarit Sagar* is, of course, a much older book than the great Arabic classic, *The Thousand Nights and One Night*, and is the origin of many tales in the *Nights*. Through them it has given ideas not only to Persian and Turkish authors, but also to the western world, through the pens of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and their innumerable imitators. It is in this sense that the *Katha Sarit Sagar* is truly *The Ocean of Story*.

A word of recognition is but due to the editorial labours of Mr. Penzer. Mr. Tawney's excellent notes, supplemented by those now added, afford an enormous amount of information and the many excursions by the editor on various topics of interest will prove interesting not only to the students of Comparative Religion, Folklore, Magic (both black and white), Ethics, Sociology and Anthropology, but also to the intellectual lay reader, who wishes to increase his store of out-of-the-way and esoteric knowledge. It is impossible to attempt here any detailed description of the contents of the *Katha Sarit Sagar*, for it must be remembered that the work is nearly twice as long as the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* put together. A special feature is the indexing. There are two indices at the end of each volume, and there will be at least four indices in the complete work, carried out in a most comprehensive and exhaustive manner. When the whole of the translation will have appeared—the fourth volume is said to be in active preparation—in ten volumes, the complete work will redound to the credit of the translator, the scholarship of the editor and the enterprise of the publishers. It will be a monument to the labours of Mr. Penzer and will be a lasting testimony to his culture and love of learning. This edition of *The Ocean of Story* on one's bookshelf, next to Burton's *The Thousand Nights and One Night* will be—to the lovers of the world's best short stories—things of beauty and a joy forever.

Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature.

By K. N. Jhaveri. (N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay) 1924.

In this second instalment of his *Milestones*, Mr. Jhaveri—the talented Gujarati scholar—has brought down the sketch of the Gujarati literature, which he first began in 1914, to recent times. He surveys the development of the Gujarati literature during the 19th century and the first two decades of the present one. The impact of foreign influences—especially of exotic ideals—was not fully felt till after the first half of the 19th century. The prose literature of most of our Indian languages was directly derived as a result of western education and study of the English language. The first stage of pedantry and of over-weighting the language with classical vocabulary was not completed till the end of the 19th century, so far as the Gujarati literature was concerned. The publication of the last volume of Govardhan Ram's *Saraswati Chandra* in 1901 marks the culmination as well as the close of this Sanskritic period of transition.

While Mr. Jhaveri's sketch is fairly detailed and systematic, it is rather strange that he should have overlooked the great upheaval in the Gujarati literature as a consequence of the political awakening of the last decade or so. With the advent of Mr. Gandhi, admittedly the greatest Gujarati, on the scene, Gujarati prose received a new direction altogether, and the language became more fluid and the idiom more racy and in greater consonance with the matter-of-fact habits and temperament of the people. Mr. Gandhi's contribution to Gujarati literature, even though it be, in the sphere of journalism, is altogether unique, and it is rather strange that his name should not find any mention in Mr. Jhaveri's book. Mr. Gandhi's influence on the life of Gujarat has not been only confined to the political sphere, but has affected every other department of life; and it is symptomatic that the heroic folk-lore of Kathiawar should have been presented with such force and literary grace as in the two volumes of *Saurashtra Rasadhar*. This one serious omission, however, does not materially detract from the value of the book, which would have gained in interest had Mr. Jhaveri (who is the Chief Judge of the Presidency Small Cause Court, Bombay) had let himself go a little

and abandoned his judicial reserve in dealing with the literary men of Gujarat. Mr. Jhaveri himself is a distinguished *litterateur* and has kept himself *au courant* of the latest developments in the Gujarati literature. We cordially recommend his second *Milestones* as an authoritative work to students of modern Indian languages and literatures.

N. C. MEHTA, I.C.S.

Riceyman Steps. By Arnold Bennett (Cassel & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Arnold Bennett is one of the present-day writers who has discovered that real people are more interesting than imaginary people. In this novel he has not made his characters interesting but has convinced us that his characters are interesting in spite of drab surroundings. He makes his readers conscious of the contrast between a sordid life in Clerkenwell and the actual life as we come to know it from within.

The setting of the story is indicated by the title of the book. The "Steps" lead from King's Cross Road to Riceyman Square in Clerkenwell. From the steps can be seen a section of the King's Cross Road, which is described as a hell of noise and dust and dirt, with the Country of London tramcars sweeping North and South in a vast clangour of iron thudding and grating on iron and granite beneath the windows of a defenceless populace.

On the far side of the road, on the right, is the Nell Gwynn Tavern, and on the left, Rowton House divided into hundreds of clean cubicles for the accommodation of the defeated and futile at a few coppers a night. Nearer the Steps is a tiny open space officially included in the title "Riceyman Steps", at the South-East corner of which is, or was at any rate, a second-hand bookseller's shop, owned by Mr. Earlforward who lived there. He was more than forty years of age, and always wore a dark-grey suit, although in the back-room upstairs were two drawers in a mahogany chest, full of blue suits, absolutely new. This is the first clue we get that the bookseller was a miser, though in fairness to him, it must be said that his shop was noted for bargains.

He lived a solitary life and was content until

a "newly-come lady across the way began to disturb the calm deep of his mind." She was Mrs. Arb who kept a confectionary shop in which she sold anything from patent foods to tinned fish. Her husband had died two years previously leaving her nicely off. Being in the prime of life, inactivity did not suit her, and "she withered until this shop came along. But this did not bring her the satisfaction for which she craved." For as she said, "there's no bounce to this business. It's like hitting a cushion." She was a masterful woman in a genial way, and had learnt from experience how to please those she wished to please. Mr. Earlforward happened to be one of these, and he, who hated Clerkenwell to be damned, liked her to damn it. Consequently it does not come as a surprise to hear that the bookseller marries Mrs. Arb.

The book must be read to appreciate the union of the two misers, and to see what beauty the author finds in it. Their romance was real. As real to them as that of Joe and Elsie, who before the wedding of the elder couple worked in the morning for Mr. Earlforward and in the afternoon for Mrs. Arb. After the wedding she went to live with them, and worked for them, morning, afternoon, and night for £20 a year. For that sum she "breathed the breath of life into the dead nocturnal house." The dawn helped but Elsie was the chief agent. She was strongly built, with the "striking free, powerful carriage of one bred to hard manual labour." From the constant drawing together of the eyebrows, it could be surmised that she was overconscientious. Although but twenty-three years of age she had been a widow for four years, and at the time of our story kept company with Joe, a young man suffering from shell-shock.

With these four people to assist him Mr. Bennett reveals romance which finds its way to the surface in spite of drab surroundings. Few there are who could reveal it, even had they insight to discover it. In *Riceman Steps* it has been done when all the ordinary avenues of approach have been barred.

He who sees Joe and Elsie standing beneath an umbrella breast to breast, because it is the "natural and rational thing to do," and knows that the sack-apron, covering Elsie's head and shoulders, is like a bridal veil, and that she belonged, not to her master and mistress, but was "a celestial visitant" to one so deep in love

that he *hesitatingly* puts his arm round her waist, is no ordinary observer of his fellow-creatures. On the night, when they stood thus in the rain, Elsie had promised to do some extra work for Mrs. Arb, in spite of a vow to spend the time with her lover, whose birthday was being kept that day. Thus it is that she is seen with him not dressed for the occasion. They had arranged to buy the birthday present—a pair of braces. When she told him that she could not stay with him that night "his chin fell in a sort of sulking and despairing gloom", and as the tears began to roll down his cheeks she wiped his eyes with her apron, and kissed him "keeping her lips on his until she knew from the feel of his muscles every where that the warm soft contact with her had begun to dissolve his resentment. Then she withdrew her lips and kissed him again, differently." They parted on the understanding that they would meet again the next night. But Joe could not wait twenty-four hours. Something due to the shell-shock came over him, and that very night he got into the house where Elsie was at work and rushed at her with a carving knife. He did not kill her, but the incident was only one of many similar ones. The last was so violent that Joe went away for a long time, leaving a note saying he would come back when he was better. That note was the only consolation that Elsie had for many weary months. In moments of grief and despair she threatened never to have anything more to do with him, but she found this man more real to her than her husband had ever been. She could feel him standing near her, and had an ardent longing to martyrise herself to him, "to relax her dominion over him, so that he might exult in ill-treating her in his affliction."

It is while Joe is away that Elsie steals a piece of meat left over from a meal prepared for her master and mistress. Her hungry body fails to stand the rigours of the misers, who themselves become the victims of their affliction. Mrs. Earlforward is taken to hospital where she dies, but the bookseller refuses to go. Elsie nurses him until he dies. During the illness of her employers she finds Joe "a lump of feeble life enveloped in loose wet garments" lying under the side-window of the bookseller's shop. Elsie felt happier at that moment than ever she felt. She knew he was very ill, but she cared for nothing save that

she had him. Later she carried him to her own room above the shop, and there kept him, a secret to everyone but herself and her lover. She became his nurse, clothed him with her master's shirt, and fed him with her master's invalid food. Elsie's instincts were primitive, and when it came to choosing between devotion to her lover and duty to her master, her lover had first call. Joe's call was the call of love to love. Thus Elsie kept him in her own bed,

and stole that he might live. When they are discovered she is asleep, lying across her lover's chest. She is tired out, and as the stranger enters the room, Joe says "She is asleep, don't wake her."

The book does not end there, but this essay will do so, preferring to let Elsie rest rather than follow her further into the storms and calm of life.

R. M. GOODFIELD.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Pitman's Business Man's Guide. By J. A. Slater. Eighth edition: Revised and Enlarged. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2.) 1925.

Mr. Slater's *Pitman's Business Man's Guide* which now appears in an eighth edition, judiciously revised and carefully enlarged, is a well-known work of reference and has faithfully served many generations of publicists and businessmen. The subject-matter of the book is arranged and expounded in alphabetical order, in the style of a dictionary of words and phrases. The scheme of the work is comprehensive, the explanations elucidative and the information exact and up-to-date. Almost everything of interest to the businessman is brought within the purview of this book. Bankers, brokers, financiers, tradesmen and merchants—all may usefully draw upon the resources of *Pitman's Business Man's Guide* for their purposes. We safely commend this important publication to those for whom it is intended.

Willing's Press Guide 1925. Fifty-second Annual Issue. (James Willing, Ltd., 30 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2.) 1925.

Messrs Willing's *Press Guide and Advertiser's Directory and Handbook*—which is now in its fifty-second annual edition—is an excellent compendious record of the press of the British Isles. It also gives lists of telegraphic news and reporting agencies, of the principal colonial and foreign journals and a

variety of useful and instructive information about the fourth estate of the realm. It thus forms a concise and comprehensive index to the press of the United Kingdom in particular and that of the British Commonwealth in general. Altogether it is a capital work of reference for the journalist and the advertiser.

Denmark 1924 (Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Danish Statistical Department, Copenhagen, Denmark) 1925.

Last year we noticed in terms of appreciation two works in English dealing with Norway and Sweden; now we have before us a similar book dealing with the third of the Scandinavian countries—namely, Denmark. It is an official publication and deals in a popular way with the facts and figures of present-day Denmark. Almost every thing of popular interest comes within the field of survey—the royal family, the land and people, the constitution and administration, education and press, agriculture and fisheries, handicrafts and industries, trade and shipping, finance, banking institutions and money market, communications and ports, museums and foundations, social conditions and various other matters of equal interest. Being an official work, the information brought together in it is unimpeachable on the score of accuracy and it is also fully abreast of the latest events and incidents. The get-up of the book is excellent—the printing being neat, the maps well-drawn, the binding limp, and the size convenient. Altogether it is a commendable enterprise that the Danish Govern-

ment have issued with a view to popularize, in the English-knowing world, a knowledge of the present condition of Denmark.

Government of India Directory 1925. Simla edition. (Government of India Press, Simla) 1925.

Yet another directory—this time an official one, to be published twice a year, in December at Delhi and in May at Simla. For some years past the Central Government used to issue from Delhi in December and from Simla in May what was called the *Government of India List* containing the names addresses of their officers, including also of those of heads of local Governments and administrations and also of members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The last of the lists was issued from Simla in May, 1924. The December issue from Delhi appeared in better form under the more convenient name of *Government of India Directory*. The Simla edition is now available. We welcome this useful publication to the list of reference works dealing with India, and it ought to have a wide circulation in circles connected with the Central Government at Delhi and Simla.

The Labour Year-Book 1925. (Labour Publishing Company Ltd., 38 Great Ormond Street, London) 1925.

In the last issue of the *Hindustan Review* we noticed in terms of appreciation the *Liberal Year-Book* and the *Constitutional Year-Book* for the current year, and mentioned also in the course of their reviews the *Labour Year-Book* as the three annual works of reference representing each of the three political parties in Great Britain. *The Labour Year-Book* for 1925, issued since, is deserving of recognition as a highly meritorious reference book. Judiciously compiled and well printed, this volume of over five hundred pages will be highly useful to politicians, publicists and public men. The topics dealt with range over the whole field of British politics and include all the principal political, social and economic problems and international affairs. To the student of public affairs in India, the most distinctive feature will be the section describing the achievements of the Labour Party's first spell of Government. The directory of the principal Labour and Socialist organizations, native and foreign, is another useful of the work, which is an indispensable work of reference in the domain of politics.

The Anglo-American Year-Book 1925. (American Chambers of Commerce, Aldwych House, Aldwych, W. C. 2, London) 1925.

We welcome the fourteenth annual edition, for the current year, of the *Anglo-American Year-book*—the previous issues of which have been noticed in terms of appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The joint editors—Messrs. H. R. Amory and B. M. Gardner—have done their work of selection, omission and alteration judiciously, with the result that this annual publication is now a most useful reference book and deserves wide appreciation, alike for its excellent arrangement and up-to-date information on matters of interest both to the British and the Americans. The information about British trade and commerce—though primarily designed for Americans—will be found no less useful by merchants and tradesmen in India, interested in the subject. Altogether, a capital work of reference, which deserves appreciation and also a large circulation in the English-knowing world.

Banks and Public Holidays throughout the World 1925 (Guaranty Trust Company, 140, Broadway, New York, U.S.A. and also 32, Lombard Street, London, E. C. 3.) 1925.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York publish a useful annual reference work, called *Bank and Public Holidays throughout the World*, which we appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review* last year, and the seventh edition of which, for the current year, is now before us. It contains a chronological list of bank and public holidays for 1925, calendars for the current year and the next, and a list of the countries and States of the world, arranged alphabetically, with lists of the principal holidays in each of them. The book will be found valuable for reference by bankers, financiers, brokers, and businessmen in general.

Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. Author's Copyright Edition (Longman's, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Everybody's Guide to Punctuation. By Harold Herd. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1) 1925.

Short Guide to the Reading of English Literature. By G. Boas. (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39–41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

Landmarks. By Cyril Meade-King (J. N. Blandford & Co., 19, St. Nicholas Street, Bristol) 1925.

In these days of journalistic activities in this country—to say nothing of even greater ones in cross-

word puzzles—the new authorized edition of Roget's classical work—*Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*—is doubly welcome. This reference book, though it appeared so far back as 1852, has never been super-eded or even imitated. It has stood the test of generations as a unique work for purposes of reference. In design and plan it is a dictionary reversed—giving a collection of words and phrases expressing a certain sense, instead of meanings for words. Enlarged in 1879 by the author's son, it was brought further up-to-date by his grand-son in 1911 and the present reprint is fully abreast of the latest additions to English vocabulary. The book deserves to be on the book-shelf of every writer in the press, for it is the publicists' *Vade mecum* Mr.

Herd's *Guide to Punctuation* is a useful little work and gives in a short compass, succinctly but very lucidly, the well-established rules about the use of the various symbols, used in writing and printing, to bring out the sense more clearly. Those who do not attach importance to the study of the subject should read Mr. Herd's book to learn how a wrong stop cost the United States Government two million dollars!

. Mr. Boas's *Short Guide to the Reading of English Literature* will be found of great utility by students of the subject, to which it is intended as an introductory work. Useful information is given in it as to the most suitable editions of commentaries on the classics of each period, beginning with Chaucer and ending with contemporary authors. It will supply the want of those who have none to guide them in their reading. Mr. Cyril Meade-King's *Landmarks* is—as the name implies—a tabular chart of the great events and outstanding incidents of history, which have left their footprints on the sands of time. Beginning with 1800 B. C. it brings down the statement to 1918. The arrangement is clear, the facts are accurately stated and the pamphlet will be helpful to students of history.

GUIDE-BOOKS AND ATLASES.

The British Empire Universities Up-to-date Atlas Guide. Edited by George Philip, F. R. G. S. (The Syndicate Publishing Company, Ltd., 18, Savoy Street, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

The British Empire Universities Up-to-date Atlas Guide is a highly praiseworthy and remarkably meritorious work of its class and kind and deserves a very cordial welcome. It is as perfect an example of atlas-making as knowledge, experience and organization can achieve. It has many distinctive merits. In the first place, the information it contains is easily

accessible. In the *Atlas Guide* every photograph, diagram and illustration is linked up with the text matter in an interesting and convenient form. Then there are photographs in plenty, depicting views of far-off countries, and illustrating the typical happenings in all quarters of the globe. And moreover, each is in every case an up-to-date photograph. In this sense the claim of its being up-to-date is well-founded. The reading matter is intensely interesting, written in every case by travellers and others who speak with intimate knowledge and first-hand authority; the splendid illustrations harmonising with the text in an altogether engrossing fashion. As regards the maps these fulfil their purpose admirably. The explanatory diagrams tend to infuse the dry bones of statistics with new life, and to make the questions of import, export and such like a vividly absorbing theme. As for the get-up the volume is above reproach and will prove an admirable addition to one's book-shelf. It may also be noted that the actual size of the volume is 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; which removes the cumbersome appearance of the old-fashioned Atlas. The Atlas is divided into four parts: the first containing a series of 136 maps and diagrams, the second descriptive and statistical notes on the British Commonwealth, the third on foreign countries, and the fourth a general index of place-names. The maps illustrate the historical development, physical features, natural resources, and trade and international relations of the British Commonwealth, in particular, and the other countries, in general. The descriptive summaries, the commercial data, the statistical tables and notes and the coloured maps and diagrams render the *Atlas Guide* an ideal work of reference, alike for accuracy, up-to-date-ness and convenience.

Pitman's Commercial Atlas of the World. (Sir Issac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

Pitman's *Commercial Atlas of the World* is a perfectly reliable collection of information about Commercial Geography and gives an account of the trade relations, productions, means of communication and statistical data of all the countries of the world. Both the maps and the text have been prepared in the light of the latest events and are fully abreast of the most recent changes and the statistical data are based on most trustworthy sources. Facts about each Continent and country in regard to population, trade, communications, commerce, industries, manufactures, and physical features have been summarized, and the political maps most clearly indicate the distinctive points. There is a very valuable introduction which

deals with trade routes by water and on land. The product maps are a special feature of this excellent work of reference. The letter-press has been written by experts and is, therefore, wholly accurate and up-to-date. Taken together the text, maps and diagrams of *Pitman's Commercial Atlas* constitute a work of reference which is highly useful and should find a place on the bookshelf of every publicist and businessman.

'The Queen' Book of Travel 1925-26. (The Field Press, Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Mr. M. Hornsby—the travel editor of that well-known lady's Journal, *The Queen*—is responsible for that excellent manual, *The Queen Book of Travel*, which has now appeared in its eighteenth edition. It is an alphabetical dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information likely to be useful to visitors, about the scenes and sights, climate and accommodation, as also notes on the traveller's library—which is a comprehensive bibliography—and a lot of miscellaneous data of great utility to tourists. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the book being furnished with seventeen maps and ninety-eight illustrations. Altogether, it is a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a handy companion, which should find a place in the kit-bag of all travellers. Though not intended to be a systematic guide to world-travel, it will serve a useful purpose as an almost indispensable supplement to handbooks for travellers. Comprehensive, compact and in limp binding, in a format convenient for carrying in a great coat pocket, Mr. Hornsby's *Queen Book for Travel* deserves wide appreciation and cordial welcome.

The Taj and its Environments. By Moin-ud-din Ahmad. (Kachehri ghat, Agra) 1925.

The first edition of Mr. Moin-ud-din's guide to the world-famous Taj Mahal at Agra appeared so far back as 1904, and was appreciated by competent critics. The very much improved edition now made available should command a larger measure of approbation and a wider circulation. The book is the production of a qualified scholar of Persian, who has ransacked almost all the available literature about the building of the Taj, in Persian, and ably utilized the information for producing an accurate and a comprehensive handbook of the subject. The author has successfully refuted

the groundless theory of an Italian having designed the structure. Based as the book is on a careful investigation of historical data, it should prove invaluable to tourists to Agra and also to seekers after correct information about one of the acknowledged wonders of the world.

Handbook of Matheran. By V. B. Dabake. (Head Master Municipal School, Matheran) 1925.

The hill-station of Matheran has long since taken its place as one of the chief sanatoria of the Western Presidency and it was time that an adequate and up-to-date guide to it were rendered available by local enterprise. We, therefore, welcome the *Handbook of Matheran*, so well compiled by Mr. V. B. Dabake, Head Master of the Municipal School there. The author has well put together the materials he has gathered, having cast them into a popular form. The result is a guide book which is not only comprehensive and up-to-date, but is highly informative and interesting. It is also well-illustrated. Altogether, a capital guide to Matheran.

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Brighter Spots in Brighter London. Edited by Sydney Mosley. (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London, W. C. 1) 1925.

Unnoticed London. By E. Montizambert. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London) 1925.

The Wheatsheaf Holiday Guide. (Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, Longsight and Reddish, Manchester) 1925.

Mr. Sydney Mosley—who is well-known as an authority on the modern Babylon, as the author of the *Night Haunts of London*—has conferred a benefit on lovers of London by editing his *Bright Spots in Brighter London*, which is truly bright from cover to cover. It tells one where to stay, to dine, to dance, to shop and to amuse oneself in London, and also gives a large amount of practical information not to be found in the average guide-book, to which Mr. Mosley's compilation—each chapter of which is written by an expert—will form a highly useful supplement. No visitor to London or resident therein can do without the book, if he desires to live in comfort and to enjoy life. *Unnoticed London* is a good supplement to a guide-book to the metropolis of the British Commonwealth. It does not give much of practical information in which guide-books naturally specialize, but it gives just the necessary guidance one requires in hunting out unbeaten objects of great interest, which

the compiler of the average hand-book is apt to pass over. It is well-written, has got a literary flavour about it and is embellished with two dozen excellent illustrations. *The Wheat-shear Holiday Guide* is a truly wonderful three-penny worth compendium of useful and practical information about the numerous holiday resorts of Great Britain and Ireland. It is literally crammed with short sketches—accurate and informative—also with interesting notes, pictures, maps, and addresses of guest houses at the eighteen hundred places described. Considering the nominal price, the *Guide* is a marvel in publishing enterprise and deserves wide appreciation.

Notes for Travellers in Palastine and Syria. By the Right Revd. Rennie MacInnes, D.D. (H. B. Skinner & Co., 124/6, Denmark Hill, London, S. E. 5) 1925.

Dr. MacInnes insists rightly in the preface to his compilation on road and rail travel in Palestine and Syria that his *Notes for Travellers* "are not a guide-book and should only be used as supplementary to some such publication." But used as suggested by the compiler, the pamphlet will be found of great utility. There is a good sketch map of the country showing the routes, and the descriptive notes on the places lying on them are helpful, accurate, and concise. Altogether, it is a very useful hand-book.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Law of Transfer (Inter Vivos) in British India. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mukerji. (R. Cambray & Co., 10, Hasting Street, Calcutta) 1925.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Lal Gopal Mukerjee, of the Allahabad High Court, is justly regarded as a specialist in the law of transfer. He was, before his elevation to the High Court bench, on special deputation under the Government of India to examine and systematize the law on the subject, for the behoof of the Legislative department, when Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided over it. The advantage he thus gained in widening his insight into the subject, he has successfully utilized in his work called *The Law of Transfer (Inter Vivos) in British India*. It is a comprehensive exposition of the subject it deals with, and though primarily intended for students it will be found valuable by legal practitioners and Judges. Divided into about two dozen chapters, it traverses the whole range of the law of transfer *inter vivos*, discusses at length the principles on which legislation

on the subject is based and skilfully analyses the case-law. While the book is not a commentary of the Transfer of Property Act, it explains all the law that is contained in a condensed form in that Act, besides many more things. The principles of law have been explained in the simplest language and the book makes one of the most abstruse of legal subjects quite readable and attractive. Besides the text which covers 694 pages, there are five appendices, containing, *inter alia*, full texts of the Transfer of Property Act and Order 34 of the Civil Procedure Code. It is thus really a self-contained book. With the appendices and various indices, the book covers 800 pages, and is none too costly at rupees fifteen. The practising lawyer will find the book equally useful with the student, as though the book is not designed to be a digest of decided cases, over 600 cases have been cited and many of these have been discussed, and analysed at length. Taking it all in all, Mr. Justice Lal Gopal Mukerjee's book is a notable contribution to the literature of Anglo-Indian law and it is so learned and luminous that its study will provide an intellectual treat to students of the subject.

Principles of Criminology: Tagore Law Lectures 1920. By K. Subrahmania Pillai, M.A., M.L., (Superintendent Publications Department of the University of Calcutta, Senate House, Calcutta) 1924.

The subject of criminology which has received so much attention, impetus and study in Western Europe and America during the last half-century, has practically passed unnoticed in India. It was not till five years back that the University of Calcutta—with its motto of "Advancement of Learning"—thought it worth its while to appoint a Tagore Law Lecturer on this very important branch of criminal jurisprudence. They were fortunate, however, in securing for the purpose of delivering a course of lectures on the subject, so pre-eminently qualified a criminologist as Mr. K. Subrahmania Pillai—a Professor of the Madras Law College—who judging from the work before us, has specialised in the study of criminology, and mastered with advantage the literature dealing with it. The result of his study and reflection is a highly instructive work, supplying to students of criminology in this country a useful introduction to the subject and a meritorious text-book. Being comprehensive in its scope it traverses the whole range of the subject—crime, its manifestation, causes, the mentality of the criminals, their classification based on the nature of the crimes committed and their responsibility, also the objects and methods of punishment as treated in the various penal systems. The treatment of the subject

is popular and lucid, and the book deserves a warm welcome.

Studies in the Constitution of the Irish Free State.

By Swift MacNeill. (The Talbot Press, Ltd., 38, Talbot Street, Dublin) 1925.

Mr. Swift Mac Neill's *Studies in the Constitution of the Irish Free State* is a notable contribution to the literature of constitutional law of the Dominion States of the British Commonwealth. It should be of very great utility to India constitution-makers, who may also study with advantage the new constitution of the Republic of Turkey, the full text of which is printed at the end of an article on the subject in the last issue of that well-known American periodical—the *Political Science Quarterly*. Mr. Swift MacNeill opines in the preface to his book that "the study of the constitution of the Irish Free State should be an elevated intellectual recreation to every citizen," because interpreted by the Treaty it "is the charter of the (Irish) State as an independent Sovereign Power entitled to assert and maintain its position among the nations of the world." We entirely agree and commend these observations to those Indians (fortunately very few, indeed) who without realizing the realities of the situation glibly talk of an "independent India," outside the British Commonwealth. An excellent introduction leads to the text of the Act, almost each section of which is followed by very lucid and highly informative commentaries, expounding the principles underlying it and comparing it with similar provisions in the constitutions of other self-governing States and countries. We strongly recommend a careful study of Mr. Swift Mac Neill's book to students of political institutions.

The Law of Confessions, Accomplices, Approvers and Dying Declarations. By S. Roy, Barrister-at-Law. Fifth Edition. (High Court Bar Library, Calcutta) 1925.

We extend a cordial welcome to the fifth edition, completely revised and materially enlarged, of Mr. S. Roy's work called the *Law of Confessions, Accomplices, Approvers and Dying Declarations*, which originally appeared so far back as 1902 in a very modest form. Each edition of it has been judiciously improved with the result that in its present form it may justly claim to be the standard work on the subject. In the edition under notice, over five hundred cases have been summarized and incorporated in the text, and with the aid of the *addenda* the rulings are fully brought up-to-date, as late as those

reported in March last. The commentaries have now been made fairly exhaustive, the notes even more elucidative and explanatory than before, the arrangement more systematic, the addition of useful data in the appendices more complete, and the index more copious and useful. The work will be now absolutely indispensable to criminal practitioners, judges, magistrates and police officers, also as an ideal textbook of the subject to students in law colleges and police training schools.

The Transfer of Property Act. By A. K. Ray. Fourth Edition. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 92/2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta) 1924.

Mr. Atul Krishna Ray's edition of the Transfer of Property Act has long since been acknowledged as an excellent compendium of the subject it deals with. The first and the two succeeding editions were noticed in terms of commendation in the *Hindustan Review* and we now welcome the appearance of the fourth edition which is a great improvement, embodying as it does the text of all the recent enactments bearing upon the subject and incorporating the substance of all the reported decisions up-to most recent date. Of the many commentaries on the Transfer of Property Act, that by Mr. Atul Krishna Ray is lucid and helpful to a degree and this handy edition fills a distinct void in the legal literature of India. The new edition is very well got up, and deserves acknowledgment.

The Law of Interest in British India. By P. Ramanatha Aiyar, B.L. Second Edition, 1925.

The Provincial Small Cause Courts Act. By P. Ramanatha Aiyar, 1925.

The Criminal Rules of Practice (Madras). By R. Narayanaswami Iyer, B.L. Second Edition, 1925.

(All three issued by The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras).

The Madras Law Journal Office continues to enrich the legal literature of India by publishing text-books and commentaries on the different branches of Anglo-Indian Law. The two latest commentaries, dealing with the law of interest (as embodied in the Usurious Loans Act X of 1918) and the practice and procedure of the Courts of Small Causes in the Mofusil, which have been written by Mr. Ramanath Aiyar, are thoroughly up-to-date and complete expositions of their subjects, and there are no better-edited text-books available at present on them. *The (Madras) Criminal Rules of Practice* fully brought up-to-date and carefully edited by Mr. Narayanaswami Iyer

should be found useful even outside the limits of the Southern Presidency for purposes of collation and comparison.

Select Constitutions of the World. (Stationery Office, Dublin; also Messrs. Eason & Son, Ltd., 40-1, Lower O'Connell, Street, Dublin).

Select Constitutions of the World is an official publication, issued by the order of the Irish Provisional Government (of 1922) and was prepared for presentation to Dail Eireann—evidently to enable it to draw up the constitution of the Irish Free State. Although a compilation, it is a very useful digest and will be found invaluable by students of constitutional law, as well as by those who for want of a better word may be called constitution-mongers. It brings together in one handy volume the constitutions of nineteen states extending over four continents and dating in point of time from 1787 (America) to 1922 (Irish Free State). Of these nineteen States, nine are monarchies and ten republics, or (to put it in another way) eleven are Unitary Governments and eleven Federated ones. As a collection of very important constitutional documents, the book possesses a unique value and great utility.

Freedom of the Press. By Samuel Arthur Dawson. (Columbia University Press, New York, U.S.A.) 1924.

Mr. S. A. Dawson's *Freedom of the Press* is an exceedingly useful study of the legal doctrine of "qualified privilege." The subject is one of great interest not only to lawyers but also to all journalists. As an American the author deals with his subject both in the light of the decisions of the English and the American courts. He contends, not unsuccessfully, that the doctrine as at present given effect to by the American courts is in advance of that administered in the courts of England. In India with its growing press, the book should have a large circulation both amongst lawyers and the members of the fourth estate. It is marked by a thorough grasp of the subject and is well put together.

Hand-book of English Constitutional Law for Indian Students. By J. P. Sarvadhicari, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, 1925.

Mr. Jyoti Prasad Sarvadhicari's *Hand-book of English Constitutional Law for Indian Students* is—as the title itself shows—an introductory manual based on the standard works on the subject. It is a useful compilation for the class of readers for whom it is

intended. It will doubtless remove a long-felt want of the students of English constitutional law in this country. Its statements of the law are accurate and its treatment of the subject is well-adapted to the requirements of beginners in the study of English constitutional law. Altogether, Mr. Sarvadhicari's *Hand-book* will be found very useful by Indian students of English constitutional law.

The Annual Part of the Yearly Digest 1924. (The Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras) 1925.

The Yearly Digest 1924—compiled by Messrs. R. Narayanaswami Iyer and V. V. Chitale—is deserving of all the praise bestowed upon it in the *Hindustan Review* in previous years. It is admittedly the most useful, the most comprehensive, the most systematic and the most well-arranged of the works of its class and kind, published in this country. As such, it is undoubtedly indispensable to the Bench and the Bar alike and it must find a place on each legal book-shelf. Its printing and get-up are commendable, and we trust it will receive adequate support from the legal profession which may ensure its stability as a valuable work of reference.

The B. L. Companion. 2 vols. **The Mukhtarship Companion.** 2 vols. (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta) 1925.

The two series of legal companions intended for candidates appearing at the Bachelor of Laws and Mukhtarship examinations, are useful publications and present the texts of the Acts and Regulations prescribed for these examinations. The books are handy in size, their printing is neat and they constitute excellent aids to legal studies. The texts, which include all amendments, are arranged and classified according to subject. References are given in footnotes as to the various amendments and alterations, and the two series are bound to prove helpful to students preparing for the examinations.

REPRINTS AND NEW EDITIONS.

In a well-got-up volume called **Tolstory on Art**, Mr. Aylmer Mande has collected, for the first time, all the writings of Tolstoy which deal with any aspect of Art. Tolstoy's chief work on the subject, *What Is Art*, has been out of print for some time and the present volume contains other essays of his which are not published elsewhere. Of Mr. Mande's translation

Tolstoy himself wrote: 'This book of mine (*What Is Art*) appears now for the first time in its true form.' Mr. Maude's translations are interspersed with a critical commentary upon Tolstoy's views, and there are reproductions of the Russian pictures referred to in the text. The volume may be justly considered as a definitive edition of all that Tolstoy wrote on art, and it should, therefore, find a place on the bookshelf of every student of the subject. It is issued by the Oxford University Press.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy is an admitted authority on Indian Art and his books on this subject are justly regarded as standard authorities. Of these one of the best known is the collection of essays (originally issued in 1915) called **The Dance of Siva**. The book has been out of print for some time, and we, therefore, welcome its reprint (issued by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. of London, E. C. 4), enriched with a valuable and illuminating introductory preface from the pen of that eminent French Savant—M. Romain Rolland. M. Rolland's essay—for such it really is—not only enhances the value of Dr. Coomaraswamy's book, but is itself an intellectual treat, and deserves most earnest and careful attention.

Mr. Edward Spencer's **Cakes and Ale** and **The Flowing Bowl** are classics in the literature of Gastronomy, and the sixth edition of each now issued (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London) would be welcomed by gourmets. *Cakes and Ale* is a record of memories of many happy meals, and a dissertation on banquets, interspersed with numerous recipes mainly original and anecdotes mainly veracious. *The Flowing Bowl* is a history of drinks of all kinds, and of all periods and ages, interlarded with innumerable recipes for both hot and cold drinks, and stories and reminiscences. Both are books of capital interest.

Mr. Edward Gregory's **The Art and Craft of Home-Making** was originally issued in 1913. Since the first edition was published, a new and larger group of readers has sprung up who are keenly interested in their houses, and are ever open to suggestions to secure a non-stereotyped style of home. Besides the Great War has nearly doubled the prices of 1913. To this class the new edition of this standard work, with its new plates in colour, some new photographs of interiors, the additional chapters, the new pen-and-ink sketches, and the additional recipes and wrinkles,

will strongly appeal. The work is a standard treatise on the subject it deals with. It is written and illustrated not by amateurs, but by men who have made furnishing and decoration their life-work. The special feature of the new edition is a series of eight colour schemes by Mr. Gordon Blunt, which are beautifully executed, besides thirty-three plates and one hundred and fifty line drawings. Thus Mr. Gregory's book is a comprehensive and up-to-date work on home furnishing and decoration. It is published by Messrs. Thomas Murby & Co. of 1, Fleet Lane, Ludgate Circus, London, E. C. 4.

The Report on the Present State of Knowledge of Accessory Food Factors. (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London) which is the second, revised and enlarged edition, is a comprehensive account of the present state of our knowledge of Vitamins and it includes the results of the large amount of research which has been carried on since the publication of first edition. It should be of very great value to medical men and health-seekers alike. Major B. D. Basu's **Diabetes Mellitus and its Dietetic Treatment** has just appeared in a thirteenth edition. It was originally issued in 1909. That it should have passed through thirteen editions in sixteen years is almost conclusive proof of its utility and popularity. The talented author recalls with a just sense of pride that his many suggestions which were regarded as heresies at one time are now the accepted canons of medical science in the treatment of diabetes. Major Basu's book on Diabetes and its treatment is sound and scientific and of the greatest value to the medical profession and diabetic patients. It is published by the Panini Office, at Allahabad.

We extend a most cordial welcome to the second edition of **The Week-End Book** (The Nonesuch Press, 16, Great James Street, London). A fascinating medley, a jolly-good companion, it is a delightful anthology of poems, songs, epigrams, notes, jottings and many other kind of interesting things. The new edition has been judiciously enlarged. Besides introducing a new section on epigrams, additions have been made to all the other sections—the great poems, the hate poems, the state poems, the Zoo and the songs. There is no better companion for the week-end than *The Week-End Book*.

Mr. W. C. Abbott—Professor of History in Harvard University—published in two volumes, in 1917, his **Expansion of Europe**, and the book was acknowledged by qualified and competent critics as a notable contribution to historical literature. We welcome its new,

revised edition, now issued complete in one volume (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London). The book is a successful attempt on the part of a scholar to popularize the political and the social history of modern Europe and the new colonial world from 1415 to 1789. It were much to be wished that, in taking advantage of the issue of this revised edition, the talented author had brought down the sketch to our own times. But as it is the book is a highly praiseworthy survey of the four centuries of European history beginning with the Renaissance and ending with the French Revolution. The scholarship, critical acumen and fairmindedness of the author deserve warm acknowledgment. The value of the text is substantially enhanced by the inclusion of a large number of well-executed maps both in colour and in black, as also useful select bibliographies on the subject-matter of each chapter.

Yet a third anthology of English essays has just appeared in the famous series of reprints called *The World's Classics* and issued by the Oxford University Press. The first one covers the three centuries from Bacon to Stevenson, the second traverses the same ground but also extends the circle to later writers; while the third and last gleans its subject-matter from the 20th century and contemporary writers. Thus *The Selected Modern English Essays* constitutes a useful supplement to the two previous collections, and the three taken together form a treasure-house of modern English prose-literature.

The late Mr. Stopford Brooke's *English Literature* (670-1832) was originally issued in 1876 in Messrs. Macmillan's "Literature Primers" series, and was frequently reprinted by reason of its being the most compact and the most critical study of the subject, from the pen of a distinguished scholar. Now after forty-five years since its first appearance, it is reissued in the "Pocket Edition" series of Messrs. Macmillan (London) enriched with an additional chapter from the pen of Mr. George Sampson, dealing with the literature of the Victorian and post-Victorian periods, from 1832 up-to-date. In its present form the book is a highly useful text-book of the subject—learned, scientific and popular—and should be able to make a very wide appeal to the reading public, as it is handy for reference and scholarly for study.

Browning's famous poem—*The Ring and the Book*—is one of the longest in the English language and its inordinate length naturally stands in the way of its study by a large circle of readers, outside the votaries of the great poet. It was, therefore, a very

happy idea on the part of Mr. A. Haddow to present the condensed text of the poem as a connected narrative in select passages chosen from Browning's text, joining them together with prose passages summarizing the less important parts of the story. The result is that in its newly-compiled form (called **Browning's Ring and the Book as a Connected Narrative**) Mr. Haddow's book—issued by Messrs. Blackie & Son, Ltd. (50, Old Bailey, London and also of Bombay)—serves a very useful purpose in popularizing a great classic. If it lead to a wider appreciation of Browning's poem, the compiler will deserve well of the reading world.

Mr. G. Le Strange's *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate* has justly come to be regarded as a classic on the subject it deals with, ever since its first appearance in the last year of the last century. But it has been long out of print and the constant demand for it had sent up the price of second-hand copies very high. We, therefore, welcome a reprint of it produced photographically from sheets of the first edition. The Oxford University Press (Bombay), deserve well of the literary world for their enterprise in producing this very handsome reprint.

"THE LIBRARY OF GREEK THOUGHT." A NEW SERIES.

Messrs. J. M. Dent & Co. (of Bedford Street, London) deserve well of the reading public for their enterprise in inaugurating a new series of text-books dealing with the various phases and activities of ancient Greek life, civilization and culture—all covered by the comprehensive word "thought." The object of the series is to put before readers, in an English translation, the most typical and the most important expressions of Greek thought in all the many fields of its activity—historical, religious, philo-ophic, economic, political, ethical, scientific and artistic. The series is intended for readers of general education, who desire not merely to read modern books about the Greek genius, but to study for themselves (so far as a translation permits) its original products and expression. Each volume contains a general introduction, and there are also brief explanatory introductions to many of the most important passages quoted. The series is such that it should appeal not only to students but also to the many who find their intellectual development in solitary reading. The series is edited by Dr. Ernest Barker—Principal of King's College, London University,—a scholar of reputation, and he has been successful in

securing the co-operation of a highly qualified band of collaborators, to assist him in his endeavour to present in English renderings the most typical and the most important expression of ancient Greek civilization (as embodied in its culture, learning and thought) in all the fields covered by intellect and emotion. The volumes so far issued are Mr. M. I. W. Lanister's *Greek Economics*, Mr. J. D. Denniston's *Greek Literary Criticism*, Mr. F. M. Cornford's *Greek Religious Thought*, Professor Arnold Toynbee's *Greek Historical Thought*, and *Greek Civilization and Character*, Miss Hilda Oakley's *Greek Ethical Thought* and Mr. F. A. Wright's *Greek Social Life*. Other volumes are to follow and the series, when completed, will be one of the most valued for cultural purposes, and it deserves appreciation and wide circulation.

The books in the "Library of Greek Thought" series are carefully planned, and each volume issued so far is a model text-book. Each editor has enriched the translated selections, for which he has made himself responsible, with an instructive and lucid introduction dealing with the subject-matter of the volume, and each of these preliminary essays is a little masterpiece, presenting an excellent survey of the whole subject. Then follow the translated extracts, grouped in and arranged on the various topics. These extracts are well chosen and betray the familiarity of a master of the subject. The books are thus well-designed and carefully executed. The renderings into English are either taken from standard translations or are the work of the compiler himself, and in either case they are all that they should have been—faithful, and the exact image of the original, yet making excellent reading. Each monograph is well-indexed, which enhances its utility for purposes of reference as well. While each of the volumes, issued so far, is instructive and interesting, Mr. Wright's *Social Life* is particularly so. In it the author has thrown modern searchlight on Greece's ancient social customs. His extracts from Greek authors, mostly translated by himself, are most vivid and illuminating; and the book as a whole reads more like a racy collection of modern society memoirs than a treatise on an ancient civilisation. At once brilliant and scholarly, it is a gay contribution which everyone, who is interested in any sort of social state, must appreciate and enjoy. The introduction is a model of condensed writing, and his selections, well away from the beaten track, will be a revelation to many who are not Greek scholars. In fact, the greatest merit of these books is the appeal they make to non-Greek-knowing readers, for whom they are pre-eminently intended. They supply just the information which this class of readers requires as aids to culture. Only one omission we have noticed

in these books with regret—that of select bibliographies to enable students to follow up their course of studies with advantage. We hope this omission will be supplied in the volumes to come and in the next editions of those already issued. For the rest, we strongly commend the many claims of Messrs. Dent's new series on all cultured men. A careful study of the volumes will be a source of perennial joy to lovers of Greek thought and culture.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF STANDARD FRENCH FICTION.

Mr. Joseph Thomas's English rendering of the *Asmodeus or The Devil on Two Sticks*—which saw the light so far back as 1841—is now made available, thanks to the enterprise of Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. (of Paternoster Row, London). It contains an excellent biographical and critical sketch of the author, Le Sage—better known by his other classical novel called *Gil Blas*, one of the greatest works in French fiction. The chief attraction of the new edition is the series of eight illustrations in colour and sixteen in black-and-white by Miss Kitty Shannon. Last year the book called "Nell Gwyn" was illustrated by Miss Shannon, and was about the most successful colour book of 1924. This year this fine artist has chosen to illustrate a work of Le Sage which has for many years been unobtainable in English garb. *The Devil on Two Sticks* is translated from "Le Diable Boiteux"; this, though not as well known as that fine picaresque romance of Le Sage, *Gil Blas*, enjoyed a far greater popularity during the author's lifetime, and deserves to be much better known to-day. This edition, finely translated, and beautifully illustrated by Miss Shannon, will no doubt ensure for the French classic the popularity it merits.

Messrs. T. Werner Lanric, Ltd. (of 30, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, London, E. C. 4) deserve appreciation of their effort to provide the English-knowing reader with excellent renderings of the complete works of that famous French novelist—Guy de Maupassant. Maupassant, who died at the comparatively young age of forty-three, in 1893, is regarded by qualified critics as the greatest writer of short stories, in any language. But his longer works of fiction also are undoubtedly novels of a very high order. The publishers' enterprise, therefore, in bringing out a uniform library edition of his works deserves acknowledgment by lovers of high-class fiction. Four volumes have already appeared—*Bel-Ami*, *A Life*,

Boule de Suif and *The House of Madame Tellier*—while the fifth, *The Master Passion*, is in preparation. The translations by Marjorie Laurie are exceedingly well done.

Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd. (of 8 Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London, W. C. 1) are constantly adding to their excellent "International Library" of translations of standard continental fiction, which we have already noticed in terms of appreciation. Amongst French fiction, they have recently added *Selected Stories* of Guy de Maupassant, in which the aim is successfully achieved to represent the master at his best. Four novels also of the romancist, Alexandre Dumas, have just been added to the series. These are *The Neapolitan Lovers*, *Love and Liberty*, *A Life's Ambition*, and *The Prussian Terror*. There are several editions of translations into English of the works of Dumas, which profess to be complete, but in regard to these four volumes, the publishers claim that they have never before appeared in an English garb. Each of these has been rendered into excellent English by Mr. R. S. Garnett, who also contributes an informing introduction. These books deserve the attention of lovers of Dumas—especially *A Life's Ambition* as it ends with an interesting account of his own experiences as a dramatist.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Professor W. G. de Burgh's *The Legacy of the Ancient World* (Macdonald & Evans, 8 John Street, Bedford Row, London, W. C. 1) is an excellent textbook of the *origines* of European civilization. The author's aim is to introduce the general reader to a knowledge of antiquity, and to help teachers and students by indicating the lines of connection between the successive phases of what may be termed, compendiously, the Mediterranean civilisation. It sets forth the abiding value of the life and thought of Israel, Greece and Rome. It shows how the Hebrew, the Greek and the Roman peoples have influenced Christianity and the Middle Age, and so moulded the life of the European peoples of to-day—the Hebrew contributing spiritual vision; the Greek freedom and individuality; the Roman ordered discipline. Liberty, law, and the Kingdom of God form the theme of this volume and although Professor De Burgh's generalisations sometimes lead him astray, his book is a very useful compendious sketch of a great subject

Professor E. G. Brown—the veteran oriental scholar—deserves heartiest felicitations on the publication of his *Persian Literature in Modern Times* (1500-1925). (The University Press, Cambridge). It is the fourth and concluding volume of his highly meritorious work—*The Literary History of Persia*. Like its predecessors the volume under survey is marked by a rich and rare scholarship, and if it be found not so interesting as they, the fault is that of the subject and not of its treatment by the author. He complains that owing to the opinion prevalent in Europe, Turkey and India that the Persian literature of the last four centuries is (comparatively speaking) of not much merit, it has been neglected. His brilliant sketch should go a long way in retrieving its fallen fortunes. But Professor Brown himself records the reasons therefor. It is that "alike in form and matter the classical poetry of Persia has been stereotyped for at least five or six centuries, so that—except for references to events and persons as may indicate the date of composition—it is hardly possible to guess whether (a poem) was composed by Jami (d. 1492) or by some quite recent poet." What wonder, then, if students neglect modern Persian literature? Professor Browne's book, however, will serve to make it much better known than it is at present

The well-known American publishing firm of Messrs. Harper and Brothers (49 E 33rd Street, New York, U.S.A.)—founded so far back as 1817—have lately embarked upon a "Fine Arts Series," edited by Dr. G. P. Chase, Professor of Archaeology in Harvard University. The object is to embody the latest results of Archaeology and other critical studies of the Fine Arts in themselves and in their relation to the evolution of civilization. The first two volumes are *A History of Architecture* by Drs. F. Kimball and G. H. Edgell, and *A History of Sculpture* by the editor and Dr. C. R. Post. The former book treats of the history of architecture as a living art from its earliest beginnings in the dawn of civilization down to the present day, and includes a chapter on the architecture of the Far East. American architecture is also discussed at considerable length. The aim of the writers has been not to describe many monuments, but to trace in a series of characteristic works the history of this great art, and to show how modern architecture developed out of that which preceded it. It presents the latest discoveries and researches and modern interpretations, while select bibliographies at the end of each chapter furnish the reader with the means of pursuing any subject further. It is profusely illustrated. The latter book also is conceived and planned on the same lines. It presents a concise account

of the development of the art of sculpture from the earliest Egyptian times to the present day, with a separate discussion of the art of each of the nations of Europe and special sections on the art of the United States and the Orient. Like the *History of Architecture*, the *History of Sculpture* also is very well illustrated. *A History of Painting* by Professor Arthur Pope is in preparation and will appear as the third volume. Messrs. Harper's Fine Art series deserves the earnest attention of students of the subject.

Messrs. G. Bell & Sons Ltd. (York House, Portugal Street, London, W. C. 2) are pre-eminently identified with the publication of standard works on chess. They are the publishers of the works of J. R. Capablanca—the chess champion of the world—and also of those of Edward Lasker, Richard Reti, Sargeant, and several other specialists. Their latest output is *The Elements of Chess* by Mr. J. du Mont, author of *Chess Openings Illustrated*. It is a most comprehensive treatment on the subject and is withal sufficiently popular. It embodies the results of the latest achievements and developments in chess-playing and should, therefore, be welcome alike to beginners and experts.

The Love Stories of English Queens by Elizabeth Villiers (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 8, Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London, W. C. 1) makes very interesting reading. The facts of history are here, but tradition and folklore have been consulted as well, with the result that though absolutely true, these stories read as fascinating romance. The inner lives of twelve queens have been dealt with, and while many readers will be content to see these stories as stories only, to others the book will make an appeal because it shows in a new light many whose names are familiar in the pages of history. For instance, it is common knowledge that Elfrida caused her stepson to be murdered at the gate of Corfe Castle, but the thrilling drama which tells how she betrayed her first husband that she might win the king's love, will be strange to many. Again, King James I. of England, does not strike most people as an heroic figure—they know him from the chronicles of his later years—yet in this account of his wooing of his unknown wife, he appears as a very gallant lover, the typical hero of a sweet romance. All the sketches are well-written and will be read with pleasure and profit. It has also some good illustrations.

Now that the famous London exhibition known for nearly a century as "Madame Tussaud's, has been

burnt to the ground, Captain Edrick Vredenburg's account of it, beautifully illustrated, and called *Madame Tussaud's Palace of Enchantment* (Raphael Tuck and Sons, Ltd., Moorfields, London, E. C. 2) should be all the more welcome. It contains 48 pages of descriptive letter-press and six full page colour plates and would serve the purpose of a splendid memento of the most celebrated waxworks exhibition in the world—alike to those who had seen it and those who did not.

Mr. W. H. Warren's book designated *Author and Printer* (Christian Literature Society, Madras) will be of great utility to and found invaluable by the layman in India who writes articles or books or who edits journals, newspapers, periodicals and magazines. Apart from other useful information, it has a very clear section on the correction of proofs. The sections on paper, illustrations and style in bookwork furnish intending authors with all necessary information on the subjects of writing and printing. There are *inter alia*, interesting discussions on the use of capitals, punctuation, the hyphen and the uses of 'shall' and 'will.' Mr. Warren has sought for the underlying principles governing these matters. He has not given us mere rule-of-thumb rules. Altogether, this little book is exceedingly useful and will be highly servicable to the class for whom the author has tried to cater.

Messrs. Natesan & Co. of Madras are constantly adding useful publications to their publishing list. The latest two are *Edwin Samuel Montagu: A Study in Indian Polity* and *Sri Krishna's Messages and Revelations*. At this moment when the country is seriously engaged in considering the question of future constitutional advance, and the immediate steps to be taken for the attainment of Swaraj, it is interesting and useful to draw the attention of the public to the opportune publication just issued—*Edwin Samuel Montagu—a Study in Indian Polity*—in which the author after giving a succinct account of the career of this remarkable man traces in brief the part played by Mr. Montagu in the growth of the Indian Constitution. There are copious extracts from Mr. Montagu's budget speeches, his Report on Constitutional Reforms, and his speeches in Parliament on the Reforms Bill and the Hunter Report. A detailed account of the part played by Mr. Montagu in reversing the Treaty of Sevres and his great services to Islam is also given. The sketch reviews the circumstances of his resignation and his spirited defence of his action and ends with an account of his premature death.

The other book—from the same firm is on an entirely different plane. Those who are familiar with Baba Bharati's inspiring works will welcome this pocket book of **Messages and Revelations**, published at the special request of an American disciple of the Baba. In the words of the Baba, "this is the purest Nectar of Spiritual Love. Let the reader open his heart to it and I am sure it will fill it with ecstasy." The soulful reader will thrill with joyous vibrations of every sentence of the book, which is an excellent *vade macum* for spiritual persons.

The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., (38, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1) have inaugurated a new series of very useful books called "The Pocket Library," issued at a shilling a volume. This Library contains only reliable, up-to-date books by the best authorities. The volumes are cheap and handy in form. They are specially written so that the subjects in all their bearings may be grasped easily and quickly. The volumes listed cover a wide range of subject—political, economic, industrial, legal, educational and so forth. But the publishers hope soon to announce volumes on Music, Art, Gardening for Town Dwellers, Games in the Parks and many other subjects of interest to all active-minded people. Each book is published in two editions, paper covers and cloth covers. Of the two dozen volumes published or announced so far the one that is of the greatest interest to us in this country is **How Britain is Governed** by Kate Rosenberg. It is capital, little survey—absolutely accurate and thoroughly up-to-date of the history and working of the British Constitution. It is so good—instructive and interesting—that it scarcely required Viscount Haldane's commendation. We shall watch the progress of the series with sympathetic interest.

The Miracle of Fleet Street by Mr. George Lansbury (The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1) is the story of the Labourite journal—the *Daily Herald*. The sketch of the origin, growth, struggles, misfortunes, and final success of the only Labour daily in Great Britain reads like a romance. Those interested in the development of the Indian press may do worse than carefully study Mr. Lansbury's exceedingly instructive record of the vicissitudes of the fortune and the ultimate triumph of the *Daily Herald*. It is a book of interest and instruction.

Mr. Hermann Lea's **Thomas Hardy's Wessex** appeared in 1913. It has just been issued (by Messrs.

Macmillan & Co., Ltd. of St Martin's Street, London) in an excellent pocket edition, bound in limp covers and profusely illustrated from photographs taken by the author. Its object is to depict the Wessex country of Thomas Hardy, with a view to discovering the real places which served as bases for the descriptions of scenery and backgrounds in Mr. Hardy's novels. The ground traversed covers not only Dorset but Wilts, Somerset, Hampshire, and Devon—in whole or in part. Thus apart from its literary value, the book—embellished as it is with two hundred and forty excellent photographs and a map—serves the purpose of a capital guide-book to the Wessex country.

"Mesopotamia" has remained the bogey-word with the people of Britain ever since the fateful surrender of Kut and General Townshend. Yet it may be said with justice that the war was decided in favour of the Allies on the desert plains of Mesopotamia and Palestine. The backbone of the Triple Alliance was broken on this far-Eastern front and Mesopotamia represents as the first visible symbol of Allied Victory. Since the historic "1916 muddle" the British Government has been endeavouring to conserve and extend their sphere of influence on the one hand and solacing the tax-payer of Britain with rich promises of oil and trade on the other. Millions have been sunk in this investment. Circumstances have forced Britain to accede a semblance of independent sovereignty to Iraq, and the puppet King thereof still adorns the precarious throne at Bagdad. For a thorough understanding of the past history and present turmoil in Mesopotamia one needs a comparative background and there has been published no better book on the subject than **The Heart of the Middle East** by Richard Coke (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1925, 18s.). Mr. Coke commences his survey at the very dawn of civilisation and his brief but representative sketch of the past greatness of the Bagdad Vilayet is extremely well-planned and informative. The story of the British connection with Basrah and the interior is illuminating, giving glimpses of the trade adventures of the virile maritime race, which possessed no scruples and coming for profit stayed to crush and rule and incidentally make money. The author is frankly disarming in his conception of the future: Britain is there as a trustee and she must not "lightly abandon her self-imposed burden," for the "withdrawal of the British influence does not mean independence or self-determination; it means chaos, utter and complete, until some other power arises to take up the burden thus thrown down"—a stock argument with which we are so familiar in India. Mr. Coke recognises that the factors which oppose British

hegemony are quite strong:—there is the very genuine revival of the Arab national spirit; there has grown a strong feeling of sympathy with young Turkish aspirations and finally, European nations can not have a permanent monopoly of Nature's gifts and the East is rapidly waking up. Despite these potent signs Mr. Coke is still of opinion that because "Great Britain has been slowly conquering Mesopotamia for many years, and having at last accomplished the conquest, she is in honour bound to accept the consequences of her actions. She cannot withdraw her support from the territory whose previous Government she has persistently undermined and finally destroyed"—a significant remark. Mr. Coke furnishes a very interesting historical background. His book, as an exhaustive survey of the conditions and circumstances of the people of Iraq, will amply repay study by students of far Eastern politics and also deserves the consideration of Indian politicians as an interesting study in Imperial mentality.

Mr. Mukul Dey, a Bengalee artist, received a good press in England on his work in connection with the Wembley Exhibition. He is at best an interpretative artist with a turn for mysticism. He has, evidently, been persuaded to "write up" the famous Ajanta Caves and in *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh* (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1925, 21s.) he attempts a popular descriptive survey of what he saw at Ajanta and in the less known Caves at Bagh near Indore. We feel he was not well advised in putting down his impressions to paper, for while to connoisseurs his book appears amateurish, to tourists it reads verbose, containing no useful hints about what they actually wish to see. Yet perhaps Mr. Dey has served a useful purpose, for by printing in this volume many excellent reproductions of the wonderful frescoes he has preserved for us and made known to a wide public the vitality and significance of an art which flourished over 1200 years ago. We also welcome the book as an indication of what Indian artists can achieve. While we confess that Mr. Dey's interpretations are neither complete nor quite lucid, we accord a hearty welcome to his book. Lovers of art in India should not be without a copy of it.

An instructive little book for boys and girls is *Marionettes and how to make them* by F. J. McIssac (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 2s 6d.). Tony Sarg, born in Guatemala, educated in Germany, realising (shall we say?) his true vocation in England, tells here the simple tale of puppets, how they are constructed and in what way you can draw laughter

out of them. The ingenious ideas behind the construction of the marionettes will appeal to young minds, and parents should enthusiastically take up this hobby which yields great delight to youngsters of all ages and climes. The texts of two fairy plays for marionettes at the end will be found useful and instructive.

Hon. George Lambton is a well-known figure on the English turf. He is avowedly a great lover of horses and does not conceal that horses have formed the one and only interest in his life. His reminiscences, therefore, of famous horses that have made history on the turf will carry a special appeal to lovers of racing and hunting. During his career as a trainer Mr. Lambton met many distinguished men and his racy stories of their mannerisms and posers provides good reading. The charm of *Men and Horses I have known* (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1924, 21s.) lies in the unfailing good humour and candour of the author in regard to his subject—whether men or horses—irrespective of their status.

FICTION.

Yang Kuei-Fei. *The Most Famous Beauty of China* by Shu-Chuing (Mrs. Wu Lein-teh) (Breutano's Limited, London, 1925) 8s. 6d.

Madame Wu Lien-teh, the wife of His Excellency Dr. Wu Lien-teh, the famous Chinese physician, has put all lovers of China, her people and literature under a deep debt of obligation by the publication of this extremely interesting epic of love—the first book in English written by a Chinese Lady. Yang Kuei-Fei lived in the 8th century A.D. Favourite of one of the greatest Chinese Monarchs, Kuei-Fei by her grace and charm and artfulness maintained her position as the first favourite at Court for over 20 years and has handed down to Chinese folk lore a plethora of love-songs and lyrics of the most rare and delightful type. The authoress has presented the narration of Kuei-Fei's life story in an inimitable style and her heroine lives through these pages in all her glittering pomp and power. Kuei-Fei's story inspired Li Po, China's great poet, to write his most famous song, "The Everlasting Wrong,"—an admirable translation of which by Dr. Giles is given in this volume as an Appendix. We welcome this admirable narration by Madame Wu; we hope it is an earnest of more charming stories from her pen.

The Caid. By L. Noel (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

An absorbing human tale. The author has sought to spread over the passionate incidents that crowd this love story of Morocco an aroma of flaming sunshine and desert winds. A highly strung and romantic young woman, married to a coarse, vulgar and brutal husband, finds in Morocco amidst sordid realities of racial clash and bitterness one chivalrous and heroic figure, albeit of an alien race. Evelyn is drawn unresistingly to the Moorish chief who personifies in his person the true aristocracy of manners and the courage of chivalry. The adventures of the heroine inevitably leading to the climax of a declaration of mutual love are delineated in fine and clear style. It is pleasing that the author does not commit the folly of eternally mating the Moor and the English—a courageous young diplomat comes to Evelyn's rescue. However it is a delightful and a capital work of fiction and altogether an interesting tale.

An Outpost Wooing (1924). Latticed Windows (1925). By Nora K. Strange (Stanley Paul & Co., Limited, London) 7s. 6d. each.

Miss Norah Strange finds in the melting pot of Kenya-land themes for brilliant love stories. She knows the country well and when she artlessly characterises Kenya as the land either of love or hate she unwillingly betrays her sympathies for one who loves the wild grandeur of Nature and the imposing abundance of a tropical table land. In *An Outpost Wooing* Miss Strange relates in a vigorous style the search of Joan for a mate. The story is told in a plain yet forceful manner. There is nothing unusual in the plot but the characters that appear in the pages are neatly sketched and stand out prominently. Mr. and Mrs. Billy are delightful; John Norton, the silent and masterful man of action is a typical figure. We regret the discordant note of political and racial clash which Miss Strange introduces in one or two places but the tale nevertheless is wholesome and interesting. *Latticed Windows* likewise is of Kenya-born. A marriage without love gradually blossoms into charm and love and grace. If Doreen is the cold immaculate type of a wife who does not believe in giving without love, Roger Brunton is the strong, silent man with a tremendous reserve of human passions, as of sanity. Val is a thoroughly human type. We like Brian Egerton for his healthy and wholesome gospel of sacrifice and love. Miss Strange is delightful in her characterisation, a success achieved without effort and therefore the more creditable.

Dawn Island. By Cecil Adair (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Cecil Adair is a voluminous writer of healthy, happy and vigorous fiction. Her novels, although they do not strike any new line are clean and passionate and full of the joy of life. In *Dawn Island* she has portrayed a vigorous and bright incident of human life. Mary and her ward avail of a happy invitation to spend a vacation with an aunt in the far away Madrugada Island. Mary's life has not been any too happy, except perhaps her last years as a secretary-typist to Philip Hasler, a disappointed writer. Philip on his death-bed enjoins Mary to adopt and publish as her own which it really is, the story of his own unhappy life. Mary does so and complications, in the form of a discarded but rich wife of Philip, ensue just as love and beauty are within Mary's reach. You should go to the tale for enjoying the vivid portrayal of passions and incidents. The plot is well conceived and cleverly worked out—an inspiring tale with a happy ending.

The Rector of Maliseet. By Leslie Reid (J. M. Dent & Sons, Limited, London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Reid is a young and ambitious writer. He could not have chosen a more arresting theme for his first novel as is supplied to us in *The Rector of Maliseet*. It is not in the line of ordinary fiction; perhaps some people would include it among the so-called novels of the church. But, to our mind, the special appeal of Mr. Reid's work seems to lie in his hollow exposure of the skeleton in the cupboard, his insistence upon a clean and square fight between the good and the evil, his frank sincerity of purpose and method. Our subconscious self is almost always prodding us to weigh and balance two opposite courses to any action—an experience symbolised in all religious literature by the perpetual fight between God and Satan. The author presents us in St. John Clare the rector, a compelling and complex dual personality—austere and frigidly pious by day but revelling in sensuous delights by night, although in secret: a variation of the struggle between good and evil. The plot is woven with skill and elegance. In the mouth of the Secretary, Leonard Carr, the story with its tragic culmination reads like a tale out of the chronicles of a monastery in the Middle Ages. Mr. Reid can justly claim rich descriptive powers; his characterisations are not quite strong, perhaps because his diagnosis is ruthless and cruel in its logical sequence. Nevertheless his first novel is a powerful tale with a distinct moral, and is a pleasing earnest of what further good things may be expected from Mr. Reid's pen.

The Valley of Desire. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

We have had occasion to notice in terms of appreciation Miss Nepean's novels depicting Wales. Her latest volume, *The Valley of Desire*, has its background also laid in Wales and her rugged importunate passions. Miss Nepean has fully realised the imposing significance of wild hills and echoing valleys, and she accordingly moulds her heroes and heroines according to the elemental forces of Nature. In this work she develops a strong feminine character in Nest—not uncommon, yet not commonplace but forceful and impressive. Nest as befits a child of nature gives with both hands when love calls without reckoning the cost and nothing in fiction is so appealing as courageous sacrifice at the altar of love. The longstanding hatred between two men over the love of one woman is cleverly delineated and this feud almost ruptures the link which Nest had framed with a nephew of the enemy, unknowingly. Mellow wisdom and recognition of true love, however, bring together the two families and silence and stars witness the consummation of the glory of human passion.

The Revolt of Waydodyn. By E. Everett-Green (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Miss Everett-Green's pleasant and interesting stories have been noticed before in these pages. Her latest work *The Revolt of Waydodyn* is a welcome addition for our relaxation-hours. Waydodyn—what a musical name!—is full of the joy of life, and her revolts are adventurous break-aways from the monotones and virtues of the polite world. A youthful slip of a girl, mending a broken heel on the milestone, meets with adventure in the shape of a young man, then romantic thrills, a legacy and love. Donovan is not an ordinary convict, but his one lapse is not forgiven by society, and he seeks forgetfulness in the sunny pastimes of exile and the passionate love of an adoring wife, ignorant of her husband's prison experience. The denouement comes with the revelation of the hidden secret and Waydodyn 'rebels' again to find solace and comfort in the mercy and love of faith. The plot is well sustained and closely knit, the sentiment wholesome and the characters cleverly drawn and portrayed in vigorous style.

Joanna Sets to Work. By Thomas Cobb (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Joanna Netley is a meddler born in the 20th century whose interferences are suffered because of

her avowedly benevolent intentions. Yet when she befriends a pretty, but light, school friend in distress and offers her a home, she manages to lose her admitted lover. Not disheartened by the loss Joanna continues to look after the interests of her frivolous friend. When incompatibility and meagre funds separate the wife and husband Joanna sets to work in order to bring the two together. How she fails is Mr. Cobb's story, well told in a simple and homely style. Joanna is harmless and, therefore, still a meddler, she is rewarded with the love of another more cultured and more abiding lover.

The Man in the Moonlight. By Rupert S. Holland (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

A mystery tale having a topical political touch. A Russian revolutionary is murdered in questionable circumstances and Sonia Orloff, his previous fiancée, together with her American admirer are held suspect. How a young lawyer working with the admirable Mr. Grenstow ultimately resolves the mystery, the book will relate. But the plot is conceived and executed by a clever and skilful hand and the interest accordingly is sustained till the very end. This story of a baffling murder is closely inter-twined with the fate of the Russian aristocratic exiles. There are plenty of adventures and thrills which will delight the amateur detective.

The Rose of Béarn. By E. G. Eversleigh (Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

In this powerful historical romance Mr. Eversleigh has attempted a faithful picture of France immediately prior to, and just after, the commencement of the Revolution of 1789. The author has delved into numerous records in order to be able to achieve a true and accurate portrayal. The result is admirable and this interesting history and romance achieves a notable success. The Rose of Béarn and her lover remain heroic and chivalrous throughout and the consummation of their love finds them exiles from their native land, but happy in the knowledge of their passion and trust. A delightful reading.

The Beloved Woman. By Kathleen Norris.

The Truants. By A. E. W. Mason.

Blinds Down. By Horace A. Vachell.

The Triumph of Tim. By Horace A. Vachell. (John Murray, London, 1925) 2s. each.

From this well-known house of publishers have been issued these cheap reprints of modern novels

which have been tried and found successful with the reading public. The reprints do not, therefore, need any fresh commendation. They are all first-rate stories, wholesome, healthy and interesting. The

cheap price will attract many new patrons and it is hoped that Mr. Murray's cheap fiction Library will draw the success which his commendable enterprise amply deserves.

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MODERN UNIVERSITIES AND BALANCED MINDS.*

By THE RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C.

Thirty-seven years ago I left my alma mater, as most of you would presently leave yours, not without distinction. And although I cannot boast of having made fame or amassed a fortune or acquired a wide command over men, my life has enabled me to see some men and some things out of the ordinary; and it may be that, if you are attentive as well as silent for an hour or thereabouts, I shall impart some words of needed counsel and warning. The most natural starting-point is the position in which we find ourselves at this present moment, I as the chosen guest, and —may I add without vanity?—the spokesman of the university, and you as the finished products upon whom the ceremonial just concluded has set its authentic seal. By the regulated life that you have lived here, by the careful discipline to which your minds and bodies alike have been subjected, you are fitted, as I trust, for the trials and duties of the world, for the proper use and enjoyment of the greater measure of freedom that awaits you. For always pupilage is the necessary prelude to the liberty of the adult, and no one can ever command who has not previously learned to obey.

II.

Honour and cherish the university then as you would the mother that nursed and brought you

up. Some of you will become its officers; some in time may wield great influence in shaping its future growth; others may be in a position to endow it or help in other ways; but all, high or low, distant or near, must watch its interests with anxiety and aid in the formation of that wide-spread public sympathy and public support on which alone a popular and successful university can thrive. You will be perplexed and distracted by conflicting views as to the proper aim of a university. Ability to earn a living, preparation for life and for citizenship, acquisition of knowledge and the power to add to it, formation of a good and virtuous character—all these, separately or in combination, have struck theorists as the fundamental purposes of education. If you do not care to be profound or philosophical, but will be content with a common and intelligible idea, you may regard a university as a place where personality plays on personality by the establishment of an intimate human relationship between teacher and taught. This way of looking at it has the great merit of drawing attention to the supreme importance of the teacher as a factor in university life. Well-planned curricula, fully equipped laboratories, large libraries, noble halls, and imposing recreation grounds,—these are good and useful things in their way. Let nobody despise them. But an able and zealous professoriate is the very life and soul of a place of learning. And in selecting its members the

*Being the University of Mysore convocation address, delivered on the 14th September, 1925.

utmost care and circumspection are necessary. Unfortunately it is just in this part of the organisation of a university that irrelevant and unworthy considerations of race, religion or sect come into play and impair efficiency and reputation at once. A word of caution may be appropriate here. Learning knows no narrow frontiers and a really good professor is not always to be found within a circumscribed area. Jealousy of the outsider in this sphere is even more disastrous than in other spheres, and however it may gratify the popular whim for the moment, it will surely involve the sacrifice of large and permanent interests.

One platitude leads to another. Having got your staff together, the next thing is to give them what is called "academic freedom." Of this the professor is frantically jealous, and the layman who takes an intelligent interest in university affairs is often startled at the thunder and lightning which a casual and innocent remark may produce in the blue sky of the Senate. Usually academic freedom is in danger from the grasping hand of bureaucracy. A great writer on educational subjects has recently said: "Standardization, government-made uniformity and bureaucratic regulation are not the allies of education but its mortal enemies." Tyrannical, deadening, soul-killing are the mild epithets in the vocabulary of the irate pedagogue when he wishes to characterise the control of the authority which bears a great part, sometimes, as here, much the greater part, of the burden of university finance. The maxim "he who pays the piper will call the tune" is summarily ruled out here. Government is to be like the postal peon, who delivers a money order, but cannot stay to see where the money is kept or how it is disposed of. The encroachment of the State, however, is encroachment by cultivated people and, therefore, mitigable by reasoning and negotiation. But in these days of expanding democracy the sanctity of the temple of learning is subject to a greater danger from sudden inroads of popular clamour and prejudice, mis-called public opinion. That variety of politician whom we call by the disrespectful name of demagogue at times attains a tremendous influence which sweeps aside professor and professorial regulation. People uprisen have no use for the expert. Standards may be lowered, the medium of instruction changed, and discipline undermined, the teacher hiding his diminished head the while. To you, who have

felt and can never cease to appreciate the tender and delicate relation of *guru* and *sishya* and who know how an atmosphere of prejudice and passion is inimical to the scientific pursuit of knowledge, to you, I say, graduates of the university, scattered far and near, and able by your numbers and influence to control these turbulent squalls before they attain their fury, the authorities of the university have the right to look with confidence for energetic and timely interposition. In such moments of peril, do not, I pray you, stand looking on or mumbling excuses for the insurgents, but come round your alma mater and guard her like valiant and faithful sons.

III.

After the university, but not below it in rank or precedence, I would mention your State as entitled to your homage and loyal service. In extent and size of population, in natural resources, in salubrity of climate, Mysore does not come behind many Indian States. In variety and charm of natural scenery and in possession of places of historical and architectural interest, believe me, who can speak with some knowledge, she has few superiors. The history of the areas comprised in her territory, so far as it has been studied, discloses periods of prosperity and stable government, and is brightened by deeds of valour and episodes of romance, of which you may well be proud. The culture of her people, their aptitude for crafts and industries, their literature and their love of music and the fine arts are not easily surpassed. As for her highly evolved administration and the extent to which personal rule has been superseded by the reign of impersonal and impartial law, for the high level of efficiency and purity of her services, and for the devotion displayed by the sovereign towards the welfare of his subjects and his keen desire to respect their wishes and such constitutional rights as they possess, why, by almost universal consent, Mysore is second to none among Indian States. Does not such a home deserve all the passionate love and filial devotion of which you are capable? It is a mean—one might almost say, monstrous—spirit which scans with cold precision the qualities of one's mother, and measures gratitude and service accordingly. On the most material calculation of the opportunities that Mysore affords for the full development of your faculties and the rewards which may be expected for high

class industry and enterprise in any sphere, the keenest wits and the stoutest hearts among you need not feel themselves thrown away on this country and her advancement. Go out and spread into every nook and corner, leave the big towns where all the avenues to success are over-thronged, and try what patient toil and scientific organization can do to make field and rock, forest and hill yield their utmost for man's benefit. You have fine irrigation works, of which full advantage has yet to be taken. Let not jungle and malaria beat you back for ever. Jungle and malaria have yielded elsewhere to axe and fire, drainage schemes and prophylactics. Lack of large capital in individual hands can at least in part be met by many-sided co-operation under the ægis of an indigenous and enlightened government, which will be only too glad to provide expert guidance and financial guarantees for any well-considered schemes by which the methods and appliances of science will be employed in exploiting natural resources. It has been truly said that the engineer, taking him in all his grades and kinds, is of all human agencies the most valuable, nay, indispensable, for the economic growth and material prosperity of a country. A State which produced Sir Mokshagundam Visveswarayya need not suffer at any time from a paucity of engineering talent.

Do not infer from my recommending this course that I am trying to divert your attention from politics. Whoever might do so, I could not, unless I wished to stultify myself completely. By all means strive to improve your political status. Only let me entreat you to remember two things. You have cause to be thankful that you are subjects of the most progressive and well-governed State in India. Engrossment in local politics is apt to engender a narrow provincialism, and even for full efficacy in its own sphere, may require to be corrected by study of Indian affairs.

Many of you will seek careers in the employ of government. No inducement is necessary in that direction. On the contrary, you may have encountered in your reading several appeals, more or less cogent, against the general notion that in government service one finds the most honourable scope for one's talents. I have never been able to join in this fashionable crusade. As the point is of some consequence, let me keep you a few moments on it. In British India to a great extent and in the States to a much greater extent, the official

class are a great power. Their prestige and authority were in former times unquestioned, and even now remain strong, far beyond what they would be if the men were private individuals. Sometimes when an officer was scrupulous and high-principled, this vast influence was used for benign purposes, and we have all heard of many foundations of charity and public utility which owed their origin either to their munificence or to the munificence induced by them. More often, however, I grieve to say, it was grossly abused, and the tyranny thus practised over a long period of our history has led to the popular saying that the official tyrant is one of the six scourges that our race has to suffer for its sins. Custom might occasionally be relaxed, laws and regulations could be evaded, drought and flood were occasional, dacoity was rare, but the pressure of the king's man, armed with tyrannous power and spreading everywhere, knew no sleep; it was heavy and harsh; it destroyed the self-reliance and initiative of the common people; public spirit, resistance to the oppressor were unknown. The submissive and servile nature of the people was so marked that in the famous resolution of Lord Ripon on Local Self-Government it was euphemistically described as our remarkable power of acquiescence. If this incubus weighing on the hearts of our poor folk is ever to be lifted, it must be through generations of conscientious officers drawn from those whose hearts have been trained to the appreciation of humane ideals. It is a commonplace of our administrative history that a great uplift in the standards both of efficiency and purity has been brought about by the appointment of university men to places of control and authority. More and more as representative institutions are introduced, it is necessary to provide for them a stable and strong foundation in national character. Love of freedom and readiness to repel encroachment on it from any quarter, a keen sense of the rights of the private citizen as well as his duties, these elements have to be built into the very fibre of our people; and whom could we safely trust with this noble and benign mission if not the wisest, the noblest-hearted, and the most chivalrously-disposed among you? The good work has happily gone on for some years, but it must continue for a long, long time yet, if the blighting effects of centuries of misrule are to be obliterated. Go then and take office; but in order to put it to

this high use, look upon the ryots and the labourers as children committed to your care, whom you must bring up in the ways of "self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control". Treat them with consideration and courtesy; use polite forms of address; and give a sympathetic ear to their representations; so that they may learn that you are there to understand, to help, to serve. So would you truly and faithfully represent His Highness to his subjects. So would you, like a thousand well-trained hands, carry out in all corners of his realm his inmost wishes.

IV.

An important task rests on you as educated men and women to keep up the intellectual curiosity awakened in you by your varied studies and add fresh knowledge to the store here accumulated. Nothing distinguishes true culture from false so surely as this inquisitive spirit, the desire to keep abreast with the best thought of the world, to know things as far as possible in their essence and thoroughly. Unfortunately many of us have heavy cares and duties, our posts are often in out-of-the-way places, where books are rare and congenial friends still rarer. We get little time for the exercise of our higher minds, so completely are we engulfed in the petty details and routine of daily duty. For persons in such desperate case may we not prescribe a well-thumbed classic or two as constant companions? Each has his favourites and perhaps changes them every few years. But to them he may return again and again and slake his thirst as at an ever-living spiritual fountain. The greater part of us, however, will live in more favoured spots, where our minds need not starve except through our own neglect. Alas, such neglect and starvation are too common. It would be ungracious to enlarge on this topic, but let any one mention half a dozen large towns where of a Sunday afternoon one might go to the local club or reading room with the hope of listening to an elevated conversation on the topics of the day, or to a public debate in which a subject was discussed so as to stimulate the mind, suggest fresh points or create a zest for further enquiry. Somehow after we leave college a sort of mental exhaustion seems to set in from which only a few recover. Do you remember that famous story of Dr. Johnson? Once while he was recovering from an illness, some one proposed to

send for Bruke. "Don't!" cried the doctor, "if that fellow were to appear now, it would kill me at once. He calls forth all my mental powers." Without having the excuse of physical debility, we seem to be in mortal dread of having to listen to a lively debate on a rousing topic, let alone taking part in hem. In a certain measure this undesirable phenomenon occurs elsewhere as well. I was surprised, while reading a book by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the Columbia University, to come upon the following passage:—

"Speaking not long ago in the city of New York, Israel Zangwill paid us the compliment of saying that we Americans are the best half-educated people in the world. My impression is that he put the fraction rather high. If we measure our education by the expenditure of moneys, public and private, upon schools of every type and sort, then plainly these amounts are enormous. If we measure our education by the number of pupils under formal instruction for some part of each year, the numbers are certainly agreeably large. If we measure our education by the splendour of the school buildings which of late have been erected in a thousand communities scattered throughout the land and by the excellence of their equipment, then assuredly the impression is most flattering. If, on the other hand, we seek for those surer evidences of education which are marked by correctness and precision in the use of the mother tongue, by refined and gentle manners which are the expression of fixed habits of thought and action, by the power and habit of reflection and the use of scientific method in the approach to new problems of public and personal import, or by the power of intellectual and moral growth, then it may well be doubted whether the results are quite so flattering."

Some may feel a little comforted after reading this passage, but I fear it applies to the facts of India with much greater force than to those of America. It is the privilege of Convocation orators to formulate counsels of

perfection to their bored audiences, and if I appear to tread in their path at this point, I can only plead in defence that I do not consider my suggestion a counsel of perfection. Outside the requirements of our profession, newspapers form the pabulum of our reading. But often times an important topic comes up in which the interest is maintained for several weeks, and each man misses something or other necessary for full comprehension. Hardly a month passes without two or three such topics emerging. Suppose a fair-sized town in which twenty people joined together and procured access to a few magazines and newspapers. Let us imagine them to meet one specified day every month, at which it was the duty of one member or of two, as the case may be, to give a connected account of two selected matters from his reading. You could on such an occasion hear all about fundamentalism, the trial at Dayton and some of the arguments used on both sides, at least the Biblical passages relied on by Bryan. The discussion that followed might ramify in several interest in issues. The theory of evolution would naturally come in, and a member of wider reading than ordinary would perhaps outline the modifications that had been made since Darwin's day. Another would draw a picture of the personality of Bryan, so simple and yet of such vivid interest. You might hear of Bryan's visit to India and the violent antipathy evoked in Anglo-Indian society by the book in which he recorded his experiences.

A member with a turn for practical speculation—pardon the paradoxical expression—might invite his audience to consider what would happen in some of our provinces in the extremely probable contingency of a majority passing obscurantist laws of the kind under which Mr. Scopes was convicted and enforcing them. The coal crisis in England, the Security pact, the Indian disability in Tanganyika with special reference to the British mandate, the questions involved in the reference to the Sken Committee,—these are only some of the numerous illustrations that might be brought forward for proving the great intellectual benefit that such a league or association would confer on the locality. By spending an hour at one of these monthly meetings you could learn a lot of interesting and useful matter which it would take much time and energy to find for yourself. This might seem child's diet to grave and reverend professors hankering after philosophi-

cal speculations and recent scientific advances. But the busy professional man whom I am thinking of would do well at least in the beginning to avoid strong meat. Whenever you hold such a meeting, go not, I warn you, too near the chess board or the bridge table, lest by heedless chatter you distract minds intent on vital and intricate problems. Nor should you allow any but a poor man's tea to refresh you; rich hosts have a captivating way of giving precedence to the body over the mind, and the discussion would shift its object almost entirely. One more caution, if you please, before I pass on. If the principal speaker appointed for the day happen to be a lawyer in good practice, do not forget to provide yourself with a handy substitute; for some witless client may remove him at the last moment to a more profitable debate, and not even allow him to give you due notice.

V.

Even more than this mental alertness and elasticity, another attribute is distinctive of university culture—the balanced mind. Sad to think, it is also the rarer. I once had to speak to an association of graduates in Australia, and posed the query, "Do modern universities aim at a balanced mind?" From the tenour of the ensuing conversation I could see that other minds had been agitated over the problem. Once upon a time the true mark of a completed course of education was the habit of proving all things before coming to a judgment, the disposition to look at a matter from all points of view, the habit even under exciting circumstances of bringing full and unclouded reason to bear on the subject at issue. Modern life with its hurry and whirl seems to have banished leisure, poise, serenity of outlook. The countless little details claiming our attention from moment to moment scarcely allow of the formation of a whole and harmonious picture with every feature in true perspective. The newspaper press, shouting and screaming the whole day long, keeps pouring into our minds a chaos of unrelated thoughts. Of any particular object or idea we seem only to catch a fleeting phase, an aspect of an aspect. And yet we have to make up our minds, to choose our sides, and to cast our votes. We could not hold our judgments in suspense if we would, and, for a wonder, most of us would not if we could. We do not seem even to care for justice, harmony,

co-ordination. In the legislature we hear only partisan views of things, and, if we wish to count for something, we must give partisan votes. How the laws in such a dispensation can be just and suitable is no concern of ours. In the courts clients, witnesses, advocates are all naturally for their own side of the case and make no attempt to disguise it. The result, as we all know, is that the judge is often hindered from discovering the truth, not helped do so. So in the public discussion of question between conservatives and reformers, capital and labour, and so forth, the active spirits throw themselves heart and soul into one side or other of the dispute. Newspapers, instead of endeavouring to create a sober and healthy public opinion, are avowedly partisan and, while presenting their side in attractive colours, consider it no part of their duty to be equally generous to the other side and in many cases misrepresent, suppress and run it down. So far has this evil grown that young and inexperienced readers, taught only by one set of papers, ascribe innate cussedness and moral perversity to the other school of thought and its advocates. Among us the situation is further complicated by the upsurging of the communal spirit, the various sects and factions demanding each its share and more than its share, leaving the State altogether in the lurch. The modern machinery for striking the balance, commissions, and committees and assessors, are but imperfect and untrustworthy approximations. The personnel of these bodies, on which hang vital issues of equity and justice, is itself made a subject of acrimonious contention. Where all are tainted, few can be expected to hold the scales even.

Do our universities—let me put the question though I do not expect an answer—with their

ever-increasing specialisation of studies produce of set purpose the type of mind necessary for discovering the golden mean, the safe middle course between opposing tendencies? Is there no use, even in these tranquil places dedicated to truth and wisdom, for the man who hesitates, who weighs arguments with care, who resists the sway of passion? A recent Governor of one of our provinces, who had been a radical in English politics, turned out to be unprogressive here. He once explained the phenomenon to me. He sought advice from every quarter on a disputed issue, he read all the papers dealing with it. The rights and wrongs seemed to him so equally balanced that the case for change was never wholly made out. So he said he let the old arrangement continue, it had answered so far. He was a typical conservative, a perfect Hamlet of politics. But surely deliberation is not indecision. It will lead to action quite as often as to inaction. And the action to which it leads will be safe and suited to all the attendant circumstances. I freely admit that the conscientious politician is not popular. His counsel of patience and moderation is irritating to eager and enthusiastic natures. Yudhishtira was called many ugly names by Bhima and Droupadi. But he did not allow himself to be hustled. "Unagitated like the sea, immovable like the mountain", he waited till the time arrived and then struck and struck home. The cross-bencher is not beloved of his tribe, but the crossbench mind is an ever-present and an ever-growing need. Believe me, it is no disease, no infirmity. On the other hand, it is the crown and summit of liberal education. It would be an evil day when it became extinct, and the high function of universities is to foster it with tender and unremitting care.

INDUSTRIAL ART EDUCATION.

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I

The idea of utilising direct training in artistic matters as an adjunct to modern industry is one that is Western in its inception and development. One side of its activity has always been more or less clear to all concerned in such developments. Other phases have, owing the philosophical obscurity in which many of the mental processes of art are involved, have not as yet emerged from the cloudiness which has long enveloped them, and are, in consequence, of small use in practical matters.

Art training all over the modern world has undoubtedly suffered from this lack of complete understanding, but owing to practical necessities bearing immediately upon thriving industrial processes, the work implied in art has been more or less carried along with the stream of industrial activity. In this way its shortcomings have not been so apparent.

But in a country where industry is still in what may be termed the mediæval state, analogous to that state which was current in Europe prior to the invention of the steam engine and rail transport, the value and function of specialised art training does not become so evident, either to the people or the rulers of such a country. The explanation as to why it has become so separated is a long and somewhat difficult task, needing research into the psychological processes of history before it can be made plain to the ordinary observer. Nevertheless, it may be broadly indicated to those whose own knowledge is sufficient in certain directions to appreciate the delicate reactions in this development of the creative activities of the national mind, in any country. Briefly, the problem may be stated thus. India is in great danger of suffering from industrial suffocation, or indigestion. Industrially, agriculturally and even politically, in comparison with states that are historically younger, but have been recently rapidly consolidated, India is at present a relatively unorganised nation.

It is essentially the organisation of normal daily activity which makes the modern nation

possible to exist as a unit. From the family unit of human life, through the village, the town, the district, the state, to the united and interdependent states that make a nation, we find a successive hierarchy of co-operating organisations, which, working together for the mutual good, succeed by their effective partnership in raising the standard of life and happiness of the entire communities of which they are an integral part.

The vast size of the whole country of India and the difference between the numerous tongues and the religious beliefs of the peoples in this country, have rendered it a much longer and greater task to weld together, than, for instance, it has taken the Italian States to join together under a single flag as a single nation. In Italy, small though the whole country is, for many centuries there was internecine bloodshed, civic warfare between city and city, between one family and another, which of course has often been paralleled in the long history of India. Seldom has the unity, and the organisation which brings peace, held sway over more than half the area of the whole country, and probably never entirely. In the story of modern nations, all wealth and health and happiness has for deep reasons been closely involved with those creative twin factors of life—agricultural and industrial development.

Even modern industry does not necessarily mean manufacture on a large scale in mills. That is only one form of industry, and it is not always the best. Agriculture provides, by culture, in deliberate selection, planting care and harvesting, the raw materials needed for the sustenance of life. Industry primarily is the handling of these materials, to refine, work up, transport, and otherwise contribute the "other half" to nature's provision, by using the arts and sciences of mankind for their own benefit. These primary forms of the necessities of labour are, too frequently ignored in dealing with the intricate and apparently far removed problems which now present themselves by the thousand.

But the very reason that these many minor problems have come out, seems due to the fact that the primary and basic factors are not kept constantly in view. Agriculture and industry exist for the main purpose of supplying people with the necessities of life. As soon as we have stated that, we see that new factors arise in the consideration of what are necessities, as these differ from day to day, or from man to man, and from that one question the whole complexities of life in industry arise, in the conception of necessity; in desire and striving; the obtaining of satisfaction, and the recombining of concepts into new desires and yet more involved necessities.

Among them is the necessity and desire to give more things to a bigger number of people, on such terms that they get them equitably. It is essential that the payment of the reward of labour shall not be prohibitive to those who would benefit by that labour. In this the machine tool inevitably entered, as only by the development of the resources of natural power could the large number of objects now thought necessary to modern life be made available to a very big population. Hand power is insufficient.

In European countries this development of machine power, which is termed by the orthodox economists the "industrial revolution" took place slowly, following on a development of industrial handicrafts which had been carried to very high levels of excellence. In India, on the other hand, the reign of the machine is being artificially introduced from exterior sources, by exterior types of intelligence, on to a foundation of handicrafts that has not recently been developing but rather has been definitely deteriorating. The difficulty of this merging of Eastern with Western ideas and also in the reverse, lies not so much in any basic conflict, but is due to two different periods of time being brought together by an artificial stimulation of transport. The introduction of machinery into India has been far more dangerous than the introduction of any type of political idea of any kind. The simple reason is, that no modern nation can develop industrial physical power without the aid of modern science and all its complexities. It is also true but not so obvious that no modern nation can develop commerce without the aid of art. It may be unconscious art, or it may have become fully conscious, as it became in

Germany, and is fast becoming in England and America. Whichever way it functions, art is necessary.

It therefore becomes exceedingly advisable to effect the development of mechanical power in a country such as India with extreme caution. Always accompanying it must proceed adequate education. And for commerce there must be all the education that is involved in art training. Art and science are inseparable twins. They live in and by each other. But this psychological fact has seldom yet been adequately recognised. It has even been thought that science can progress and develop alone. It has even been seriously stated that art is an unnecessary thing, and is only a luxury. No fallacy more damaging to industry could be propounded. To clearly demonstrate the truth of this, some definitions become immediately necessary. We must clearly state what we mean exactly when we speak of science, or art, of design, of crafts, and so forth.

A certain modern scientist once aptly said that "All we can do is to move matter". Science may be then termed knowledge of the means for moving matter, or, more closely, as that knowledge of the related factors of material physics which allows us to manipulate matter. Mostly it relates to the masses of ascertained facts from which laws are deduced, and the systems of measurement by which we correlate these facts, in theory or in application to work.

Art being the twin of science, it is related as the fine aim, which produces the plan, the scheme, the design; which formulates the inception of the idea; the human head which it is desired to satisfy, and for which the knowledge of science is invoked to carry out and complete.

Science is the law of material; art is psychological, but invention in science is psychological, just as the crafts which are necessary to produce the works of art are physical. Science gives us the laws of form, art is the producing of works which are forms of law.

In the first stages of any science or art, research-work, inquiry and development are largely, if not altogether, empirical. Indeed, it has been said by some scientist, that the last thing to be discovered in any science, is what it is all about! Art is essentially the reverse of all this, and if we do not know what we are about to do in art we cannot properly start.

For the first thing needed in art is an aim. Art is universally allied with activity, and all sane activity demands a postulated aim which stimulated the original action. All life manifests in action and thus art is the first essential creative activity of human life. We hunger, and we exercise the art of searching, finding and cooking food to satisfy the desire of hunger. We love, and we exercise the arts of courtship in one or other form, to satisfy the desires of love. We desire knowledge, and we exercise the arts of reading or speaking, to convey or acquire knowledge.

These arts and sciences are at first empirical, experimental and unevenly successful. After repeated failures, trials and more experiments, a tradition becomes established, handed down from father to son, or from master to worker. This tradition persists as a memorised body of knowledge, having practically no intellectual comprehension behind it. It develops into the so-called peasant arts and agriculture of all nations. This body of experienced knowledge becomes the foundation from which grow the arts and sciences.

At first they are very unevenly balanced, and there is a vast body of unrelated facts, which are yet used in industry and agriculture, medicine and art, still unscientific. In art there is much confusion, through the uncertainty as to what place it rightfully occupies in the economic hierarchy of human life. Industry has suffered heavily by its banishment of art. It has suffered, and all these workers in industry have suffered, by the neglect of its primary aim, which is to make things in a good way for the use of normal people. Industry has neglected this, and instead has set out as its first aim, the necessity of making profits instead of things. Profits may be very desirable, they may be a very necessary stimulus to action for some people, but when profits are placed first instead of second or third, it inverts the whole process of normal industry.

Things have been made to sell instead of being made to use. Instead of the maker retaining a true conception of the use and aim of the thing he makes, he has diverted his attention to the money he hopes to gain. He learns more and more to disregard the fundamental need of sane design for his wares, and thus commences the long degradation to the lowest form of industrial manufacture, in which the lust of monetary gain, instead of the

love of creation and good works, is uppermost. Profits are more considered than the things made; shareholders and dividends come before the profit consideration of workers and their wages. More care is bestowed on machinery than on those who work it. Instead of regarding it as a social service, it is abused for private gain.

II.

Why is India poor? That she is poor there is little doubt, and although that state seems to be in common with nearly all the rest of the world, yet it does not arise from the same reason. India is not poor because of a vast debt of paper interest, but because of a vast indifference to the terms of modern life. Too poor to buy and pay for the education and training which is yet more and more eagerly demanded, India is too poor to better the conditions of life under which far too many of the lower masses unnecessarily suffer.

These things are complementary, when viewed in their right perspective. No country of the modern world can afford, either for the sake of itself, or its neighbours, or of the country which is dealing with it in any way, to be the home of a vast number of poor and uneducated people, unless improvements are obviously taking place.

The first essential of all human life is adequate food and shelter. When a large number are existing—not even living—near the starvation and vagrancy line against their will, it marks the fact of the absence of organisation in the use of their labours. It is the first fact of the life of labour, that each man can, when wasting no efforts, produce more than he himself needs. In the exchange of this abundance lies the root of commerce. It proves the necessity of social interchange, and of the benefits of working together, but it needs an organisation. If this is absent it also renders null the inner urging of social co-operation. To provide this organisation is the privilege and the duty of those people who are older, perhaps therefore wiser, who are richer, and perhaps therefore more far seeing and patriotic; who are more educated, and perhaps thereby resolved to pass their education along to others.

The chief defect of the population is poverty, due to a very low rate of production, in both agriculture and industries. Industry means labour and work, not necessarily the use of the

European factory system of mass production by driven hands, but it does need efficient organisation. Mass production is no more a necessity for the supply needs of a big population than mass education as carried on in schools on the European system; or mass opinion, as manufactured by their newspapers; or mass slaughter, the normal result of mass finance and mass ignorance.

Machinery is useful, but in the last resort, it is not an essential. All the great arts and crafts of the ancient and mediæval world were constructed without the use of any modern mechanism.

Machinery is a modern phase of get-rich-quick science, and in mass warfare is proving terrible enemy that will destroy its makers, unless it is checked by increase of moral sense.

It is an economic truism, that the wellbeing of a country depends primarily on its agriculture and its industries; on its winning or cultivating the raw material of manufacture and of physical life in a proportion adequate to its population. A lack on one side must be balanced by a corresponding addition on the other side. A nation that is too crowded, or which has land that is too poor to cultivate food, must buy the food with its superfluous products, not with paper, money or promissory notes. These documents inevitably reduce the value of the goods which must be exchanged later to redeem these promises on paper.

A country too poor to maintain itself will be in a bad position to obtain goods from elsewhere. When the particular goods needed are industrial tools of all kinds, from boats or locomotives down to motors or typewriters, necessary in developing organisation of any great industry, then situation becomes more difficult. It is often unnecessarily so when, as it frequently occurs, the industrial unit is too small to have time or knowledge for selling, as well as making, and has indeed too little knowledge for improvement in the design or material of the article made. For it is an industrial as well as a biological law that in the absence of progress, improvement and increase, decrease and decay must occur.

It becomes essential that these small labour units, whether they are producing agriculturally, or industrially, shall be organised together for the effecting of improvements mutually beneficiary, chief among which is that interchange of knowledge, which has somehow or

other got mixed up with the curious process known in Europe as education, which there is chiefly synonymous with literacy. Unfortunately many Indians have also acquired the idea, which the English and the American boys are rapidly losing. That is the notion that it is eminently respectable to acquire, by means of a modicum of literacy, a clerical post, in which post, after a good deal of actual working experience, at the expense of the employers' time, money and trade, he acquires the real education needed in such a post; the technique of the work and its relation to the rest of the world. This confusion of literacy with education is doubly unfortunate wherever it occurs, for it by no means follows that because a boy is taught to read and write a language that he has also acquired anything of value to express through it; or that he will thereby read things of value and write things of sense. So far from the facts is the theory that it is seen to be true that most pernicious results are produced by the emphasis on literacy without thought.

Even greater damage occurs when the other branches of what should be a common education are neglected. In any country there can be only a small proportion actually needed to perform clerical duties, because these duties arise from the necessity of recording the interchange of goods. It is the making of goods which obviously should require more time, and more labour, than the mere record of their sale. Therefore the larger number of people in any country require knowledge, not of the technique of literary expression, but of industrial expression or of agricultural expression. The aim of education, if it be merely that of literacy, is wrong in so far as it substitutes for its main end a secondary factor, which is of importance only to a small proportion of any people, instead of the pressing national necessities of the great groups of agriculturists and industrialists. These groups need knowledge directly and immediately, referring to their daily work, first and foremost. They need the knowledge and practice of the arts, crafts and sciences which they must practise in their daily vocations. They need technical education far more than they need a literary education, which is only the necessity of clerks, and of course, of a very small number of professional literary men, teachers and officials.

This bias towards literary education, for long unconscious, which was given by the mediæval

school men as a heritage to the later public school and University education of European countries, has unwittingly inflicted much damage by its divorce of education from the primary necessities of life. It was developed quite naturally, with all good intentions, yet wrongly, when the compulsory education of European countries resolved to hand on to the mass of the people the type of learning which had arisen in the cloister. This was done, despite the fact that, along with the monastic tradition of literary learning, there had existed a healthy monastic practice of arts and crafts in industries, and also in agriculture.

In the later days, the learning was developed, and the industrial side was utterly neglected. Hence when the mighty force of steam power was directed to the developments arisen in the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, the European nations were caught utterly unprepared, and had but a scanty industrial tradition to be relied upon. Certainly there was no conscious realisation of all which that development implied. The educational section of the community went blindly on in the scholastic tradition, while the industrialists pursued the the best aim then known to them, the blunt honesty in manufacture and material that had the effect of building a reputation unsurpassed in those days,—all the world over for goods of English manufacture. "English-made" became synonymous with "First class". If we to-day must regret that this is no longer unreservedly so, we have to thank the spirit which during the last years of the last century gave to some goods the name of "Brummagem", a title which Birmingham would gladly forget; and in truth is doing much actual good work to erase that industrial infamy. But, where India is to-day on the brink of the industrial revolution, shall we have to imply the same meaning when we speak of Benares brass work, which has just about attained, in its worst features, all that Brummagem ever implied? Is it not possible to keep the excellence of the best crafts, and moreover to keep their excellence when they are no longer made by hand but partly by machines? Is it necessary that India, in her inevitable industrial development, shall pass through all the long stages of industrial degradation which have disfigured well-nigh a century of mechanical production in Europe? Surely, it is not only possible, but exceedingly wise, to omit as much as possible the errors and

blunders, and to instal the tried and known methods, not at once in their fullness, but in ratio to the ability of the people to make use of them, and to their craft development.

It is not possible for instance to at once make salutary the whole of India, sadly though it is needed. It is not possible to immediately assure the wise use of machinery all over India—is it so wisely used in Europe that there we can take example? Nor is it possible to give a whole mighty people that technical education best fitted for their needs within a short time. A nation expressing itself and its needs by hand-work does so in terms of fundamental simplicity of life, in simple needs; with simple tools. Elaboration comes by prolonged use of time and of craft, seldom deliberately in terms of construction for that implies a development of concentrated thought which occurs relatively rarely. It allows endless work on poor material, endless ornament on what is often poor construction. Ornament is elementary while constructional ability is a greater feature in the communal essentials of design. Ornament is easy, but construction, like skilful organisation, is difficult.

III.

It is an accepted principle of the civilised nations of the world that state aid and interest shall be exercised in the development of industrial art. Schools and colleges are subsidised by the government, or are directly under the supervision of state officials; and may be seen working side by side, each having its own particular advantages.

In India there is little development of industrial art and with the exception of a few art schools directed by government, the encouragement of design as applied to industrial uses is left entirely to the traditional methods of the bazar. These have suffered severely under commercialism in competition with the inevitable cutting of quality that always accompanies price cutting when its course is not restrained by the long view. Deliberate deterioration of quality is the direct cause of a rapid and disastrous loss of technical skill on the part of the workers from whose fingers and minds these objects are ultimately born. Skill unused is skill that becomes lost. The worker is compelled by the evil principle of piece-work to do work which he knows to be less than his best, and to do no more than will pass

inspection. The attempted application of piece-work to goods in which manipulation by hand is an essential and chief factor is to bring the ultimate ruin of the artistic character of such articles. Piece-work can only be properly applied to machine-made objects which are subject to the economic and industrial laws of mass production, and in which identity is a prime necessity. This applies to all standard machinery.

This factor of quality in industrial design is rapidly becoming realised in Western manufacture, and it is notable that the manufacturer, such as the textile trade contains, is now awake to the necessity of adequate design in the goods he turns out.

They have now realised that modern nations possess in their machinery, aids to manufacture which dispose of nearly all the differences between the operatives of the machines. The worker is not required to exercise his personality or individuality when operating a machine, and therefore a citizen of any nation, if he has normal faculties and intelligence can manage a machine equally as well as a man of the highest culture. The designer, having been separated from the processes of manufacture, has for a long time been ignored. The stress of modern competition has however, aroused at last the need for the designer, and it is found that but few are able to help. The machines being equal, the cost of material being equal, and the selling costs varying but slightly, the only other factors which affect the situation are the cost of labour, and lastly, but most important, the design or artistic value of the completed object. India has had and still retains an enormous advantage over Europe in the production of artistic goods. Her design power was in former times a living faculty, whether Hindu or Mohammedan. Her labour costs are still lower than those of Europe. The intelligence and ability of her craftsmen, when properly trained, are equal to any in the world. There is little mechanical or engineering skill, because there is not yet the tradition of such skill. But in Italy there has arisen, from separations of craft workers, the skill coming inevitably as an inheritance, which gives the Italians a place in the front rank of engineering nations. It is not possible to train engineering skill in any nation unless there be a broad and educated basis of handicraft on which to build. It is because the Indian peoples lost some of their handicraft skill, by a flood of mechanically

made imported goods that it is difficult to find enough Indians sufficiently skilled to fill high posts in engineering work. We see the replacement of the lota and similar vessels by the ugliness of the petrol can, which is considered good enough to "decorate" many a garden.

We may observe also the rapid deterioration of the once beautiful brass work of Benares, and the decay in the design for chikan work in Lucknow, probably from the unintelligent copying of the mechanically made "Swiss embroidery." Ineffective and unsuitable designs are often now used for cotton printing in Lucknow and Farrukhabad, overburdened with detail and unnecessarily complicated colour, often originating in some London Office having that small acquaintance with true Indian design that has proved so dangerous a thing. Surely the virtue in Indian goods is that they shall be of Indian design, and design of the very best quality, strong and vigorous, or dainty and fanciful, and not the monstrous aberrations and graceless hybrids which the Indian manufacturer foolishly accepts because he is at the same time given an order for printed goods of these designs. Who should be able to design Indian goods better than the Indian himself, and what necessity is there to accept European designs, which at one stroke destroys the primary characteristic of the whole work as a piece of Indian art work? Why make designs on Indian goods which can be made more effectively in Europe? Why are such goods not made altogether in Europe? There can be only one reason: cheap labour.

This is the sign of danger and decay. The exploitation of cheap and child labour, had it continued in Britain, would have ended by destroying the skill of the nation by bringing down its level. The exploitation of cheap labour from the outside as well as the inside prevents the due and necessary development of that high skill necessary to the comity of a modern nation.

It is a more amazing thing when it has been stated (as the present writer has heard it stated) that "one of the great difficulties in booking orders for Indian goods is that the makers won't make them all alike." This astounding outlook of a man who was then engaged in buying goods, indicates a total lack of comprehension of the vital principles inherent in the facts of modern production. It must never be forgotten that their principle of mass production by the aid of machinery, and individual artistic production

by hand alone, are largely and essentially different. It is the special virtue of the machine that it can turn out a hundred or a million objects, all alike. It is the special virtue of handwork that it cannot make two objects exactly alike, even when endeavouring to do so. To go against these basic laws of craft production is not only foolish but criminal. To lose sight of such a fact in planning a scheme for industrial art education—or never to have known it at all—is equivalent to wasting all the money put into it. This lack of elementary knowledge of the economic laws of art and crafts leads to the absurdities which may be seen: of making pieces of furniture entirely by hand from a design copied unintelligently from one which was originated especially with a view to mass production by machinery. Such a type is that of the so-called “Jacobean style” which is now common in the English market. This destroys the intelligent outlook on design for handwork which should accompany a development of manual skill necessary in such woodwork, and at the same directs that skill into channels away from its normal bent, into one where the eventual result is that the worker has to face the competition of the machine on its ground instead of on his own. An excellent skill in constructing jewellery may be entirely misguided, if allowed or compelled to unintelligent copying from trade catalogues, from designs originated probably in Birmingham. These practices serve to warp the improvement of Indian designs and art crafts and prevent that design skill from growing, which is necessary if Indian goods are to be exported abroad. For they are wanted because they are Indian: if they were not, then other goods would be bought. To the Indian artisan, to the craftsman, and above all to the manufacturer who ought to employ a skilled designer (but as a rule does not, preferring to appropriate the work of others) no better advice can be given than that in the famous lines:

“To thine own Self be true, then it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man.”

This applies with great force to all art work, and it is the temporary absence of its observance that is deplored, and which in Britain many manufacturers are working hard to restore. It is the principles of justice, economy, and art as applied to the manufacture of the necessities of modern peoples. It implies the preference

for highly skilled workers, on a fair wage, working reasonable hours, allowed and encouraged to do their best in good working surroundings. It means working from designs which have had time and thought and skill born of experience expended on them to fit them thoroughly for the eventual purpose of the object. It means above all the abolition of most or all of that lust for pattern, imitative and traditional, that has an ending like the parasite ivy on the tree, destroying that which had so long upheld it. The Victorian era in Britain was full of that type of brainless production in the manufacture of objects whose primary use was rendered difficult by reason of the alleged “ornament”. This was supposed to “decorate” it with the virtues of art, but it really displayed fully the lack of intelligence, not only of the people who designed and made these things, but more still of the people who encouraged the makers by buying them, and whose expensive education should have led them to know better. Such an atrocity is the typical Louis Quinze chair, or the Italian ewer of about the same time. It even influenced the design of the early locomotives, but the engineers had the sense to cease using fancy brasswork and to confine themselves to essentials. India has not yet achieved the artistic degradation and fatuity of the Louis periods, and it may reasonably be expected that she never will descend so low.

This depends on the character and extent of the training available and imparted in schools of design. It is safe to say that in even the short space of five years, given an intelligent official association, a man of culture and intelligence can make so decided a mark, although it must necessarily at first be small, that will favorably influence the course of Industrial design in his locality. It may equally easily be damaged in the negative sense. A living and generous comprehension of the psychology of design, and its environment and influence to and from the people is a first essential. It is obvious that no one can teach design who does not himself have a very thorough acquaintance with it, not so much with a heterogeneous assortment of examples, but with the very foundation and principles inherent in the economic necessity for design among civilised peoples. It would require much space to finely define these principles, but a short indication may be filled in by the experience of those who already have some knowledge of these things. Industry

may be defined (among other numerous and equally correct definitions) as a social system of making and exchanging the necessities of life for body, soul, mind and spirit. This definition includes such things as music and poetry as well as beds and food. Design is the act and process of planning the method and the making of any of these necessities, in so far as it includes the conception of the final form and use of the articles needed, whether for the use of the designer himself or for supply to other persons. The realisation of the character and extent of these needs supplies the motive for design and art. The design itself is a creation, resulting from the combination of material and the method of manipulating it, the end desired, and the intended place of the object, as modified by environment, the workers' skill in handling refractory material (with or without adequate aid in the shape of tools and machinery) and lastly by the price which the eventual buyer is willing to give, in return for the time, skill, labour, and material involved in the production.

Any adequate training in design must present these various factors inherent in the psychological process of design, or planning or scheming, to the student, so that by properly graded attempts or experiments he learns every thing he can of all factors. Not only must he, as a practical man, acquire actual manipulative skill, but he must know his material physically and artistically, he must know his tools and machinery—what he can do with them, and what he cannot do. He must exploit their possibilities, and not try to do with them what is best done by other means. He must relate all things to the end desired, modified by the costs of all his related factors. He must work within limitations with such knowledge that they do not hamper but encourage him. It is the sign of the true artist that he is always economical of means, and conserves his method and his energy. He can do much with little. It is only the unskilful who demand much material, much aid, and who evolve tenuous and faraway schemes to divert attention from their present defects.

In the present state of finance, it is unwise and unpractical to embark on large and apparently glowing schemes, which are really of dubious value, and certainly expensive, without any surety of adequate return at any time. It is far better to concentrate and im-

prove the things that already are in being, or even to do away with ventures that have proved either failures from their original intention, or which have proved too expensive to profitably maintain. It is better to develop industrial art on the bases that already exist, than to attempt ambitious schemes that can at the best but afford help for a very small number of people. It be realised that no art of any country ever was successful, in the region of the so-called "fine arts" unless and until these arts were based in and on the skill in craftsmanship widely held and practised by the common people. An example is afforded by the arts involved in writing, reading, and printing. As the two former become more widespread among the masses, so does the third also increase. Industrial art reflects in its growth the increase of the personal arts of reading and writing. But this is a phase of long growth, and cannot be expected to evolve in a single decade. So, in the conscious development of the arts and crafts of printing, it is necessary to follow the normal course of its evolution, from the hand to the simple machine, and thence only to the modern costly high-power press. Thus it is simple folly to attempt to raise the very low standard of vernacular printing, in its press work and typography and illustrations alike, by a sudden bound to the dubious glories of three-colour printing on clay-coated paper. The average printer cannot afford to buy such an expensive press, neither can he get a sufficient volume of trade to maintain it. Nor can he obtain men sufficiently skilled to work them, and he cannot easily get blocks made or printed. The best way of developing the printing arts is by introducing the use of the woodcut for various pictorial purposes, for when the designs are obtained, the blocks can be simple and easily cut in any bazar, and easily printed quite effectively in any properly working cheap handpress. Japanese work of this kind proves what high quality of design may by this simple means be made general among the poorer people. There has been little development in India of the art of engraving and printing from wood blocks on paper, which is strange in view of the excellence of printed work on textiles, mostly cotton, which is a living art. Something must be allowed for the absence of a regular supply of suitable paper, but this technical development would have been easy had the desire to print

woodcuts been strong enough. The immense but much neglected value of the woodcut as an aid in vernacular printing impresses itself upon any student of the typographical and technical production of the general vernacular press. The peculiar conditions which have arisen in India, consequent upon the introduction of numerous machines of all kinds at an advanced stage of their development, into a country which did not witness that gradual development, has produced an industrial position of great difficulty in many diverse directions. A people with little or no traditional experience in any form of printing are suddenly confronted with the intricacies of the modern lithographic or rotary press, with all its complements of process work in both black-and-white and the three or four colour process. In such a situation abnormal difficulties will arise, and there is much to the credit of those who, despite this lack of knowledge of industrial technique, have nevertheless succeeded in producing results of high technical value.

An educational error has been made in the omission of facilities for training in those processes of printing which are entirely accomplished by hand. The printer craftsmen of Europe are the descendants of men, and the inheritors of traditions, of the development of hand printing of mediæval Europe. The woodcut block was an essential and integral part of that tradition, and its omission from the training of the Indian printing has led to grave defects. We find bad setting and inaccurate composition, bad presswork, a lack of design of the printed page, and little knowledge of what the woodcut can do, even on a handpress and on poor paper.

The foremost printers of both Europe and America are going back for inspiration and the impulse to freshness to the older printers, who had among their resources at best two or three grades of papers to select from, two or three founts of type, and a few wood blocks which they cut for themselves or which they themselves designed. Even among the foremost printers of to-day, there are few indeed who could cut a block and a still smaller number who could satisfactorily design one. The art of printing in colours from woodblocks arose in Japan from the early work on a small scale. The people showed their appreciation of pictures made and sold in this way, most of them depicting a

charming and artistic rendering of ordinary incidents in the everyday life of the people. It was for long essentially an art appreciated most by the common people.

There are many conditions in India very similar to those in Japan, and thus there is no substantial reason why the woodcut print should not attain as great a popularity in India, not only as a means of artistic expression, but, far greater still, as a means of educating the vast population to whom books or papers are otherwise useless.

The traditional decorative treatment of Hindu graphic art will find an exceptionally agreeable form of expression through the woodblock. And it will also find appreciation, for it can provide a higher level of artistic work than the crude and inartistically coloured prints which appear to find favour among certain classes. There is certainly a demand for prints, and it is the duty of the artists to supply that demand in the most artistic manner possible, rather than to ignore it and retire to their own corners for "self-expression" in a few pictures at prices beyond the reach of the mass of the people.

If there is to be a renaissance of art and craft work in India, it will arise soonest if the artists will endeavour to find out what is wanted, and, if it be a socially desirable want, to supply it at the highest level. Where there is bad art, it must be competed with; where there is no art, it must be introduced.

This educational training requires in its early stages some further encouragement, such as is possible in working out orders for goods actually wanted. In an art school, severe selection is essential or all sorts of orders will flow in, many of a type in which their execution will be of no educational benefit whatever and also some beyond the power or scope of the actual possibilities to execute. It is extremely doubtful if the acceptance of such orders in an educational institution is of any great value. It certainly interferes with the proper development of a grade of skill higher than that found in the bazar, and unless a school can get its students to generally attain a higher skill and technical knowledge than is general in bazar workers, there is no need for it, since the same training is available outside. The making of objects of actual utility and value should be confined to

those made not to definite orders, but sold to the public as from any shop, at reasonable prices. Such a system would allow practical work but at the same time would not prevent the wide range of experimental work which is so necessary to an educational institution, and which is entirely impossible in one which is constantly full of work being done to outside order. Teaching becomes desultory and aimless, and too much attention is devoted to mere craftsmanship, whereas the great necessity for India is concentration on an improvement of Indian design and decoration in all its different branches.

The inauguration of exterior workshops, staffed by passed students would be useful, if financed by loans of small amount, and further helped by the passing on of orders received, for making in them. This would prevent undue state competition from institutions which being supposed to be educational are not required to show profits, or even a balance sheet. It is absurd to pretend to be encouraging industries while actually taking away the trade from those who should have it normally. It is also of dubious value from the design point of view, as the proportion of time spent on work as compared with that spent on design, is much too great. What would be the feeling of Professors in Universities, if they were required to get their students to compose articles for newspapers or copy for advertising purposes, as "industrial journalism"? And what grade of work would be turned out in such circumstances? Yet that is a fair parallel to what is expected of an Indian Art School. Another practice which has had little good result is that of hastily manufacturing designs, for the purpose of giving to a few favoured manufacturers, free of charge. Often the person who makes the designs has had no direct acquaintance with the methods and tools, by which the articles are to be made, or the place where it is to be done, and sometimes no full knowledge of the possibility of the material and methods, or little understandings of where improvement is needed and possible. The direct result is that a manufacturer obtaining such designs is unwilling to employ a regular designer, arguing that he will cost him money, whereas he can get his designs free without any payment at all. This tends to prevent the diffusion of real design knowledge in the different centres, and to prevent the employment

of properly qualified and fully trained men in such positions.

Art school training, therefore, must include wider knowledge than that of actual craftsmanship, and must cover a knowledge of materials, and ability in the drawing of thoughtful designs with some degree or originality in them. They must know and differentiate their designs according to the process for which they are destined, and make allowances accordingly. They must aim at a comprehensive knowledge of simple technology rather than of elaborate machinery. They must acquire knowledge of the fundamental principles of drawing, design, and colour, both of an artistic and a scientific nature, with their practical application. They must not merely copy or slightly alter the questionable designs of other people. All their time in an institution maintained at public expense should be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge and not to the erratic fulfilment of sundry odd job orders which any private person may happen to need at odd moments.

The inducement to entering on such course of study needs to be more completely outlined to prospective entrants, but it may be left to normal development if the experimental work be properly applied to the present resources and environment of each place of study and experiment. In particular much may be gained from the institution of part time courses, constructed to attract adults already devoted to the pursuit of definite trades or professions, and calculated so as to afford them help of a very practical nature at a reasonably early stage. There are plenty of Indian employers who have sufficient intelligence, and understanding sympathy to encourage some of their employees to avail themselves of such aid, were it made known and offered to them. An instance may be given: in such a business as that of lithography, there are a fair number of workers familiar with the ordinary everyday technical side of their work, but whose training never included any knowledge of design, which is essential to a man who is to take any post of responsibility in such a work, and who has probably never been instructed in the use of colour to obtain good effects with economic expenditure of labour and presswork. Even after a five year course in technical training, it has been found difficult to obtain a post by a man having insufficient knowledge of design and scientific colour. But with a part-time course,

such a man could combine his daily work with study, to the immediate benefit of both himself and his employers. This system is being followed out in other countries with excellent results. The same would apply to such a trade as building, in its various branches.

These training and experimental centres can be devoted not only to the improvement of existing art trades, but to the resuscitation of former activities now extinct, such as, for instance, Lucknow enamelling. It is not only possible but advisable to introduce, with due care and caution, other crafts, that are practised in other countries; which, if developed here, would prove of value to Indian commerce. Such an activity that would reward any enterprising man of commerce would be the development of toy making for the British Market, at present filled by Continental workers, with particular reference to those made of carved wood by homeworkers. But little equipment is needed, and Indian workers have both skill and a natural tendency in that direction which would be quickly successful. What is needed most, is the organisation of the workers and some provision of designs for original models for them to work from. They will then introduce their own modifications in different localities, and they would, at reasonable figures, command a ready sale. There is in India a definite need for closer consideration of the possibilities of industrial art education, as applied to processes of manufacture. Much might also be done by the application of a thorough knowledge of the principles of design, as they are, or might be, utilised with reference to the selling of goods. Even in Europe and America, science, as "scientific management" has been applied mainly to the manufacture of goods, while art has been applied mainly to the selling of them. India has the chance of starting its industrial art education on a scheme more evenly balanced, by applying both art and science to both making and selling. There is as much need for "artistic management as for scientific management" and as much necessity for artistic design as for artistic selling. It is the duty and privilege of a properly organised school or design to supply instruction in all these things, and it is to the interest of all Indian employers to see that such an institution is available and properly working in every large centre, and to see that their own employees are sufficiently instructed in the

rudiments of principles and theory in the school, as well as in practice in the workshops. It is in and through the workshops that future employers, managers, foremen must be trained finally, and no school training can dispense with that completion. But neither should compete unduly with each other, but each should in its own sphere supplement the work and possibilities for learning that are contained in their own proper activities.

IV.

The Renaissance of India, which we shall soon be in the midst, is in many respects similar to that of mediæval Italy which had its latest effects in England and the rest of the continent of Europe.

The industries of India are many; the only new factor is that of European mechanism with its train of commerce and profit-making. The sub-division of labour, internal trade of great dimensions and external trade of importance and value, have existed before as well as now, although the fatal extreme specialisation which is so marked a factor of profit-making industry is not yet common in India.

But there is more consciousness in the minds of men; and where before there was a normal instinct to industry, now there is a question arising before any activity is undertaken: "what is the real use of this to the country?" It is a wise question.

One of the widest changes, silent and usually largely ignored, is that of the training of boys to become craftsmen. All over the world it was formerly the duty and the privilege of the master craftsman, upright and respected by members of his own craft and also by others, to undertake the definite instruction and general training of the entrants to his craft. He admitted them, and saw that they were intelligent, willing, of good character, and likely to bring him credit, before he would take boys as his apprentices.

Since then the gospel of profitarian commerce and of a pseudo-scientific efficiency has overspread the modern countries of the world, the part that is good in such a system of life has been overshadowed by the frantic working of small minds, who with grasping greed endeavour to obtain more than their share, and who are making deliberate efforts that others shall go without, unless their price can be paid. This is known under the more

pleasant name of "Supply and Demand." This human fact of need has been turned into a commercial fiction of trade, and distorted out of all recognition by observing only one side. Only quite recently has it been admitted that the "Consumer"—that economical shadow—has any real rights at all, his existence being only justified by the fact that he must be there in order to pay for the things which the makers demand that he shall buy! "Demand" is the only word, and the factor of compulsion is everywhere exercised, through taxation and rating, in things often unnecessary to many individuals; and through the economic compulsion of threatened starvation in essential things, of food, clothing and shelter.

Among the demands of the new creed of commerce, is the subtle refusal to train its own men, if by any possible means it can obtain men ready trained from any other source. Whether it is altogether wise to admit outsiders is another point. The fact remains that few modern firms will now willingly consent to give the time, the care and the trouble necessary to training the men they need in order to carry on their trading. It does not pay, they imply.

Hence arises the entirely modern notion of special schools in which to supply the training, which in many directions, cannot be obtained elsewhere. And equally arises the one idea of boys to learn a narrow branch of work as highly as possible, ignoring all other aspects of their craft. They desire to make themselves as unadaptable as possible, by refusing to learn any other than one side branch. And the criterion of such methods is held to be successful, if the trade, workshops and offices are pleased with an endless supply of cheap ready trained men, from whose services the largest profits, consonant with competition, can be made. The teachers of these boys often adopt the same view, and seriously suggest, from the unconscious idea that "What was good enough for their fathers ought to be good enough for their sons" that no other training should be given but solely craft training.

From the clash of these two streams of ideas Indian industry has diminished in quality and quantity. Unable to bring to their aid such modern discoveries that are technically useful, and clinging even in handwork to the type of tool proved to be not the best for the job, the craftsmen have been seriously challenged and defeated by mechanism, which provides one of

the factors in overwhelming mass, that of quantity. But quality, which springs from care and knowledge and constant improvement of both method and product, has gone, and the world is the poorer for the loss of many Indian handicrafts. Nor can quality be expected to return unless determined and conscious care is exerted towards its recovery, and that not only on a small scale, but on the large scale manufacture of mechanical commerce. It is not difficult, given the will, to organise large scale handicraft manufacture, any more than it has proved in farming as in Denmark.

No small part of this Renaissance of Quality must be played by men who are already familiar with the varying modes of artistic manufacture, whether by hand or by machine. It is not entirely true that it is machinery that is responsible for the downfall of quality; it is the motive behind the machine. There is plenty of poor work produced by hand, as by machine, either from lack of knowledge or lack of conscience. Both are at the root of the refusal to train craftsmen properly.

One man cannot obtain or contain all the knowledge needed in manufacture, and unless it is directed to the humblest worker a factory as an organism is not healthy. The hands need training as much, or even more, than the head, for they are the organs of action, and action is synonymous with life.

It is now customary to speak of foreign competition, and when this competition is against the highly skilled and therefore highly economical labour of well-educated countries, it behoves the Indian manufacturer to note that the mere brute strength he can bring to his factory in the form of cheap and ignorant labour, can not in the long run prevail.

An ignorant and untrained worker is a lasting danger to himself, to his master and to his community. In the works he not only performs his own work badly, but by being there prevents another man from doing it better, and is not only a negative but a positive hindrance. In his community he is a danger because the length and breadth of his views are normally in direct inverse ratio to his store of knowledge.

It is necessary to specify what is meant by training. First of all the common confusion as to what "education" is must be removed. It must not be confounded with literacy. To teach a man to read and write, curiously enough is in these days just sufficient to rob

him of his own native power of thought and to deliver him into the hands of the demagogues. True education is the development of the power of thought, but too much so-called education is devoted to the production of mechanical writers and readers, and allows the alleged "newspaper" in the direction of those who are politically unscrupulous, to direct the empty minds of the half educated crowd.

This kind of training is that half-training which is worse than none at all, since it instals a dissatisfaction, without at the same time developing its own power of satisfaction. The only kind of training that is industrially valuable is that which trains the head and the hands together with the mind. It can only be done by careful conscious co-operation of employers with the educationists. One must sacrifice for a time some gain, the other must sacrifice their literary ideal of culture.

V.

The designed development of the right kind of instincts into permanent social habits in members of the human civilised species is one of the greatest problems of contemporary education. It is not sufficient to assert that because an action or an attitude of mind is "instinctive" it is therefore right. All modern codes of law tend to inhibit by threatened punishment any action following instincts which are considered by legislators as socially perverse, and all religions tend to encourage the kind of action and attitude that their founders consider socially necessary or justifiable in the particular community for which they were designed. A code of education designed for the young to fit them for social life will therefore result from considered amalgamation of the elements of these two forces, one expressive and one repressive, unavoidably characteristic of the current beliefs, manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the community, whereby its main ideas of life are imposed upon the young children. The current concept of the content of education as well as the method of its administration includes ideas of what is "right" in law and custom, and what is "proper" or "just" in religion. This composite ideal energises the spirit behind education, by which the ordered form, consisting of the arts and sciences commonly known to the community, will be

used and shaped entirely according to the fashion of the time. These ideals in turn act and react on the form and use of art and science. Neither art nor science can be logically separated from "morality" and "ethics". Though these are after all nothing but the *manners* and *customs* of the race, being a normal part of the racial expression, they do formulate the character of its art, and define its aims. To urge further development of art mainly as a valuable means of increasing commerce, is to mistake a subsidiary and incidental economic factor (in itself not to be despised) as the primary aim of wise education. However important commerce may be, it must become a means to a fuller life, and not become the end of life in itself. A true national art arises in a healthy expressive life, as an absolute essential to national well-being, as craftsmanship in work or play from a healthy body is essential to normal health. Art gives balance; it is the golden mean. The wide range of human emotions is the sphere of human art; art is powerful because its comprehension is the key to the direction of the emotions which is the aim of religion and of the statesman. Human nature is changeable, but not by any kind of force; it can be changed only by art. The two main instincts of human nature are those of attraction and repulsion, to or from things or persons. When these are cognised intellectually they formulate as realised desires, of attraction or aversion; as love or as hate. From these two primary emotions all others are derived, and it is according to his understanding of the change of emotions that an artist, whether poet, actor or painter, is successful or not. All emotions are essentially social in scope and action, demanding both subject and object of human value. A conscious and successful desire to arouse or to alter an emotion in another person is what is usually known as art, and is accomplished by the will power of the creative human instinct displayed in action. The mind of the artist reproduces his emotion, feigned or real, in the mind of his object. Creative art arises in an excess or superfluity of emotion, overflowing the mind into other minds. It is thus an expansive energising of the mind inducing a desire to give a wider sense of emotional value. It exchanges its excess and receives the excess of others. It is the reverse of the most powerfully opposing

instinct: that of possession, the desire to have, to keep, to gain, and to prevent others from gaining. In any degree of excess the desire of gain initiates all manner of crimes, diseases, and insanity. It is because art has such immense social value in originating, presenting, continuing or changing the current standard of social values, from law or religion to millinery fashions, that it is so powerful and so valuable a factor in all social life. Nearly all of our knowledge of the phenomenal world comes to us through the medium of vision, by colour and form. There is of course much that is tangible, and more that is audible, but the material objects that are used in the graphic and plastic arts are the most important in the manifold social relations of physical life. We are all susceptible and sensitive in varying degrees to the powerful yet indefinable values of form, colour, and tone, and it is the increase in this sensitiveness which gives greater appreciation of art. When allied with ability in productive craftsmanship, it allows creative expression, provided the creative instinct be strong and the aim be clear. The fact that art, just as law or religion, is not merely an individual but a social function in the emotional relations of the national mind, demands that all members of a healthy community shall have some critical and appreciative knowledge of its arts, even if many of them possess no constructive knowledge. The social power of art is such as to demand that the people should understand it thoroughly.

There is thus need, for instruction in two distinct phases: the general knowledge and appreciation of art in the critical sense, as a part of general education; and the development of original creative art by instruction in craftsmanship, which should be begun at an early age added to productive design. Honest public criticism based on real understanding is not deleterious to creation; it merely renders more difficult the pseudo-artistic attempts to deceive with artificiality. The creative artist must have his own critical and comparative faculty highly developed if he is to produce good work.

The appreciation of art and the creation of *works* of art is relative, both to individual artist and to the community. The appreciation of any art depends upon the degree of understanding and of emotional sensitiveness of the beholder. The creative art of another

nation cannot be *fully* understood in its national aspect unless the nature and origin of its aim are also realised. Appreciation of art itself depends *least* on knowledge of technique, for such appreciation is usually that of one craftsman for another's work: One sees the art with the mind; the other sees the work of art with the vision. The creation of art is primarily dependent on the understanding of aims of the proposed work and of emotional sensitiveness of the creating artist, combined with scientific knowledge of the best modes of craft to express his desires and satisfy his needs. His degree of appreciation of the social necessity of art, however, will determine both the ideal of his art and quality of his craftsmanship. There are grades in appreciation as there are grades in craftsmanship, and from this arises the difficulty or impossibility, of conceiving an art form having an identical appeal to differently educated minds anywhere in the world.

In art education we have two main phases to consider: the individual development of talent to the benefit of the individual; and then the utilisation by the community of the talent thus developed. Talent is developed but remains unused because there is not sufficient appreciation of it to cause employers to use such talent in their business. There is no state encouragement to use art, but only to train it, and there is little active municipal encouragement. It is left too much to a few individual employers, who thus train only a few individual artists. If art is to be again great as a living social function, it must be encouraged socially. The religious use of art in mediæval Italy produced great art as it did in Greece and ancient India. Only by general intelligent appreciation can a civic or national school arise and stand firm. Otherwise artists must remain a crowd of competing individuals rather than a creative body or school of thought. A national tradition in art must stand as a wide based pyramid: essentially a social expression, it needs social support and sympathy for these are the breath of living art. Creative art is the result of the fulfilment of the common needs of humanity. A work of art is a social act that is well done. Art is done among the people, for the people, and by the people expressing themselves in their needs, and their humanity in their satisfaction. When art is absent or poor then is the nation sick: it is a sign of failing power and decay. When the

creative instinct of the millions of minds cannot manifest its power in peaceful domestic pursuits, the restless emotions seeking an outlet find a ready focus for political agitation, and show the peculiar modern phenomenon of "restlessness". A nation busy at useful work is a nation at peace.

There is the creative instinct in every normal child, the desire to build, to construct, and to make things. Its development is only possible when it has material freely given to experiment with. Skilled attention—as "education"—given at the critical periods will develop this individual creative instinct into a social creative habit, into a permanent creative emotional attitude of mind. In this invaluable work is the high social value of the teacher indicated. A real teacher is a craftsman on souls, and in his keeping lies much of the future peace of the world. It is the creative instinct, eternally opposed to the military destructive instinct of the possessor. Creative art demands entire concentration of all the faculties—and peace. It appears inevitably, follows unsought but welcome. The man who can make is happier than the man who can merely possess: one can create, the other can only acquire—and lose. The unhappiness of the one, if it exists, is because he cannot create enough: of the other, because he can never possess enough. Art education should thus be concerned with the development of the creative instinct, and this is necessarily at the expense of the opposite instinct of possessiveness. Light can be gained only by lessening darkness. Mere negation is useless; there must be a deliberate positive and creative attitude in education, which is possible only by means of experience in various forms of creative work, thus inducing the right instincts to become socially permanent, and eradicating the others.

The production of true creative art demands that the artist shall possess an ideal towards which his creation is to aim. The mere copying of nature or idle playing with materials, or happy accidents, are not art but fruitless artificialities. True art is not done primarily or solely for reward, but for the joy of creation made visible. This does not in any sense imply that he should never receive, who gives his all, but even as the labourer is worthy of his hire, so should the hire be worthy of the labourer. There is no room, for shoddy work or ideas in art or in craft, in the realm of true creative art.

Creation does not occur in a vacuum, nor is creation in any sense the making of something out of nothing. There is the instinct of art, and hence of art appreciation, among the masses of the people: Art is the birthright of the people and must be restored to them. To achieve this end we need the understanding sympathy of all educationists, all manufacturers and all buyers of useful things. For art we need care in planning, truth in making, and high discrimination in purchase. Thus the creative instinct of our people may be set free. Tolerance is essential to a true realisation of the creative vision, for without that attitude of mind nothing is seen as it is.

The laws of art are mainly psychological—it is the crafts that are physical, but all must obey the immanent spirit of humanity. The creation of Nature is more majestic in degree, but is different only in method to the creation of true art. Both are manifestations of the power of mind to control matter. Natural creation is spiritual law in a natural form; artistic creation is spiritual law in man made forms. Art is re-adjusted natural law. The spirit behind the manifold forms of nature is subjective and invisible; so too is the creative consciousness behind the visible work of art, yet we know both to exist by their works. The origin and end of art is a mental noumenon having objective existence midway. The creative emotion of art is subjective—the work of art alone is objective in its social service. Science provides the facts or knowledge by virtue of which the work may be done. The means is the craftsmanship or technique. It is not only useless but impossible to teach the whole community how to produce works of art, or to convey more than a general knowledge of the manipulation of simple things. The traditional method of one man or one group working at some inherited craft, and others working at other single crafts in this way is what we usually term "peasant art". By these men domestic objects of worth and beauty were often produced for they worked by heart as well as by hand. So simple and direct is the relation of means to an end that we turn now for inspiration to such work when designing our sophisticated factory made goods. These have abolished the peasant made arts, for the factory has transformed the human peasant into a heartless hand, without his creative artist's brain. The problem is how to

give him a new opportunity to exercise the creative instinct which he has almost lost. The human machine can never become any kind of artist without it, and neither can he understand and know and appreciate the art of others. There must be individual experience for individual appreciation. Our analytical mode of general education renders subsequent instruction in art more difficult, at the outset, for the modern method of mental training emphasises analysis. The eye is unconsciously caused by the brain to see unimportant details rather than mass and unity when beginning art study. Hence many draftsmen arise, and fewer designers of real merit: many builders and exceedingly few architects; many politicians and rare statesmen. Creation is synthesis and is greater than the preceding analysis; it is the third stage of mental thought. First comes observation and analysis; then classification and comparison, then choice,—selection and rejection—in invention or design. In ancient types of design much drawing was dispensed with, except that used in actual execution of a determined design, and the preliminary mode of analysis was entirely mental and subjective, along with the conception of proportion. This became objective only as it was translated by craft into form and colour of the slowly materialising want of art.

The creative instinct is more strongly developed in some children than in others. All one can do is to discover the talent where it does exist, and then to develop it scientifically. There are few children who lack entirely some ability in this direction, which proves how general and deep seated is the creative instinct. That it is not more often developed usefully implies a serious defect in our educational system. Artistic creative talent emerges more easily among the workers than in the "possessing class". As the craftsmen of the land they can the more easily become the artists, just as the mediæval goldsmiths easily became painters and sculptors.

The fine results which proceeded from the mediæval system of art training demand close study of their psychology. Craftsmanship was the first, and almost the only part, that was specifically taught: the remainder was educed

by the public social encouragement of the creative instinct. Imitation was confined to examples done to gain craft skill, when the individual rapidly imposed his personal expression on the commonly held processes of this school.

Craft is thus seen as the intelligent but mechanical manipulation of material, either empirical and experimental, or scientific and exact, in order to accomplish certain definite ends. It can be taught thoroughly and rapidly to those of normal intelligence, if scientifically applied, and be absorbed in a quarter of the time needed for empirical experiment.

The function of tuition is thus primarily to avert all useless experiment, and next to give, as far as possible, all round craft experience. Every artist has to start anew, to learn his material, his method, and his art. Not so the scientist, who after a general survey, has merely to select his speciality and memorize the work of his predecessors, practically beginning where they left off. Yet true science begins only with discovery and invention, and the mere manipulator of other men's brains is only an engineer or a mechanic, a chemist or a builder. True art arises only with discovery and invention, as "design", with expression of the creative mind, rising above craft, secure in skilled handling of material and method. It can only exist where the faculty of choice in labour is exercised, and where this is banished art goes with it.

National education is bound up with the national arts, and mental balance with both. There can be no wide appreciation of art forms and forces unless provision is open for experience in the enjoyment of all kinds of art among the great masses of the people, without whose active sympathy art will remain petty in aim and provincial in form. The whole creative instinct lying almost dormant in so many of the people must be awakened by the skilful hand of wise education; for the only arts of living use to the people will be those produced by them and for them. And, the greatest of all, there must arise in their hearts a changed ideal of life, from the unreality of material wealth to that of the wealth of the wise, so that the sun of art may not shine in vain.

By MR. A. S. WADIA, M.A.

A hundred years ago the age of steam had just commenced and we now know how it has bound this globe of ours many times over with its steel rails and pressed half of humanity in its iron service. Likewise a century hence the world will be dotted all over with pin-heads of air-masts and aerodromes and the air itself will vibrate night and day with the throb of thousands upon thousands of aeroplanes. Their criss-cross flights would dim the sunlight over towns during the day and at night the heavenly constellation itself would pale before the brighter constellation of thousands of moving red, white and blue points of their lights. But on a gala-night the procession of illumined air-ships and aeroplanes will fill the heavens with such a fantasy of fairy lights as to make the brightest vision from the Arabian Nights appear beside it but a gaudy dream. Railways and steamers in those days will be picturesque relics just as mailcoaches and sailing-ships are in ours, and like the latter will be relegated to a backward position and used only for mere subsidiary and

The Machine helped by scientific research will have by then so far perfected itself that

not only it will have increased our present productive capacity a hundredfold but, what is more, it will have taken upon itself all the most tedious and dehumanising elements in the manufacturing Processes of our time and so become in reality what it was always intended to be, the general drudge and common slave of mankind. And it is these tedious and dehumanising elements lying concealed in the manufacturing processes of our time that have been the real cause of all our past labour troubles and the potent source of all our present class ill-will. As in all ways of life, where we gain on one side we are bound to lose on the other, so with the gradual removal of these debasing elements and the steady expansion of our manufacturing capacity there will necessarily arise conditions which will lead to a vast increase of the world's population and create a growing passion for enervating pleasures and more luxurious modes of life. In other words, life being made the more easy by the perfected machine and more hurried by the subjugated air, it will naturally become more complex and vastly difficult. To counter-balance these tendencies the newly-launched idea of birth-control will be then legally recognised and widely practised and the ancient ideals of simplicity and art will once more take hold of the human mind with the consequence that the then growing cult of pleasure and luxury will be, to borrow a term of the psycho-analyst, sublimated into nobler channels.

From the time of Lao-tze and Pythagoras down to Tolstoi and Gandhi of our own days, every great world-teacher and founder of religion has taught in one form or another the great creed of Simplicity. And Simplicity, truly so-called, does not fight shy of complexity any more than Spirituality, truly so-called, fights shy of matter. On the contrary, it lives in and through complexity. In other words, the true creed of Simplicity does not ignore or avoid complexity but boldly meets it and tries to overcome it by organising out of its intricate maze of manifestations a broader and a more comprehensive and so a simpler mode of thought, word, and action. In this great mission of hers, Simplicity will have been largely helped by the psychologist and the physiologist. "The past century" says H. G. Wells, "has been the supreme century of material achievement: the present and the twenty-first will be the great fruiting and

harvesting time of psychological and physiological sciences."

But no creed of simplicity, helped as it may be by the researches of psychologists and physiologists, will ever by itself meet the rich and varied wants of the complex human mind. Besides there is always the danger of simplicity degenerating into mere insipidity as the great Khaddar movement of Gandhi is fast doing in India. To save her from such a degeneration, as also to supply the complex needs of the human mind, Simplicity will have to call to her aid Art. And no stauncher ally could Simplicity find to further her own ends than Art—that great revealer and preserver of all that is highest, noblest, and simplest in the heart and impulse of man.

And Art in the 21st century will be no rare luxury as it now is, nor will it be the possession of the cultured few or the pastime of the common many, but it will be a common necessity, open to all and sought by all. Art will have then once more thrown off its present rich garment and stepped down from its present high pedestal, and assuming the simple garb of all and being produced in the sight of all, will have entered the common life of all and become the valued possession of all, as it was in the best days of Greek and Gothic art. In those great days of its existence, Art was the handmaid and exponent of Religion, and so will it be in the century to come, when Religion will have again simplified itself into a few basic beliefs of common utility and universal validity. Nor will Religion then be at loggerheads with Science as she now is, but both will employ their best energies in the quest of the Absolute, the one in revealing, the other in realising the Mystical Heart of Things. And Science will have taken vast strides by then and harnessed most of the free energy of the world that is now going waste, such as atmospheric electricity, tidal power, solar and atomic energy. As coal has now mostly replaced wood and as oil is fast replacing coal, so electricity derived from natural forces, harnessed and conserved, will in those days wholly replace wood, coal and oil.

One great effect of such a replacement would be that we shall have purer atmosphere to breathe and cleaner cities to live in. The cities will not only be more clean than but less noisy. As we have at present legislation against smoke nuisance, we shall then have against all avoid-

able noise, and rubber will be most extensively used on the road and railways to do away with the bare possibility of noise and thus make an immense saving in the present criminal waste of human nerve-power. Science will have by then discovered not only the cures but the preventives of "the thousand shocks that flesh is heir to." But with this wide expansion of scientific power, men will have also invented vast forces of destruction, of which we are given only a glimpse now and again. The other day Edison declared that it was quite possible to discover a gas in the laboratory which would lay waste London in less than four hours. By then, however, the League of Humanity will have so far established its rule and authority over all the peoples of the world that any such recrudescence of ancient bellicose tendencies among any group of people would be dealt with by the International Court of Justice, just as any recrudence of feudalistic warfare and tribal disputes would be dealt with in our present national courts of judicature as common felony and their perpetrators punished as ordinary criminals. The present national armies and navies will be then converted into an armed police force of the world which will keep watch and ward over the land and seas of the world in internationalised airships and acroplanes, the movements of which will be wholly directed by the wireless. In fact, the world communication will be mainly carried on by the wireless ray, which will bring the image of persons half the world across and make them talk to us as if in our very presence. and Psychical Research will have by then so far advanced that communication with the dead will not be as at present the pursuit of the curious and the credulous but a matter of scientific certainty and human necessity.

Another great change will be that our pre-

sent prisons and penitentiaries will be converted into social reformatories and mental institutes where the criminal will no longer be looked upon as a wilful decadent of society deserving social ostracism and condign punishment, but will be treated as a mentally defective and morally deficient delinquent who, by certain restrictions put on his movements and being provided with regular work, food and exercise, was to be gradually won back from his wild, irresponsible ways to a life of decency and discipline and if possible of good citizenship. Crime being invariably due to the perversion of natural aptitudes and misdirection of natural gifts, the primary duty of these institutes will be to find out the natural bent of the criminal and then consign him such work as would put to the best use the qualities with which he is endowed by nature.

The criminal's harmful proclivities being thus turned to work suited to the natural bent of his mind and useful to society at large, the working man's energy being directed into channels less exacting and more interesting processes of production, the capitalist being won back by the creed of Simplicity and Art from his present ineffectual extravagance and class selfishness, the nations of the world having outgrown national creeds and colour-prejudices, most of the free energies of nature being harnessed and the world knit closer by a net-work of air services and radio communications, the cures and preventives being found for the ills of the flesh, the despair and gloom of the grave being lightened by definite knowledge and direct contact, and with Science and Religion marching hand in hand, Humanity will lead a cleaner and healthier, a less selfish and factious and a more helpful and harmonious life A Hundred Years Hence.

“THE SPEAKER” OR THE PRESIDENT OF A LEGISLATURE.*

By MR. MUKANDI LAL, B.A. (Oxon.), BAR-AT-LAW, M.L.C.

The recent elections of non-official Presidents in the Indian Assembly and the Provincial Councils have marked an epoch in India. Every deliberative body in which people meet to discuss and decide matters of public importance needs an officer to guide and control its deliberations. The parliaments and legislatures in all modern constitutions have their Speakers or Presidents. The Indian legislatures—both central and provincial—similarly, have their Presidents. For the first four years, since 1921, they were to be the creation of the Executive. Now they are all elected by the Legislatures of the various provinces and the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Indian Council of State is the one exception—it is doomed perpetually to a nominated President. The office of the President is of great importance. Much dignity, prerogative and authority are naturally attached to it. In the choice of the President the Legislatures have to be guided by highest motives of public service rather than by party considerations. All parties within the legislature are equally interested in the choice of the President. He must be the most competent available man, and qualified for his task by experience of public affairs, knowledge of the world, an imperturbable temperament, apart from possessing ability for exercising powers of control and strength of character. It may be said at once that the choice of the Indian legislatures has been, on the whole, well exercised.

II.

As nearly all the modern legislatures have, in choosing Presidents, more or less copied as their model, the Speaker of the British House of Commons, with necessary local variations, I confine myself in this disquisition mainly to the history and the functions of the holder of that office and will make but casual references to

any other constitution, as I hold the British Speaker as the ideal umpire of a debating and legislative body. But no other legislature has imitated the British example in toto. I am also aware of some of the disadvantages of the British system and convention, the greatest being that a politician and statesman of first rank does not come forward to take the office, for it he does his political talents and forensic powers are buried in the chair—the statesman commits political suicide, as it were. He is gagged. He becomes a political nonentity, in spite of his being “the first commoner of the land” and notwithstanding the dignity and power attached to the office. True, some of the greatest constitutional historians and the best constitutional lawyers have occupied the chair of the Speaker. But so far as I am aware no politician of ministerial rank or leader of a political party has ever come forward to accept the office. I know of only one case in which a statesman, who had occupied ministerial offices in several cabinets and who was destined to become the Prime Minister, desired the office of the Speaker. He also wanted to do so only because he wanted to retire from the political arena; and was then in his 59th year. In his *Studies and Sketches* Lord Oxford has recorded that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman “to the surprise of his colleagues, in the spring of 1895, let it be known that he desired the vacant Speakership, to which he would without doubt have been elected without opposition.” Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman wrote to Sir W. Harcourt: “My ambitions do not permanently lie, nor do my powers, in a fighting direction.” But all his colleagues and even Queen Victoria vetoed his proposal and Sir Henry was spared to be elected the Leader of the Liberal Party in 1899, and to be nominated the Prime Minister in 1905. So the Fates are fickle!

The British tradition and convention have not been followed in any country to the letter. The American constitution, is, in a way, the first and the most faithful reproduction of the

*Enlarged and rewritten text, especially for the *Hindustan Review*, of a series of articles contributed to the *Hindustan Times*.

British parliamentary system. But while “the title and attributions of the Speaker of the House of Representatives are”—we are told by Bryce in his *American Commonwealth*—“taken from his famous English original, the character of the office has greatly altered from the original.” In fact in some respects the appurtenances of the American office are diametrically opposed to the British. And the American Speaker acts—as we shall see later—quite contrary to British tradition. Similarly, in France, in the words of Bryce in his *Modern Democracies* “this high functionary resembles the Speaker of the American House of Representatives rather than the Speaker of the British House of Commons, for he is not expected to display that absolute impartiality which is the distinguishing note of the latter, and he may rebuke, sometimes with pungent sarcasm, deputies whose language he disapproves. Custom has allowed him to favour, yet with due regard to fair play, the party to which he belonged before his elevation.” The Speaker of the French Chamber of Deputies has, in recent years ceased to intervene in debates. He keeps his eye on his political future. He often aspires to become the President of the Republic, or he may be called any day to leave the chair and form the ministry. Thus he does not cease to be a party man by accepting the chair. In a British Dominion—I refer to Australia—the Speaker like the British Speaker is expected to be an impartial chairman, yet is chosen afresh, in each Parliament, from the dominant party. So it is clear that each legislature has evolved and developed its own system in choosing its Speaker.

III.

Now, the question is: What system should India follow? It will be obviously too much to presume that the Indian constitution of the future is going to be the replica of this or that constitution, however good the model may be. Every constitution is bound to shape itself according to its local conditions and political exigencies, and the environments existing and ideals prevailing amongst the people who have the making and shaping of it. So, however much I would have liked the Indian Presidents to walk in the footsteps of the Speaker of the House of Commons I am constrained to hold that the Indian Legislatures, while keeping in

view and profiting by the British tradition, will evolve a new convention and tradition of their own. And though I do not pretend to prophesy I am of opinion that Indian Presidents are likely to follow the French custom with the modification that so long as they choose to occupy the chair they must be strictly impartial and abstain from intervening in the debates except to conduct the business and expound the law and rules. I would forbid them to render any help to their own party and whatever information they have to impart as to rules and constitutional law must be placed at the disposal of the whole house. But the Indian President need not cut himself off from his party, nor turn his back on the political arena. When the Legislature is not in session he may, if he choose, take part within reasonable limits in politics. And if ever his party or the head of the administration, calls upon him either to lead the party or to join the ministry he should be at liberty to do so. If he is content with the office of the President, and he discharges his duties and exercises his prerogatives to the satisfaction of all political parties, there is no reason why he may not be elected over and over again. Although I cannot help betraying my partiality for the British tradition on constitutional grounds and reiterate that I should have liked the Indian Speaker not to depart from it even by an inch, yet in the present circumstances of our country, I do not think it would be advisable to imitate the British Speaker's traditions in all details.

I should like an Indian lawyer politician of the first rank to come forward, on all occasions in future to accept the chair. And if he is not barred from playing his part in the politics of his country, we shall find men of outstanding merits and eminence coming forward to take office. On the other hand, the experience the President would gain in guiding the deliberations and the leisure that he would have to study the political questions and to enrich his stock of knowledge will stand him in good stead, whenever he is called upon to join the Government and serve as a Minister. Lastly the number, at present, of men of outstanding merits in the political arena being limited, it will be advisable to have a wider field for choice which we can have only by giving greater liberty to the Indian President than his British prototype. We should choose the best man available within the Legislature. Although the

Legislature can easily get rid of a President whom they find undesirable (by either passing a vote of no-confidence in him or by not electing him a second time) the future of the President himself will depend on the manner in which he conducts the business of the House and his impartiality and his judicial acumen. Our countrymen have long since distinguished themselves in every walk of life, open to them so far, and I have every reason to hope that Indian Speakers will furnish the world examples of ideal Presidents who will extort admiration for their august impartiality, powers for the exposition of constitutional principles, thorough familiarity with parliamentary procedure, judicial temperament and firmness in conducting the proceedings of their legislature. But for local differences, I have no doubt that the ideal for the President of a legislative body in India is to be found in the Speaker of the British House of Commons.

IV.

It is a moot question whether the House of Commons had a Speaker before 1376. However, the first mention of the Speaker we find in 1376, in the reign of Edward III, when Sir Thomas Hungerford was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. In the mediæval period the Speaker was always elected by the Commons from amongst themselves, but his election had to be confirmed by the Crown. And though the King never appointed the Speaker, yet the choice was invariably influenced by the King. And in that semi-servile age he was in a way the advocate of the King in the House. He received favours from the King. He received £ 100 from the Crown and even held offices under the Crown—Mr. Speaker Bell was the King's Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Similarly, in the times of the Tudors and the Stuarts the Speaker was practically the King's spokesman and champion of the Crown. As such he had to be servile to the King. Some Speakers disliked that servility and declined to take the chair; therefore it became the custom, for sometime, that the Speaker had to be carried bodily to be seated in the chair. This custom was abolished by one of the greatest Speakers, Onslow, who occupied the chair for 34 years, from 1727 to 1761. In those days, when Parliament itself was servile to the King, the Speakers who held King's offices could not do otherwise. The Speaker had to explain bills on behalf of the King, and he often disallowed

bills on the pretence of being derogatory to the King's prerogative. The modern period which dates from 1830 restored independence and authority to the Speaker. In 1830 he was finally purged of the King's influence and became, in its true sense, the champion and the spokesman of the Commons—though some of the earlier Speakers—like the famous Lentenhall in the reign of Charles I—were as independent as any of the later times.

The Speaker's rank is second to that of the Lord President of the Council. But among the Commoners he ranks first, that is to say, he is the first Commoner of Great Britain. Similarly, in the United States, the Speaker comes next to the President, and may even officiate for him, in a case of emergent vacancy. Following the tradition of Great Britain and America, the Presidents of the Indian Provincial Legislatures ought, in my opinion, to occupy the second position to the Governor and the President of the Assembly should rank second only to the Viceroy. In addition to the yearly salary of £ 5,000—free from all taxes—and an annual life pension of £4,000 accompanied by peerage on retirement, the Speaker of the Commons is given an official residence in the Westminster Palace, besides £1,000 for equipment, and £ 100 for stationery. According to an ancient custom he used to receive from the Cloth-workers' Company broad-cloth at Christmas time; and from the Royal Park at Windsor a buck and a doe till 1839, when those presents were discontinued. Up to 1832 the Speaker was also allowed to take away the chair he occupied, at the end of each session. The responsibility of the Speaker was twofold. On the one hand, he was in the olden days responsible for the offences of the Commons to the outside world and, on the other, responsible to the Commons for breach of privileges of the Commons by outsiders. Speaker Thorpe was imprisoned in 1452 "at the suit of the Duke of York," although he was released, on appeal, the judges holding that the court of Parliament was a superior court, "for it is so high and so mighty, in its nature that it may make a law, and that is law it may make no law." In this case the Speaker was made the scapegoat for the sins of the Commoners. The Speaker's responsibility to the members was more effective and real. He acted as their advocate and executive officer. The Austrian writer, Redleich, perhaps the greatest foreign student

of British parliamentary procedure, says of the Speaker that he is the “sole representative of Commons to the outside world.” Speaker Onslow ordered a man into custody who had pressed upon him in the Westminster Hall. Speaker Sir Edward Seymour seized Mr. Sergeant Pemberton, M.P., and delivered him into custody. Mr. Murray, another member of the House, was brought to the bar of the House in 1750 and declared “guilty of high treason and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the House” for having refused to kneel at the bar of the House. He was compelled to kneel but on rising he was distinctly heard to mutter between his teeth: “what a d—d dirty place, forsooth”!

In 1621 Mr. Floyde had spoken offensive words concerning the King’s daughter and her husband for which the Commons and their Speaker “sentenced Floyde to pay a fine of £1,000, to stand twice in the pillory and to ride backwards on a horse, with the horse’s tail in his hand.” That was an act of the servile Parliament, although the Commons soon realised their mistake and releasing Floyde left the matter to be dealt with by the Lords. But the Lords “exceeded even bounds of decency” and ordered him not to carry arms as a gentleman and to ride twice to the pillory with his face to the horse’s tail and be branded with the letter ‘K’ (which stood for “knave”) on his forehead, and to be whipped at cart-tail and fined £5,000! Similarly, in 1666, Thomas White was fined by the Commons £1,000 for having absconded after he had been ordered to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms.

V.

In the United States the Speaker of the House of Representatives gets as against £5,000 of the British Speaker 12,000 dollars per month which in Indian money is equivalent to Rs. 3,125. The clerk of the House of Commons gets £2,000 a year and the Chairman of the committee of ways and means gets £2,500 per annum, whereas the members of Parliament get only £400 per annum. In India the question of the salary of ministers and councillors has been in the forefront ever since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. Before the Reforms came into force Indian politicians stood for equal salary for the Executive Councillors and the Ministers. When the Ministers were appointed the politicians began to ask for a lower salary for

the Ministers. But the latter and their supporters said that they must get the same amount as the Councillors, because of the theory of the equality of the status, as if the status depended on pay! However, a maximum of Rs. 3,000/- per month should be decent salary for the Ministers, as well as the Executive Councillors, so long as there is not a general lowering of pay all round. The Indian Legislative Assembly has decided to pay its President Rs. 4,000 a month. The Punjab, Bengal and Bombay Legislative Councils have agreed to pay their Presidents Rs. 3,000/-. The United Provinces, Madras, and Behar and Orissa Councils have fixed the Presidents’ salary at Rs. 2,000 per month, the Central Provinces at Rs. 1,000 and Assam at Rs. 500/- I do not think that the difference in pay will make any difference in their status and dignity, except that so long as the Presidents have to meet and exchange social amenities with highly-paid officials and do good deal of entertaining those paid less than Rs. 2,000 a month will feel the pinch of their low salary. It may be noticed here that these salaries have been fixed as provided in the Government of India Act, 1919 by the Legislative Assembly and the provincial legislative councils not by adopting resolutions on the subject but by the more formal process of enactment. If there were a general, all-round, lowering of pay amongst the holders of high offices in this country, I too have suggested a smaller salary for the President than that fixed in many of the provinces and the Assembly. But since I should not like the President to engage into any trade or profession, it is so enacted or held to be by convention and because he will have to keep a decent establishment and discharge his social functions towards the members of the Legislative Council, one should not grudge him a decent salary. In this respect the Assembly and the Legislatures of the Punjab, Bombay and Bengal have set a good example, which might have been followed by the others with advantage.

The President of a Legislature, in theory, occupies a position but next to the Chief Officer or the Executive Head of a State or a Province; and nobody can gainsay that his office carries with it as much importance and influence if not more as that of a Minister. There is no case known where a Minister had changed places with the Speaker for the love of it or because of the Speaker’s occupying the rank second to the head

of the State. A politician devoted to literary pursuit and desirous of leisure and rest might do so, but no ambitious worker and fighter would prefer the Speaker's office to that of a Minister. In India, we may very well look for a politician of pre-eminence and high position accepting the President's office, but we will have perforce to be content, in most cases, with a man of average ability and learning. Just as we should be prepared in our country to find the average Minister chosen by the Governor, so in the case of our Presidents we should be content for long years with men of average ability, sound common sense, and legal training but a whole-time officer of the legislature. On this last point Sir Fredrick Whyte delivered himself as follows from the presidential chair of the Legislative Assembly, when the President's Salaries Bill was under discussion :—"I am very glad, indeed, to find a general opinion throughout the Assembly that the occupant of the Chair should be a whole-time officer in the sense that, when the Assembly is not actually sitting, he should either be explicitly excluded by Statute or by the established convention of the House from taking part in any public activity which can possibly impair his impartiality in the Chair. That is the very marrow of his function as President."

VI.

Roughly speaking, the Congress of the United States is modelled on the British Parliament. And one would naturally expect that America would have no objection in following the tradition and convention of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Yet the Speaker of the House of Representatives is in many respects dissimilar from the Speaker of the Commons. The American Speaker is always a party man and wields great political power; exercising it in favour of his party openly. According to the highest authority, Bryce: "In America the Speaker has great political power, and is permitted, nay expected, to use it in the interest of his party. At one time he ruled and led almost as Rouher led and ruled the French Chamber under Louis Napoleon. In calling upon members to speak he prefers those of his own side. He decides in their favour such points of order as are not distinctly covered by the rules. His authority over the arrangement of business is so large that he can frequently advance or postpone particular Bills or motions in a way which

determines their fate. One much-respected Speaker once went the length of intimating that he would not allow a certain Bill, to which he strongly objected, to be so much as presented to the House; and this he could do by refusing to recognise the member desiring to present it." In January 1790 the Congress passed the following rule: "All committees shall be appointed by the Speaker unless otherwise specially directed by the House". This gave such power to the Speaker that he became the most important and most influential political figure in American politics next to the President, as the American government is really and practically a government through committees. There are 64 committees of the House of Representatives, through which Bills are shaped, pushed forward or butchered and see no more the light of the day. And no wonder that the man who used to appoint the members to these committees was bound to be one who would "affect the course of legislation more than any other single person." Although in 1910 the power of appointing members to the various committees was taken away from the American Speaker, yet his power and authority even now are second only to that of the President. And that is why in the words of Bryce "the choice of a Speaker is a political event of much significance; and the whole policy of a Congress sometimes turns upon whether the man selected represents one or another of the two divergent tendencies in the majority." Bryce goes so far as to say that until 1910 it was "no exaggeration to call him the second political figure in the United States with an influence upon the fortunes of men and the course of domestic events superior, in ordinary times and in capable hands, to the President." And it is thus not surprising that "he is often the most eminent member of the party who has a seat in the House, and is really, so far as the confidential direction of its policy goes, almost its leader." He is *par excellence* a party man and a staunch partisan of the majority. And no wonder his election is 'the most exciting part of business of each new House. Such is the power and position of the Speaker of the United States, whom the Constitution of the country mentions casually only once!

So far I have given the opinion of a foreign observer who was admittedly the greatest exponent of the American constitution. Now I would refer to the opinion of a distinguished

American constitutional writer and one who himself had been twice the President of the United States. President Wilson in his *Congressional Government* rightly says: “The Speaker of the House of Representatives is the most powerful functionary of that system.” “His power mostly lies in his prerogative of appointing standing committees which do all the legislative work of the Congress and in whose hands lie the fate of all Bills. He unhesitatingly acts as the legislative chief of his party, organizing the committees in the interest of this or that policy, openly and confidently as one who does his duty

....He must see to it that committees have their own way.” It is for this reason that in America the Speaker is next in influence only to the President. In his later work, *Constitutional Government* President Wilson wrote that the Speaker is almost an autocratic master who not only appoints all committees but controls their action, in addition to guiding the debates and regulating the proceedings. Such are the fundamental differences in practice between the functions of the British Speaker and his American prototype. That very great authority—Bryce—sums up the position of the Speaker, in party politics, in the following words:—“The note of the Speaker of the British House of Commons is his impartiality. He has indeed been chosen by a party, because a majority means a party. But on his way from his place on the benches to the chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies. Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinion, and must administer exactly the same treatment to his political friends and to those who have been hitherto his opponents, to the oldest or most powerful Minister and to the youngest or least popular member. His duties are limited to the enforcement of the rules and generally to the maintenance of order and decorum in debate, including the selection, when several members rise at the same moment, of the one who is to carry on the discussion. These are duties of great importance, and his position one of great dignity, but neither the duties nor the position imply political power. It makes little difference to any party in Parliament whether the occupant of the chair has come from their own or from the hostile ranks.”

So much is this tradition adhered to in practice that its net result is not only the absolute and rigid impartiality of the Speaker to friends and

opponents alike but also the practical disenfranchisement of the constituency which he represents in the House of Commons. This latter point is vividly brought into relief in a standard work on parliamentary government—Porrit’s *The Unreformed House of Commons* (vol I, p. 481)—which would bear reproduction:—“The Speaker’s constituents not only do not go to the poll; they cannot, according to present-day usages, call on their representative to vote either for or against any measure which may be before Parliament. As the Speaker never meets his constituents to discuss politics, one of the chief means of present-day political education is lost to them. Political organisation is suspended in a Speaker’s constituency, for a present-day Speaker has no need of any local party organisation to secure his return, even if he deemed it proper to contribute to party funds. The newspapers in the constituency have necessarily to refrain from criticism or comment on the parliamentary conduct of its representative; and in nearly all the essentials, which go to make representation the constituency is unrepresented, in the constituency represented by the Speaker of to-day political life is dormant; for all its outward activities, as they concern both political education and local political organisation, are suspended. But no constituency complains or frets under its temporary and peculiar political disabilities. It is honoured in the honour done by the House of Commons and the country to its representative.” It seems clear that the same result is very likely to come about in India. For instance it has been announced that the Hon’ble Mr. Patel—the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly—has severed his connection with the Swaraj Executive (though still nominally belonging to the Swaraj party) and thus to all intents and purposes his constituency is disenfranchised. A similar state of affairs is bound to come to exist in the various Provinces also.

VII.

The extracts quoted above from Bryce and Porrit are to us highly instructive. The British Speaker may have been the staunchest partisan of his party before election. But the moment he is elected the Speaker, he commits a sort of political suicide and becomes a non-party man. He ceases to belong to any party. A custom has grown up which forbids him from giving even private advice to his old associates

and whatever he has to contribute by way of information or ruling or law he places at the disposal of all the members of the House. That is why the same Speaker is elected over and over again, even though the party to which he originally belonged, may no longer be in power. There is only one case in which a Speaker was passed over and not re-elected. Mr. Manners Sutton, who had been re-elected in 1832, was passed over by the Whigs in 1835. In the 19th century, in 1841, 1874, 1886 and 1891 although the majority from his party passed to another party, yet the Speaker was re-elected even by his opponents. In a hundred years of the 19th century there were only three Tory Speakers, while there were six Liberals. In the same century the shortest period for which a Speaker remained in the chair was nine years and the longest eighteen, though in the preceding century one Speaker, Onslow, occupied the chair for thirty-four years (from 1727 to 1761). This is all due to the fact that, in the words of Redlich, "the Speaker's office is synonym for dignity and impartiality all over the Anglo-Saxon world." It is very likely that Indian traditions will be modelled on the British.

In the United States Congress the Speaker still takes part in the committee stages of Bills. On the Continent, in some legislatures, the Speaker takes part in debates in open and full sittings. But in the House of Commons the Speaker, in recent times, has not taken part in debates of the full House in session, though in committees he may still do so, if he thinks it called for. But in earlier times some Speakers took a prominent part in debates. For instance, Speaker Glanville, in 1640, opposed the grant of subsidies to the King. Sir Fletcher Norton spoke strongly on the influence of the Crown, in 1780. Speaker Grenville, in 1790, argued at length on the abatement on an impeachment at the dissolution of Parliament. On several occasions Speaker Abbot took part in committee debates; to give but one illustration of his combative and debating habit in 1813 he carried an amendment to exclude the Roman Catholics from Parliament. And in consequence the Bill was dropped. In 1834, Speaker Sutton opposed the bill to admit Dissenters to universities. In 1856 Speaker Lefevre spoke on the management of the British Museum. The last and most important case is that of Speaker Denison who spoke in the committee and voted on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill in

support of a clause exempting horses kept for husbandry from the licence duty. Thus we find that there is no rule or law to forbid the Speaker from taking part in the committees; yet it has become the convention and since 1856 the Speaker has never taken any part in the deliberation of the House. And it is a sound and useful convention, indeed. The last occasion when the Speaker (bewigged and begowned) was seen walking into the division lobby to record his vote, was so far back as 1870. He has never done so since.

VIII.

The duties of the Speaker of the Commons are given by Sir Thomas Erskine May, in his *Parliamentary Practice*, in the following words:—"He presides over the deliberations of the House and enforces the observance of all rules for preserving order in its proceedings; he puts every question and declares the determination of the House. As the mouthpiece of the House, he communicates its resolutions to others; conveys its thanks and expresses its censure, its reprimands or its admonitions. He issues warrants to execute the orders of the House, for the commitment of offenders, for the issue of writs, for the attendance of witness in custody, for the bringing up of prisoners in custody, and giving effect to other orders requiring the sanction of legal form. He is, in fact the representative of the House itself, in its powers, its proceedings and its dignity." Even in these respects the Speaker in America has much more power than the Speaker of the House of Commons. He is not only responsible for the enforcement of the rules, rights and the privileges of the American parliament, but it is he who is to judge whether a bill or motion or question should be allowed to be moved or put or not. He rules out of order any member, at will. The British Speaker communicates to the House letters or communications or documents sent to him as Speaker, though he is not obliged to read them. All Speakers have to disallow irrelevant remarks and repress repetition and deal summarily with dilatory motions. The Speaker may decline to count the House. The Speaker suppresses disorder in the House by ordering the member disobeying to withdraw. The duties and powers of the Speaker were assigned and conferred to meet the obstructive tactics of irrepressible members. In India the duties of the Presidents of our

Legislatures are similar to those of the Speaker of the Commons, in so far as the regulation of business, its control and guidance is concerned. The interpretation of rules, admission of questions and motions or resolutions, according to rules laid down for the transaction of business, and the conduct of the business of the day, are his primary functions.

We have now surveyed, consistently with brevity, the history, duties, responsibilities and privileges of the Speaker's very exalted office, with a view to bring into relief the question of his absolute independence of the executive, in the absence of which any reference to the

impartiality of the Chair would not be worth a farthing. In Britain the Speaker emerged, by stages, from subservience to the Crown to complete independence and we know how (when Charles I burst into the House of Commons, escorted by soldiers, to demand the immediate arrest of five recalcitrant members, in opposition to the Crown) the famous Speaker Lenthall faced His Majesty,—refused to yield to his mandate, and uttered the well-known historic utterance which established once for all the victory of the Commons over the Crown. May it be that Indian Presidents will display equal independence of the Executive!

A GREAT JOURNALIST'S REMINISCENCES OF THIRTY YEARS.

By "A FREE LANCE."

Of the many volumes of reminiscences, recollections, confessions, impressions, autobiographies, and memoirs—with which the reading public has been deluged of late, not always to its advantage—there is none of greater historical importance and intenser interest than *Through Thirty Years* (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) written by Mr. Wickham Steed, whose position and achievements in the world of journalism have pre-eminently qualified him to produce a work of abiding interest. The famous ex-editor of the *Times*, in this absorbing story of thirty years of his life, gives us both personal reminiscences and political history. He begins with his struggle (in the early nineties of the last century) as a young journalist, and as he progresses steadily towards his goal, we get a series of vivid glimpses of momentous European events, many aspects of which until now have been secret history. Various aspects of the book will appeal to readers of different temperaments and tastes. One of the most interesting parts of the book is that which deals with Mr. Steed's work with Lord Northcliffe during the Great War; here he tells of battles on every front, meetings with allied military and political leaders, and his account of the

Peace Conference is given in such detail that we are able to understand, as never before, the incredible difficulties and endless intrigues that confronted those who were working for a satisfactory settlement. Readers in India, however, are more likely to be interested in the many anecdotes, descriptions of historical incidents, and witty conversations, which abound in Mr. Steed's fascinating memoirs. Of the anecdotes, one of the best is the one reporting a conversation between the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Baron Sonnino of Italy. Mr. Chamberlain told the Baron, "There is, in fact, only one race that I despise—the Jews. Sir, they are physical cowards." Baron Sonnino himself was the son of a Jew and would not take the attack lying down. "You are wrong about the Jews," he told Mr. Chamberlain. "They are not cowards. They showed great courage in the wars of our Risorgimento. Even if they were cowards, who could blame them? Have they not been persecuted, downtrodden, reviled, kicked and cuffed without hope of redress for nearly two thousand years? That would be enough to make cowards of any people." Mr. Steed tells us: "Looking hard at Sonnino's face, which was of a refined and

handsome but distinct Jewish type, Chamberlain took in the position immediately. Very dexterously he retracted his *faux pas*, admitted the force of Sonnino's argument, and changed the subject. Revilers of the weaknesses, which subject races are apt to betray, should bear in mind the moral of Baron Sonnino's defence of the Jews. But we shall leave anecdotes alone.

Mr. Wickham Steed, is undoubtedly one of the foremost living journalists, who crowned a distinguished career by occupying the editorial chair of the *Times*, and is at present the editor of the *Review of Reviews*. The furore roused in the press by the publication of his recollections last year—recording as it did many secret incidents and sensational events—can well be imagined. The story that, during one specially stormy dispute at the Peace Conference, Mr. Lloyd George so far forgot himself as to seize M. Clemenceau by the collar, and that President Wilson had to intervene to keep peace, naturally attracted attention to the new book on every side, but this sensational disclosure has had the effect of withdrawing attention from a large number of other statements not only quite as interesting but perhaps far more important. Before, however, we draw attention to some of them, we shall quote the alleged scuffle incident. In view of the tremendous fuss that has been made over it, the actual passage descriptive of the alleged *contretemps* is by no means alarming. It occurs on page 330 of the second volume, and is recorded as follows:—"The Council of Four was thus reduced to a Council of Three. In the meantime, fresh trouble arose between the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Americans over the Shantung question, and further contestations between the Belgians and the Allies over the question of Belgian priority in regard to reparation payments, and the Belgian claims to Dutch Limburg. Between Clemenceau and Lloyd George there was also a scene in the Council of Three, Clemenceau accusing Lloyd George so flatly of repeated inaccuracy of statement that Lloyd George rose, seized him by the collar, and demanded an apology. After Wilson had separated them, Clemenceau offered Lloyd George reparation with pistols or sword,—as soon as he should have acquired a domicile in Paris,—and, in the meantime, refused to apologize."

It is, indeed, an interesting story, but unfortunately both the alleged combatants have denied the accuracy of it and, as Mr. Steed does

not claim to have seen the encounter, their statements have to be accepted. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that on more occasions than one Mr. Steed's disclosures of sensational incidents have had to be acknowledged as correct—even after repeated disavowals from quarters usually entitled to credit. It is not necessary to recall these assertions and denials and final admissions of truth, but the facts are undeniable. For this reason it will not do for an unbiassed critic to dismiss Mr. Steed's story of the George-Clemenceau incident casually. But apart from "stories" Mr. Steed's book is highly interesting and exceedingly valuable since it is, as the author himself says in his preface, "a story of international public life in the past thirty years." Though cast by the veteran publicist in the form of an autobiography, the book is a rich contribution to the secret history of contemporary international affairs by one who is admittedly one of the best-informed and most experienced of living journalists. As Mr. Steed himself writes of his book: "Its justification is that, as far as I am aware, no other writer or journalist enjoyed, during that period, quite the same opportunities as those that good fortune gave me to observe men and things in and beyond Europe."

II.

Mr. Steed opens his autobiography with his university days. Having entered life as a youth he soon found out his mistake and, resolved to qualify himself for journalism, he left England for Jena in Germany, in 1892. Here he settled down to study Philosophy and Economics. But instead of taking in Germany his doctor's degree, Mr. Steed says he knew "that presently I should have my living to earn, and that a knowledge of French and of France would be at least as valuable as a knowledge of Germany and German." Accordingly he repaired to France, therefore, and took admission into the University of Paris in 1893. In 1895 his interview with M. Millerand caught the eye of the newspaper-reading public, and he got an offer to contribute regularly to the *New York World* and it was then and thus that his life's work began. From this time onwards his success was marvellous and his reputation as a journalist rose by leaps and bounds, till he became so well-known for his grasp of European affairs that he was treated as a confidential adviser on many occasions by the late King

Edward VII, especially during the ever-memorable Russo-Japanese war, when he used to send confidential messages to the King. One of these bulletins to the King on the battle of Liao-Yang, brought him to loggerheads with the redoubtable Moberly Bell, manager of the *Times*, which incident Mr. Steed describes as follows:—"From the Royal Yacht at Flushing I presently received a note conveying the 'Duke of Lancaster's thanks and saying that I had invariably beaten the news from the Foreign Office by thirty-six hours. In my innocence, I thought the *Times* would be pleased with this testimonial to the efficiency of its foreign service; and I sent it to Mr. Moberly Bell, the manager, together with a bill for the few pounds I had spent on telegrams to the King. Instead I got a sharp reprimand. 'Albert Edward,' it ran, 'ought to have paid for the telegrams himself. If they offer you the Victorian Order, mind you find a way of refusing it.' Whereunto I made answer that, if an M. V. O. were thrown at my head, I should duck and let it hit the manager in the chest; and that, for the rest, his injunction was quite unnecessary since I had never accepted, nor should accept, any honor or decoration from any government, British or foreign, as long as I wielded a pen'."

Mr. Steed continued to give confidential advice to the King to whom he pays a high tribute for the unostentatious but invaluable share that he contributed to the steady progress of British foreign affairs during his reign. Mr. Steed writes of him: "The political conversations which I had with King Edward in August, 1909, made upon me an abiding impression. His grasp of the fundamentals of European politics was greater than that of any contemporary statesman whom I had met. His care for Europe was almost paternal. It sprang from knowledge, acquired chiefly by personal experience and observation, and from an ever-present sense that, though England was the heart and head of the British Empire, she was, and must increasingly be, an essential part of Europe. Had anyone called King Edward a philosopher he would have smiled; but no public man, certainly no monarch of recent times, has surpassed him in the practical philosophy of statecraft." Coming as it does from one so well-informed and experienced as Mr. Steed, it is, indeed, a very high praise, which admirers of King Edward must have read with gratification.

III

An incident recorded as having happened in January, 1904, while Mr. Steed was upon a short visit to Rome, is highly interesting in view of subsequent events. He had called upon Donna Laura Minghetti, the mother-in-law of Count Von Bulow, then German Imperial Chancellor—whom she used to call "Bernhard"—and here he picked up some information of interest on the German attitude towards Russo-Japanese relations. The author describes the meeting as follows:—

"When I called upon her toward the middle of January, 1904, she welcomed me warmly, and exclaimed, 'Weil, what about the war?'

'Which war?' I asked. 'War in the Balkans or war in the Far East?'

In the Far East, of course,' she replied. 'The Balkans don't matter.'

'Have the Russians accepted the Japanese terms?' I inquired.

'No, certainly not,' answered Donna Laura, 'and they are not going to.'

'Then,' I said, 'it will be war at the beginning of next month.'

'You are totally wrong,' she returned. 'You *Times* people ought to be better informed. The Japanese are merely bluffing and they will give in at the last moment. See what Bernhard writes.'

Taking from her bag a letter she had just received from the German Imperial Chancellor, she read it to me. It made fun of the fears of war she had apparently expressed to him and added that the Japanese would never stand up to Russia. The German Ambassador in Tokyo, it went on, had reported that the Japanese were merely trying to get all they could, but that when they saw that Russia would stand no nonsense they, like good Orientals, would give way. He, the German Chancellor, had taken care to let the Russians know this.

'I am sorry to disagree with your distinguished son-in-law,' I said, 'but it is he who is totally wrong. If the Russians do not come to terms with Japan by the end of this month there will be war early in February. That is why I am here—to get a holiday before it comes; and that is why I shall leave Rome on January 31, so as to be back in Vienna when hostilities begin'.

In her lively way, Donna Laura assured me that I was quite mad and that I ought to wear a strait-jacket instead of running loose in the world."

Now we know that—at least for once—the mother-in-law of the then German Imperial

Chancellor proved a safe prophetess and her son-in-law's estimate of the attitude of the Japanese at the Russo-Japanese peace conference turned out to be correct and it shows that statesmanship, even more so than journalism, is, after all, nothing more than an intelligent anticipation of events. Mr. Steed records in graphic terms the vivid scenes which took place in Vienna as the Russo-Japanese war was about to come to a close:—

"Next evening, Sunday, May 28, I was about to attend a dinner at the Hotel Bristol to which the First Secretary of the Russian Embassy had invited his friends, when I heard by telephone that Togo had annihilated Rozhdestvensky's fleet that morning off Tsushima. As I entered the room where the guests were assembled, the Duke of Teck, then British military attache, and Prince Charles Kinsky asked if there were any news. I told them in a whisper, and we agreed to say nothing for the sake of our host and hostess. But I felt uneasy as the dinner went merrily on and some guest toasted the victory of the Russian fleet in advance. Toward eleven o'clock a rumor spread that it had been destroyed. Then the guests melted away. The news was not officially confirmed even next morning, May 29th. On that day the Belgian Minister, Baron de Borchgrave, was entertaining at luncheon a large number of his diplomatic colleagues and friends, including the British and French Ambassadors and Baron Makino, the Japanese Minister. De Borchgrave, who was the soul of hospitality and a great gourmet, thought it a mortal offence if any of his guests came late; and I had always tried to be punctual at his feasts. Toward 1 o'clock, when I should have been starting for the Belgian Legation, I was, however, kept at the telephone hearing the official details of the Japanese victory. Consequently I found my host at the door of his drawing-room fuming at my unpunctuality. By way of apology I said I had been detained by important news. He beckoned the French and British Ambassadors to hear it; and when I had told them he shouted to Makino, who was at the other end of the room, 'here is great news for you. Togo is completely victorious.' Makino came forward slowly, saying, 'Yes, I had an official telegram at nine this morning.' 'And you have been here for twenty minutes and have told us never a word' roared Borchgrave. He would have been even more astonished if he had seen this same Makino nervous and depressed forty-eight hours before."

IV

But to come to the period just before the war. In December, 1913, Mr. Wickham Steed

was put in temporary charge of the Foreign Department of the *Times*, and soon after was made permanently foreign editor. On the 17th of July, 1914, he spent an evening discussing the Serbian crisis with the group of Austrian diplomats, and in the course of conversation he asked them some embarrassing questions in connection with the mental condition of the Archduke of Austria who had been assassinated some days before, and also why he had not been better protected against assassination. The incidents of the next and subsequent days we shall quote at length:—

Next morning, Saturday, July 18, Count Dubsky telephoned to me from the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. He gave me a pressing invitation from the Ambassador, Count Albert Mensdorff, to come to luncheon with him that day, saying that the Ambassador was very anxious to discuss the situation with me. Had the King invited me to luncheon at Buckingham Palace I should have been less astounded. Though I had known Count Albert Mensdorff since 1904 and had met him casually from time to time, I had never cultivated his acquaintance, nor had I ever called at the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. Moreover, in April, 1914, the Austrian police had suddenly confiscated my book, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, for 'the crime of insult to Majesty'!

Yielding to a foolish impulse, I declined the Ambassador's invitation to luncheon. Count Dubsky asked me to wait at the telephone and presently returned to inquire whether I could lunch with the Ambassador on Sunday, July 19. This insistence made me think that the Ambassador was eager to 'get hold of me,' or to 'placate' me by a luncheon—and I was not in a mood to be placated. So, again foolishly, I told a lie, said I was going into the country and should not be back till Monday. 'Wait a minute,' replied Count Dubsky; and a minute later he returned to say that the Ambassador would be very glad if I would come to luncheon with him on Monday. 'No,' I answered, 'I have people lunching with me on Monday, which was true. Then the Ambassador wants you to come on Tuesday,' was the answer, and this time I accepted because I felt that there must be some imperative reason for Count Albert Mensdorff's persistence in the face of three rebuffs. Thus I lost three precious days, and have never ceased to regret it. On Tuesday, July 21, I lunched alone with the Ambassador and Baron von Frankenstein, the Commercial Attache. During luncheon, the conversation ran on King Edward,—of whom Count Albert Mensdorff was a distant relative,—on Mariebad and on reminiscences generally.

But after luncheon, in his study Count Albert Mensdorff said :—"Although our people have been so foolish as to confiscate your book, which they did not understand, I know you are a friend of Austria and that you are too high-minded to let your feelings be affected by an incident of that sort—and I wish to appeal to you, as a friend of Austria, to use your influence in the British press to make the position of Austria-Hungary in this crisis rightly understood. It is impossible for us longer to tolerate Serbian provocation. Serbia must be punished; but if the *Times* will give the lead the rest of the press will follow; British public opinion will remain friendly to us, and the conflict may be localized."

"I am a friend of Austria," I answered, "and have proved it by warning your people for years that your policy has been fatally wrong. I can only say that I am too good a friend of Austria to help her to commit suicide."

"Suicide" exclaimed the Ambassador, "Do you think that we, a country of 50,000,000, are so weak as not to be able to deal with a little people of three or four millions like the Serbians?"

"You can certainly crush Serbia," I replied, "if you are left alone to do it; but even in that case you will be committing suicide. You must reckon on a war of eight or nine months; you will be obliged to mobilize at least 6,00,000 men; you will lose some 2,00,000 killed and wounded, and will spend not less than £120,000,000. That will complete the ruin of your finances. You are not unaware that Austria alone has, on the confession of your Finance Minister, been making debts at the rate of £40,000 a day for the last ten years. Taxation is already so high that it cannot be increased. I have paid taxes in Austria and I know. When you have conquered Serbia, you will be confronted with the problem of a costly military occupation, which will require an army of 2,00,000 men; and, should you annex the country, you will create a solid block of 12,000,000 Southern Slavs, whose weight will so upset the Dual System that, in order to keep her hold on you, Germany will demand and obtain such military, political, and economic, pledges of control over you that your independence will vanish." "But that," I continued, "is not what will happen. At the first shot you fire across the Save, Russia will cry, "Hands off" Germany will summon Russia not to intervene, and Russia will refuse, because compliance would cost the Tsar his throne. Germany will then mobilize, and will bolt through Belgium into France; and when England sees German troops in Belgium, she will intervene against Germany and against you."

"You will never intervene," cried the Ambassador. "We shall certainly intervene," I returned.

"I have the assurance that you will not intervene," replied Count Mensdorff.

"I care nothing for your assurance," I answered.

"You do not know the strength of English public feeling."

"Then you will not help us?" said Count Mensdorff.

"On no account whatever," I answered; and took leave of the Ambassador immediately.

For a moment I stood on the steps of the Embassy wondering what to do. One thing was clear. Austria-Hungary had decided to attack Serbia. This she would not have done without a definite promise of German support; nor would Count Albert Mensdorff have insisted upon my lunching with him after the language I had used to members of his staff on the Friday evening had he not received definite instructions to get hold of me at all costs.

Fully convinced that the Austrian Ambassador's language meant war, Mr. Steed went straight to the Foreign Office and asked to see Sir Edward Grey. As the latter happened to be receiving at the time the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Steed, therefore, told a prominent official of the conversation that had just taken place between him and the Austrian Ambassador and asked him to warn Sir Edward that Austria meant war and was evidently supported by Germany. Mr. Steed added that "if the Government wished to prevent war, they must rouse the country and make it clear that, if European complications arise, England will intervene. Unless they do so, they will have a terrible crisis on their hands in ten days' time and will not know on which leg to dance because they will not be sure of the country which knows nothing of what is going on." On the conversation having been reported to Sir Edward Grey, he desired Mr. Steed to be informed that he (Sir Edward) did not take this view of the matter. But Mr. Steed was so much convinced that he was right that he immediately began writing a series of articles in the *Times* supporting his own opinion, which (as we now too well know) turned out to be so disastrously correct. Here we shall stop, commending the book once again as a highly instructive record of contemporary affairs.

AUTHORS AND THEIR BOOKS: A LONDON CAUSERIE.

By MR. R. L. MEGROZ.

Clowns and Pantomimes.

The book which has impressed me most during the last few months is **Clowns and Pantomimes** by M. Wilson Disher (Constable 42/-). The author tells the whole fascinating story of showmanship, which is mainly that of clownship, at any rate so far as Europe is concerned, in this finely illustrated and handsome volume. Beginning with a wise "Foreword on Laughter and Emotion", he sketches the history and the psychology of his subject before he tells us the stories of famous clowns and analyses their jokes. He shows us how the harlequinade and the puppet shows were given to Europe by the volatile Italian people, and how pantomime was born out of fairy tales mixed with melodrama, with Pantaloons, Harlequins, Columbines, Clowns and Punchinellos taking parts, often chief parts, in the play. We learn to distinguish between broad tipples of clowning, the external clowning in the circus, for instance, which depends on what is done, and the more subtle clowning of a Grimaldi and a Grock which depends on how it is done. Joseph Grimaldi was of course the great clown who in the 18th century established in the pantomime a tradition of clowning in England which persisted until the opening of this century; while Grock is the greatest music-hall clown alive to-day, as most Londoners know.

Comic Relief.

Only foolish people will sneer at clowns, for the clowning spirit is an elementary and therefore universal relief from emotion and a way of escape from the standardisation of life, the monotonous routine which is one of the undesirable consequences of an industrial age. To undergraduate ears it may sound irreverent to say so, but those latest sartorial monstrosities of fashionable English youth, the "Oxford bags", are an unconscious expression of the clowning spirit of revolt against the conventional. At least one would do well to remember

Charlie Chaplin's nether garments before denying the possibility. Grock favours patched trousers. Patched or baggy or ragged clothes have been part of the clown's costume, from the pagan days of Greece and Rome. The Cozenje design of Harlequin's dress is of course merely a symbolical representation of his rags and patches. Originally the clown was an ill-treated butt, and laughter was not free of cruelty. The strain of cruelty has not died out. Juvenal complained that the delight of the Roman audience was to hear how many blows Mamercus could take, but the superior people watched robbers, decked out as Prometheus or Daedalus, eaten alive by bears. Mr. Disher reminds us also that "law-abiding Elizabethans eschewed the play house, but took their children to see heretics burned or traitors hanged, drawn and quartered. To-day cruelty finds satisfaction less in seeing Charlie Chaplin hit a bully (capable of bending a lamp-post at a blow) with a brick, or silence a mouthing soprano with a custard tart, than in murder trials and the Waterloo Cup." Or in hunting birds and animals with a rifle for the sake of slaughter. When we are cruel to-day we do not brutally laugh with pleasure; we pay lip service to justice and sport. Perhaps it would be better if our comic shows did leave room for cruel laughter!

Just because comic relief is a necessity of life itself so it was one of the greatest discoveries of the dramatist. It may be regarded as a modern characteristic of the drama of the western world brought to perfection by Shakespeare. But when comparing Elizabethan with classical drama we ought to remember that the audiences of ancient Athens obtained relief from the satirists, whose pieces alternated with and broke up the gloom of a succession of tragedies. And in the tragic dramas the intensity of emotion was weakened by a dehumanisation of the actors: they wore masks. In Rome the mythological drama was broken up by burlesque interludes of clowning not very different from those in the pantomime which came into popularity during the eighteenth

century, especially in France and England. Then the mediæval Church, first at Constantinople and later at Rome, recognized the necessity of comic relief; holy day became holidays; orthodox orgies were found to be the only successful competitors of profane orgies.

The Ridiculous and the Sublime.

We cannot follow in detail the fascinating story unfolded by the author of *Clowns and Pantomimes*, but a few of the significant outstanding features are worth noting. Mr. Disher's first chapter opens with the epigram: "Satisfy people's desire for the ridiculous and they will accept your idea of the sublime". This is a primary principle of showmanism recognized by the modern Bernard Shaw as clearly as by the still more modern Shakespeare. When the Elizabethan spirit in English drama died out the drama as a living force died with it, because seriousness was confused with pompous solemnity. Jesters, who were paid servants, joined the companies of players hired by the court or the rich lords, and so the play always contained a fool or two, for the fool was no longer the half-witted buffoon but a witty man earning his living. So, as in Shakespeare's parts for clowns, the fool is often a sharp satirist of those who laugh at him. Best of all clowns, Falstaff, is in himself a terrific satire on mankind as well as a profound well of humour. Falstaff makes us accept Shakespeare's idea of the sublime; he enables us to laugh away emotion that would be oppressive. With Falstaff already an element of pathos had crept into clowning; though, as Mr. Disher is probably correct in saying, it was Joseph Grimaldi's tragic life-story and farewell which stamped clownship forever with pathos. Grimaldi was a genius. He gathered together the scattered elements of clownship, the butt, the knave, the social satire, the artificial magic of the Italian Arlecchino, the stage animals of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, and himself created the "joke of construction". One of the most surprisingly good features of this excellent book is the author's grasp of the philosophy and the psychology of his subject. Speaking of comic relief as a function of clowning, he says some wise things about laughter that is made, made of set purpose.

"Purposed laughter.....is the expression of the will to kill emotion. The staunch treat fear in this manner and the cruel smother pity likewise. It is also the sign of a revolt against the

oppression of emotion by minds that hunger for relief, a need of human nature well-known to the showman. That is why in the history of entertainment tragedy is so often provided with a safety valve."

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The Fascination of the Moon.

The moon has ever been an object fascinating to the minds of men, and it is safe to say always will be. Traces of the old superstitious awe of our ancestors for the brightest luminary of the night sky remains in the heart of the civilised individual notwithstanding the parade of facts offered to him by physical science. Before men understood that the twinkling stars were inconceivably vast furnaces, the moon shared with our little sun undisputed supremacy as a ruler of the terrestrial heavens. And now, with all that we have discovered, it remains both a mystery and a close companion, so close that its quarter of a million miles of distance is a minute fraction of the interval between us and the planets which belong to our tiny solar system. The poets therefore have not ceased to voice the wonder of humanity at this marvellous apparition. What prayers and praises and curses have been directed to this silent watcher of the earth!

While overhead the moon

Sit arbitress

wrote Milton in "Paradise Lost", and that is but one of the inevitable and vivid personifications the moon has inspired in human imagination. So unfailingly regular in reappearance, it seems a friendly companion; so lonely "in the void of a violet sky", it can inspire pity, "wandering companionless"; so beautiful it becomes "an orb'd maiden with white fire laden". Lovers of all times and climes have made the moon a confidant, or have found in it their own mood, like Sidney:

With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st
the skies!

How silently and with how wan a face!

When the ancient fear of the moon was weakened, the makers of romance discovered its possibilities, though the settling down of scientific conceptions was needed to give imagination a firm footing. It is a long way from Cyrano de Bergerac's fantastic "Voyage" or Hans Anderson's fairy goloshes to Jules Verne's glorious trip in a kind of monster shell,

and still further to the marvellous story of "The First Men in the Moon" which Mr. H. G. Wells, best of all writers of scientific fantasies, told us a quarter of a century ago. (How Mr. Wells's early books do mark the passage of time over our heads!) But it was not that old favourite which set me thinking just now about the mystery and fascination of the moon. I have been reading a fantastic novel by Mr. Bohun Lynch, one of the younger generation of our story tellers. His *Menace from the Moon* was recently published by Jarrolds. The very subject of his startling tale compels the mind to hark back to the more imaginative Mr. Wells, but it is not necessary to make comparisons, for the author of *Menace from the Moon* has taken care to keep off the moon. He is content, and wisely, to describe the effect on certain individuals in particular and the western world in general of the alarming discovery that there were men on the moon, men who could use a code invented by a seventeenth century English philosopher. If that does not strike anyone who has not read the book as sufficiently exciting then they do not share my joy in scientific fantasies. But I will make another concession to their sluggish imaginations. The messages sent by these men on the moon passed from desperate appeals for help to threats and a time limit. If earth did not reply within a certain period they would destroy all terrestrial life. The threat was followed by appalling proof of their power, by way of stimulating the earth-folk to hurry with assistance. From a newspaper "sensation" of unparalleled magnitude the lunar messages and hostile action became a haunting fear. How the earth was saved and what was the nature of the menace I must firmly refuse to disclose. *The Menace from the Moon* cannot be compared with the incomparable Wellsian nightmares, but it sufficed to keep me up the whole of one night and to make the next night sleepless, so that I had ample opportunity of gazing undisturbed at the moon, as millions of men have done before me and for how many tens of thousands of years?

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Morality in Politics.

To turn to something less serious than laughter or moonshine, namely politics, there have been several interesting volumes of late

dealing with various aspects of social organisation. In *A Grammar of Politics*, (Allen and Unwin 18/-) the author, Mr. Harold Laski, shows himself to be a clear-minded and independent thinker. His central message is that everybody must realise that citizenship is a moral adventure. After all, if politics are as sordid as they are generally represented to be, it is the fault of the average man for not taking an active and intelligent interest in politics and particularly for not realising his moral responsibility. Mr. Laski is essentially an individualist; he never forgets that what is called the state is composed of individuals each with a personality and a moral sense. "In many system of rights," he says, "the ultimate uniqueness, and, therefore, isolation of the individual is the basic starting point. Any attempt at the division of society into "natural" classes with 'natural' functions is sure to break down. We discover what we naturally are only in terms of what we seek to become. And the discovery is ultimately our own. Others may glimpse our sense of failure and success. But the real meaning of our experience is known only to ourselves. That is what makes essential in the modern state a minimum basis at which rights are realised. Whatever I am, whether the statesman who directs the commonwealth or some humble hewer of wood, I must realise my rights at the level which makes possible the interpretation of my experience to myself. I must be trained, that is, at least to the point at which I can make my desires articulate as life unfolds them." Another sentence of Mr. Laski further emphasises the moral character of any social organisation. "The education of the citizen is the heart of the modern state," he says. Since every individual's moral responsibility is involved in the conception of the State, it is important that public opinion should be as well informed as educational systems can make it.

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The Russian Far East.

An unusual book of Memoirs is *From President to Prison*, ((Allen and Unwin 10/6) by Ferdinand Ossendouski, a pole who was employed as a chemist in Kuropatkin's army in 1904-5. It is natural that as a Pole he should say some harsh things about the Russia he served, the "rubbish heap" of Europe and Asia.

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Lo, you awake, O Trumpets of calamity
Some fragment of old Darkness in his breast :
Lo, to him fraternal is the stony and the
terrible place
His stricken Genius out of deeps unguessed
Rises up, grappling his reality to reality,
And still the secret in himself explores.
Bound beyond fear, the discovered and the
discoverer,
And in his own soul touched farthest shores,
Though he be stript of all, Powers from far
replenish him,
Powers of the streaming worlds that through
him stream.
O throbbing heart, O lifted arms, O tenderness,
O only capable of grief supreme!
O earth for ever mingled with unearthliness
Because the eternal with the brief is twined,
Wonder of breath that is momentary and
tremulous
Suffices him who breathes eternal mind
Vision that dawns beyond knowledge shall
deliver him
From all that flattered, threatened, foiled,
betrayed
Lo, having nothing, he is free of all the universe
And where light is he enters unafraid.

Half-way to fiction, is a remarkable book, mainly autobiographical, by that most entertaining of American writers, Mr. Sherwood Anderson. It is entitled **A Story-Teller's Story** (Cape 12/6) and it is as full of good things as an egg is full of food. The chapters which contain Mr. Anderson's memories of childhood are unforgettable; his parents and characters of rural America last century come to a warm and breathing reality under the touch of his sympathetic pen. The story not only reflects a phase of the social life of the United States now passing away, but it contains some vivid recollections, attributed by the author to his father, of the American Civil War, during which a soul was born in the "Melting Pot" of

the West. For those curious about the psychology of the artist in words there are many things in Mr. Anderson's book as valuable for psychological study as they are interesting and entertaining.

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Christians and Jews.

From a book half-way to fiction we may well recall a few of the specially interesting books of avowed fiction which have appeared of late. **Their Chosen People** by C. A. Nicholson (Holden 3/6) is a skilfully written novel which handles with immense dexterity and sympathy the troublesome problem of the inter-marriage of Jews and non-Jews. Mrs. Nicholson appears to have a very intimate knowledge of her theme and she knows how to handle it without detracting from the interest of the story she unfolds. The curious thing is that by far the strongest opposition to the marriage of a Jew with a non-Jew has come from Jews of the old-fashioned orthodox type, who regard their race as inseparable from their religion. But some of the most attractive and intelligent Jewish characters in this book are strong defenders of marriage with non-Jews, and the double love story which runs through the novel suggests that the moral of Mrs. Nicholson's book is that the best type of Jews may easily discover that "their chosen people", when it comes to the perilous adventure of marriage, may well prove to be non-Jews. She portrays, too, some of the very unpleasant types of the Jew which are to be found in the industrial civilization of the West, so that she must be accorded the merit of taking a dispassionate and open-minded attitude.

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A Novel from the Bible.

Whatever may be the ultimate destiny of the Jewish people, the Old Hebraic literature of the Bible seems to be a source of inspiration to many English writers. The latest of these to go to the old testament for a theme, is Mr. Robert Nathan, whose **Son of Amittai** (Heinemann 6/-) is a clever and delightful story about that Jonah who, according to the Scriptures, was swallowed by a whale and so obtained a safe passage to another land. Witty and ironical, as well as sympathetic, Mr. Nathan not only gives imaginative reality to various

Old Testament characters, but he makes a delightful and satirical play of idea about mankind and the ways of God.

Another novel which should not be missed now that it has been republished after many years, is Mr. Morley Roberts' dramatic story of "Rachel Marr" (Nash and Grayson 7/6), also the successor of those tremendously popular novels "If Winter Comes" and "This Freedom" by A. M. S. Hutchinson has been published by Hodder and Stoughton. It is entitled "One Increasing Purpose", and it reveals Mr. Hutchinson's power of making live characters as well as his infectious enthusiasm for a great idea, though he still does bewildering things with English syntax. Miss Vere Hutchinson, the sister of A. M. S. Hutchinson, has also a new novel to her credit, and there are good grounds for saying that "The Naked Man", (Cape 7/6), a story of a miner, is not only her best book so far, but reveals in the author the making of one of our best women novelists.

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The Mind of the Poet.

One of the most interesting books of criticism I have come across lately is the just published **Keats and Shakespeare** of Mr. J. Middleton Murry (Oxford University Press 14/-) in which the editor of the "Adelphi" concerns himself with a profound study of the soul of John Keats, and the greatness which never reached maturity owing to his premature death. Mr. Murry is illuminating and suggestive when he studies the psychology of inspiration and sets up comparisons between Keats and Shakespeare. For this purpose the fine letters which Keats wrote so generously to his friends are a source which this very individual and most subjective minded of critics does not fail to use for the purposes of exposition. The inestimable value of Mr. Murry's loving study of Keats is in the light he manages to spread over the mentality and spiritual vitality of such a poet. I remember that in one of his former volumes of essays Mr. Murry included there a brilliant exposition of the quality and character of Shakespeare's.

Before concluding this month, I should like to draw attention to another critical and biographical study, dealing with Byron, entitled "The Pilgrim of Eternity" (Hodder and Houghton 18/-), by John Drinkwater, the poet

and dramatist, who has previously given us some critical studies in English literature of a character extremely helpful to the general reader.

Latest Science.

A remarkable volume is **Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge** (Blackie 21/-) in which all phases of this vast subject are carefully dealt with by such authorities as Professor E. W. MacBride, Professor F. O. Bower,

Professor W. Watts, Professor Lloyd Morgan, Professor M. S. Pembrey, Professor Elliot Smith, Professor William McDougall, Professor Frederick Soddy, Dr. A. A. Robb, Professor A. E. Taylor, and Canon Wilson. It is certainly a volume which every library intended for the continued use of students ought to contain, and it is likely in its authoritative interpretation of the standpoint of modern science to be the best collection of studies in one volume for many years to come.

HINDOO ETHICS THROUGH AMERICAN EYES.*

By DR. GANGANATHA JHA, M.A., *Vice-Chancellor*
Allahabad University.

Dr. Hopkin's *Ethics of India* is a scholarly work by an eminent American orientalist. It is refreshing to find a savant like Dr. Hopkins writing so sympathetically and writing so well about Hindoo ethics. During the last hundred years we have been so consistently taught that there is no room for 'Ethics' in the Indian systems of thought, that the work arouses in us an agreeable surprise. It is true that the earlier notions regarding Hindoo Ethics emanated from interested sources; but they had come to be accepted as absolutely true and continued to be repeated even by writers not influenced by the same motives. Even the most spirited protests coming from Indian writers and speakers were not heeded, and the impression has continued even upto the present day that Indian religion and philosophy are--if not *immoral*--at any rate, non-moral.

For this reason the book under review is doubly welcome; it comes not only as an educative, but also a corrective, contribution on

Indian thought. The treatment of the subject is what one might expect from a scholar of the true type, it is intelligently historical; and above all it is sympathetic. In dealing with ancient religions, based upon very ancient texts, sympathy is essential. One has in fact to place oneself in the position of the people about whom one is writing. This is just what Dr. Hopkins has done. With these general remarks we shall proceed to analyse the contents of this very valuable work.

II.

At the very outset in the Preface (p. IX) the author makes his attitude clear by the frank statement that "apart from some erroneous familiarity with India's religions there is little known in this country of what the Hindus have thought and said; as for the field of Hindu Ethics, it is *terra incognita* to Europe and America." This statement, made after nearly a century and a half during which oriental scholarship has flourished, would appear to be astounding; and indeed, if it had been made by an Indian writer would have been regarded as sheer impertinence, or at best the result of blind prejudice. But it states nothing more

**Ethics of India*. By E. Washburn Hopkins, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press) 1924.

than a fact, and coming as it does from a distinguished Orientalist in the West, it deserves serious attention. With unerring instinct he has spotted the origin of this ignorance:—"The author would be loath to state how often, across the water and here at home he has dejectedly listened to sermons in which well-meaning pastors have soothed their sheep with the comforting assurance that no other religion than Christianity ever inculcated purity of heart and sympathy for the sorrowing". Thus then this ignorance regarding Indian ethics would appear to be based upon the exigencies of religious propaganda. Explaining the genesis of his own book he goes on to say:—"At last some years since he concluded that it would not be amiss to collect the ethical data found in Hindu literature and in 1920, he read before the Oriental Society an essay entitled *The Ethical Element in the Rigveda* and proceeding further he came to deliver an address on the *Development of Hindu Ethics*." Though he had been preceded, in this, by Professor McKenzie of Bombay, yet, he frankly admits that "the points of view revealed in the two studies are, if not irreconcilable, at least quite different" (p. x). The author, in representing Professor McKenzie's view has so correctly represented the opinion regarding Hindu Ethics that has been current among the generality of Western Orientalists that we feel justified in reproducing it here in full:—

"Professor McKenzie finds the ethics of India defective, illogical, and anti-social, lacking any philosophical foundation, nullified by abhorrent ideas of asceticism and ritual, and altogether inferior to the "higher spirituality" of Europe. He will not deny that the Hindus favour some virtues, such as liberality and hospitality, and he is careful to point out that an altruistic motive in exercising these virtues may not be entirely absent; but he reminds his readers that they are of savage origin; when properly interpreted they reveal themselves as based on selfishness and magical superstition, so that, historically considered, they would appear to be surviving vices rather than honest virtues, at least among the Hindus. But what troubles Professor McKenzie most is that Hindu ethics is anti-social—though he admits that "the most attractive features in Hindu social life are to be found in the family affections and in the sense of the identity of the interests of the individual with those of the community, which are so

common in Hindu society"—and that, though anti-social in its asceticism and not spiritual enough, this ethics is in fact better than it ought to be, because Hindu philosophy has predicated a God without attributes and such a God is unmoral and hence by implication should be incapable of inspiring anybody with a logical desire to practice ethical behaviour. Professor McKenzie devotes most of his book to upholding this thesis and comes to what seems to be the triumphant conclusion that Hindu philosophical ideas, "when logically applied, leave no room for ethics"; further more, they prevent "the development of a strenuous moral life". Incidentally, Professor McKenzie explains that a morality which is not strenuous is not a true morality. One is not really moral unless engaged in active social service. This is perhaps the keynote of his inspiring work.

Now the author's own point of view, in contradiction to the above, is thus set forth:—"The present author has, as will be seen, offered here and there a mild protest against a too logical interpretation of historical facts. He has also been more inclined to establish the fact that through the Hindu codes runs always the pleasing admonition, 'A seat for a guest, water, and a welcoming word should never be lacking in the house of a good man,' than to show that Hindu hospitality was based on egoism. In a word, he has been more eager to exploit the value of Hindu ethics than to depreciate it, though he trusts that he has not been blind to its deficiencies. But he doubts whether logic and philosophy are so vital as Professor McKenzie thinks in evaluating ethics, especially as ethics was practiced long before either logic or philosophy was taught. And even if the Hindus followed no safe ratiocinative processes in being virtuous, the fact that they were schooled to be so, and the means by which they were persuaded that ethical behaviour was incumbent upon them, seem to the author more important than proving that philosophically the Hindus ought not to have been ethical. For this purpose, though with no polemical intent, the author has here gathered together a large number of passages, from which the moral injunctions and ethical appeals made by those who were often neither logicians nor philosophers may be conveniently studied. He has written his little book not to sustain any logical, philosophical, or religious dogma, but to exhibit the ethical

teachings of the ancient Hindus, feeling confident that it will be a pleasure to many and a grief to none to know that truthfulness, generosity, kindness of heart, purity of soul, forgiveness, and compassion were in India as everyday precepts long before the Christian era." We are not quite prepared to accept the view that "the Hindu followed no safe ratiocinative process in being virtuous"; but we need not dispute it here. Our own belief is that every department of Indian thought is based upon a mental process which is not seldom a little too 'ratiocinative'.

III.

Coming now to details, Chapter I deals with "Ethics in the Rigveda". We are told that "a moral element lies in the very recognition of bright, beneficent and holy gods, as opposed to dark demoniac powers;—'that gods are good and demons evil is the general Vedic view..... and when it is declared that gods are good it is not only that they are good to man but that they are morally good, they uphold righteousness". As regards what is meant by good and bad, the author provides us with an excellent account of the Vedic idea—"The Vedic word *rita* (connected with Latin *ratus*) means fit, orderly, good, and as a noun, *ritam* is the right order of the Universe, of the sacrifice and of ethical conduct, the true way as opposed to its negative *anritam* that is false or untrue. It connotes a certain 'harmony' between ideal and practice. In a cosmic sense, it designates the harmony of the world, the regularity of nature, as evinced by the orderly procession of celestial bodies, of seasons, and of their earthly representatives in the seasonal sacrifices and the regular conduct of men." Nor is the distinction between right and wrong wanting, for "the Rigveda contains a large number of passages illustrating this distinction of right and wrong as straight and crooked". The idea that there is "some divine heavenly power that has its eye on man's conduct" is current throughout the Veda. Herein the author rightly discovers "the tie between ethics and religion" which "was never much relaxed in India even in philosophical speculation". He repudiates the notion that in the Vedic religion there is lack of deep faith; for, he says, "while the native blacks have no faith in fire-sacrifice, the Aryan population never expresses doubt in the existence and power of its moral rules". Further, though

"the Indian tribes had not yet arrived at the conception of an omnipresent deity", yet "if a god failed to answer prayer, the devout worshipper regarded it as proof that the suppliant had sinned". "The expression *love for the god* is almost a commonplace in Vedic philosophy..... The *bhakti* or loving devotion, which some scholars imagine to be only a late development of Hindu religion, is already evident in the Rigveda, *even in its dangerous trend towards Eroticism.*"

We have italicised this last phrase, with a view to show that the author is not a blind partisan of Hindoo ethical culture, but is as discriminating a critic as one would desire; while eulogising what he regards as good in the Vedic conception he is not slow to detect its weak points. That this *bhakti*-cult has had a dangerous trend towards Eroticism is, unfortunately, but too true. But this has taken place not only in India, but elsewhere also. There is no doubt that the idea only started with the notion that it being granted that love for god is something desirable, and that the highest form of love known to man is that of the wife for her husband, the feeling to be entertained towards god should be the same as that entertained by the bride towards her bridegroom. The Rigveda gives expression to the same idea when the devotee exclaims that his "thoughts embrace Indra as wives embrace a fair young bridegroom". The degeneracy of this lofty conception of love of god really set in when people began to recognise the claims of human beings as representatives of God. "The mutual relations between god and devotee", the Professor tell us, "are of the kind the second chapter dealing entirely with highest importance from an ethical point of view, for they determine the whole attitude of the moral man, whether his life is directed by fear or by affection. The Indic attitude is undoubtedly in part that of one whose gods inspire fear, for, as the Vedic poet says, "all the world is full of fear" when Indra's bolt (lightning) falls. Also one must fear disease, which is sent by the gods as punishment for sin; ergo, one fears the disease-sender. Nevertheless, the approach to the gods is generally through something much higher than fear. They are admired and loved. Particular gods are naturally more loved than groups of gods, who are apt to receive proper but not fervent thanks, like those addressed to a charity-

board. The Maruts, or Rudras, for example, as individuals are not known to the worshipper by name, so that they have to be invited to the sacrifice by the Fire-god, who alone knows them "personally".

Conversely, the gods love man. They are not only by nature "generous and kind"; they are fond of men. Though they punish disobedience and crookedness, they seek to keep the "simple and foolish" from sin; they surround him with watchful guardians as well as spy upon him, and above all they are of one family with man. Individual gods are directly addressed as "our relation" and, more intimately, as father or brother. Erotic expression, in which the devayū, god-seeker, and devakama, god-lover, is thus early (as above) tempted to dwell on his spiritual experience with a somewhat sensuous delight, is toned down by the consciousness that his relation with the god is rather one of family-affection."

Nor is the Vedic Aryan without a keen perception of *sin*, in terms of ethical value. "Such sin is the conscious or unconscious violation of the divine moral law"; and we find the second chapter dealing entirely with "The Vedic idea of Sin and Law". While we are tempted to make large quotations from this excellent chapter, yet in as much as no review can be expected to replace the book itself, we shall content ourselves with stating the final conclusion summed up by the writer himself:—"To sum up the ethical content of the Rigveda: Morality is an expression of divine Law; sin is opposition to that law. The sinner is one who is out of harmony with the higher spiritual environment, which encompasses and controls the world". This is putting the thing tersely and happily. When we add that the entire exposition of the subject is based upon judiciously quoted texts and learned and luminous comments thereupon, it will be clear how much indebted every unbiased student of Indian thought is towards the learned author.

IV.

The ethics of the Veda leads us on to the next phase in the point of time—the 'Ethics of Early Pantheism' which forms the subject-matter of Chapter III. Here also the exposition is based upon the Vedic texts; but they are those that Vedic scholars have agreed to relegate to a point of time later than the hymns that formed the basis of the earlier chapters of the book. The tendency already present in the

earlier literature to unite all spiritual powers into one universal spirit-power led,—we are told—to the merging of divine entities and a consequent vagueness of appeal on the part of the religiously-minded. This appeal, in time, came to be addressed to a mystical natural power; and many Vedic verses came to be used as charms and spells. This is believed to have led to the development of the Atharva Veda, which however continues to be interwoven with religious and ethical ideas. The Atharva Veda marks a distinct theological advance: Instead of the 'long darkness' into which sinners fall, they now go to a 'hell' controlled by a person "with a noose", later developed into Yama, the god of death. The author proceeds to tell us how 'out of the mass of abstract deities that embrace such forms as Amity, Concord, Mercy, Faith, All-maker, Creator, Time and Love,—there emerges one known as the Lord of Creation'. This Lord produced the world by his own religious fervour, and continued to retain his old title as the ethical ruler and expounder of morality and law. The personal element had a tremendous influence. "The appeal to reason as pitted against the appeal to a strong personality has no chance with the mass".

The great popularity of Prajapati is shown by the texts of the Brahmana or Ritual Texts, wherein Pantheism came to be definitely inculcated for the first time. These texts also throw a strong light on the ethics of the times. which, we are told, "may be about 300 B.C."; the various stages whereof are thus summed up by Dr. Hopkins:—"In the Rigveda itself, the word as a divine Power strikes the note of predestination and religious favouritism in the utterance, "whom I love, I exalt" (make powerful). In the next stage, this Divine Word is conceived as the first-born of the Lord of Creation, who, again, is born of Rita and as such represents ethical order. As Father of all, the Lord sends forth his first-born, the Divine Word, who appears in the world as the Divine Light; a sort of mediating principle: "I will send forth the Word and the Word will become the world", for now "through the mind alone the Lord of Creation created the world". The idea of a cosmic sacrifice on the part of One God, is known as early as the Rigveda. This god also is not only the Creator and Maker of all; he is "our Father". Now, in the succeeding period, the Creator and Father becomes also the great moral controller

and in the earliest law books, after the Vedic age, his word is decisive in every point of ceremony, penance, moral and social rule."

Though constant changes were going on, "the old ethical rules and morals were still vital and potent. The gods are Truth and man is untruth; the reason why men should speak the truth is that they should follow the law of the gods." But there is a most important development at this stage; a more virile optimism sets in;—"The gods are more rarely besought to forgive; man purifies himself; and a more spiritual tone prevails in eschatological speculation..... Now man conquers heaven by faith and truth. Immortality is no longer a favour of the gods. Through knowledge alone of religious truth one thereby becomes composed of truth and immortality. But there is salvation also through ethical behaviour. Heaven is the world of those who have done good."

V.

From the Brahmanas we are led to the Upanishads which represent the stage when there appeared thinkers whose lives were specially devoted to the study of Philosophy. These thinkers have not much to say in regard to ethics; but this is so not because they did not care for ethics, but because in the philosophy of the all-embracing all-soul ethics was taken for granted. And yet the Upanishads are not entirely devoid of ethical teaching. "He who has not ceased from immoral conduct" we are told—"cannot obtain god", nor if one is not "self-restrained",—the Lord of creation enjoins upon all the practice of "self-restraint, generosity and compassion" as the three cardinal virtues;—"a man's religious gifts are austerities, generosity, rectitude, non-injury and truthfulness".

There is one important text of the Upanishads which has been very badly understood—"Sin does not cling to a wise man any more than water clings to a lotus-leaf". This has been misunderstood by the Hindus themselves among whom it has led in certain quarters to much that is disreputable. Prof. Hopkins supplies a beautiful explanation of this declaration. He says—"This is not to declare that the sage may sin and be free, but that one free from worldly attachments sheds sins, is not attached to it. The real meaning is seen in another epic passage. The man who has wisdom does not sin; he ceases to do evil, and through his wisdom annuls the evil of his former life"

This leads us on to the conception of the Absolute Being. Says the Professor in his exposition of this subject:—"It is not easy with our western preconceptions to envisage the thoughts of those who were trying to make plain to themselves the dawning conception of Absolute Being, "without passions or parts," *virajam akalam*, and hence raised above all distinctions. As one in deep sleep sees all distinctions vanish; so here there is no duality. For while there is a sense of duality there can be no unity with the All-soul. What has the soul merged in God to do with good and evil works? There is a bank, as it were, dividing duality from unity, beyond which all "pairs" come to an end; the Supreme Soul is not increased nor diminished by good and evil works; yet "all evils turn back from it". So the soul merged therein "is not followed by good nor by bad", *punya* and *paapa*, being released from "all the sorrows of the heart". But this is only to say that it is not followed by the effect of evil and good deeds which is indeed the usual statement. When the soul that is not yet emancipated passes from earth, it takes with it the good and the evil deed; for which, in heaven or hell and in high or low birth hereafter, it has reward or punishment. It is, then, this state, which the Upanishad teaches is transcended. The liberated soul is freed from the idea of duality (pairs of opposites) and from effects of good and evil acts; all that is now a thing of the past. As one with the whole intelligential life of the universe the soul stands no more apart, with its ancient limitations and burdens of the heart, its sense of good and bad acts committed and entailing certain results. So long as a man is still a creature of desires (and he is so till unified with God), he will be as he wills to be, and will act in accordance with his will; "he will become pure by good acts and evil by evil acts; and whatever deed he does, of that will he reap the fruit". But he will not become one with God till the sense of divine unity causes all desires to cease. Furthermore, he who has not turned from wickedness cannot get to God, for the path to God is narrow and sharp "like the edge of a razor". It is only God who is "not contaminated by impurity", as the sun is not contaminated by earthly impurity. Until man becomes God, evil and good are the most real things in his existence." Even the ordinary parting exhortation of the spiritual teacher to

his pupil contains the words 'Speak the truth, practise virtue.....good deeds, not others.'

As regards Fate and Freedom, we are told that "the Upanishad philosophers did not admit the influence of fate, except as every man makes his own fate..... It was carefully pointed out that Fate really meant the fruit of former acts—and that the man himself was responsible for his fate. These early philosophers did not all rest content with the Absolute It, and many of them came to regard this All-soul as a Personal God, (later on) of Grace and Mercy, as well as of power." This highly instructive chapter ends with the following observations which deserve quotation:—"Even the monism based on an impersonal Brahma or un-moral Power, which appealed most to the most philosophic minds of that day and later, conceived of this Power as not immoral and showed that man must be moral (according to earthly tenets) in order to attain divinity. For immoral acts and thoughts were recognised as bonds confining him in his own prison-house. Not only must there be the outward morality of form, but the man's spirit must be purified, "clarified from evil". Austerity no longer trained one solely for physical and psychical command over nature but for the acquisition of godhead, and its base was now ethical behaviour. Practically, as everyone admits, the ethics of early Hindu philosophy was the basis of training in education; but logically also this ethics rested on a firm foundation. There was no such superficial distinction as is made with us between "education" and "character" as the goal of learning and life. Education implied character; there was no "knowledge" without its ethical counterpart."

VI.

Chapter V brings us to "Ethics in Legal Literature". We are reminded at the very outset that a regular study or discussion of ethics by itself never appealed either to the Hindu philosopher or the Jurist; for Morality was taken for granted and needed not to be discussed. The law-makers however "are fully aware that the spirit is more vital than the overt act"; and in the following paragraph we have a good account of the opinions held by the earlier jurists. "Baudhayana takes pains to say that "to deserve heaven, one must avoid meanness, hard-heartedness, and crookedness", and in the same tone Vasishtha gives the admoni-

tion: "Neither Veda nor sacrifice nor liberality can save him whose conduct is base, who has departed from the right path. A man of bad conduct is blamed by men; evils constantly befall him; he is afflicted with disease and short is his life." Passing over for the moment the question of retribution raised here, we may consider another exhortation to ethical betterment remarkable for its flat denial of the value of ceremonial purity and formal observance of the law as compared with ethical excellence. It is found in the law-manual of Gautama, perhaps a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, at any rate one of the oldest of the makers of works on Dharma (Right Usage, law). As introduction he has just finished the description of the forty sacred ritual observances which a good man ought to perform; then he adds this warning: "These are the forty sacred observances. And now (I will explain) the eight good qualities of the soul. They are, compassion for all creatures, patience, freedom from discontent, purity, earnest endeavour, auspicious (thought), freedom from avarice (or from a whining disposition), freedom from envy. He that has performed all the sacred observances and has not these good qualities comes not into union with Brahma, comes not to his world; but he who has performed only one of these sacred observances and has the good qualities, enters into union with Brahma, comes into his world. This is a doubledged attack; it hits at the ritualist on the one hand and at the mystic philosopher on the other. It proclaims very definitely that salvation is a matter of spiritual excellence as exhibited by ethical, not by ritualistic, observances, and it eliminates the mystic intuition of God in favour of compassion, contentment, purity, and a generous, earnest disposition."

Though ethics in the abstract is seldom discussed, yet the law-books and the epics contain interesting discussions regarding the evaluation of the legal rules laid down as general propositions. For instance with regard to the law of speaking the truth, the question is often discussed as to whether or not under certain circumstances "beneficial lying" is more commendable than 'harmful truth'; and we meet with what our author rightly calls "the sweeping anticipation of modern thought"—"speak what is beneficial rather than what is true; in my opinion truth means what is of the greatest benefit to living beings." The

practical ethics of the Law-givers have been summed up in the 'ten commandments' of Manu—'Contentment, Patience, Self-control, Honesty, Purity, Restrain of the organs of sense, Devotion, Knowledge, Veracity and Freedom from anger.

VII.

Incidentally we meet with a spirited defence of that much-maligned source of all that is bad in this world, the Brahmana-caste, and though people may not agree with the views expressed, they cannot but admire the courage of conviction shown by the writer in espousing what we would regard a 'lost cause'. "That caste has been greatly blamed by the Buddhists and by some Europeans (and we may add, by Indians themselves), for its greed and selfishness. Doubtless no great body of priests is without representatives who are no honour to it yet the generosity to the priests extolled by the priest must be considered in its proper setting. It is true that the Hindu priests were insatiable beggars; but in the first place, the livelihood of the priests depended upon the liberality of royal and noble patrons and even, in the case of village priests, on the hospitable generosity of their neighbors. They did not live in monasteries like the Buddhists; they did not draw salaries like Christians. All they had to live on was what was given them; they were not permitted to earn a living by worldly means. No wonder they are always rather profuse in praising "gifts". But, as is sometimes forgotten, in the second place, generosity when lauded as a virtue applies to the priest himself, as well as to others. Here, for example, is Vasishtha's definition of a true Brahman priest: "Now the mark of a true priest is this, that he be devout, austere, self-controlled, generous, truthful, pure, compassionate, learned and intelligent, and believe" (in God and Immortality). Similarly, Vishnu's list of "common virtues", that is, universal virtues applying to the priest as well as to others, includes generosity together with patience, veracity, purity, sympathy with the afflicted, self-control, and other laudable qualities."

We have heard and read much about the Hindoo attitude towards women; according to Prof. Hopkins the deprecatory statements regarding women that we meet with in Hindu literature only "reflect the eternal sex

antagonism"; and he goes on to explain that "The moral importance of woman comes out first when she is recognised as wife and mother. As a daughter she is a "dearest possession" but an object of anxiety till she be married. Manu and Confucius in almost the same words declare that a woman must be under subjection to her father or brother or husband all her life. But admitting this inferiority forced upon her we may judge her true value by the estimation in which she is held as wife and mother. The Hindus here take a much higher ground than do most Orientals. They demand of course chastity from her more than from the man, because she is his possession and he is not hers; but the ideal married life is based upon "mutual fidelity ending in death". She shares as far as possible in her husband's religious life and is a divinity to her son, who cannot honour her enough, as to her husband she is the "highest comfort". Her ethical rules are one with those of the man and her fate hereafter, if she violates them, is like his, according to her acts, though it is also said that she may share his lot. It will be unnecessary therefore to discuss woman's moral status; there was no double standard in India in regard to ordinary ethical rules. Women were freely seen in public and went unveiled without reproach. In the early period they shared with their husbands not only in religious rites but in philosophical discussions. The code that proclaims woman's dependence saves of her, nevertheless: "Women are to be honoured and adorned by fathers and brothers, by husbands, and also by brothers-in-law. Where women are honoured, the gods rejoice; where they are not honoured all religious rites are of no avail. Where women grieve, the family perishes; where they do not grieve, it flourishes. Houses which women, because dishonoured, curse, perish as if by magic. Women here are honoured as potential mothers and it cannot be denied that they are esteemed mainly as obedient wives. Perhaps it is only fair to admit that a wife's chief moral duty is to be obedient to her husband and to regard him as her divinity, as she in turn is a divinity to her children. But all that is necessary to point out here is that her other moral duties coincide with those already discussed and are those of her husband. Baudhayana asserts that warriors and men of the middle classes (farmers, traders) "are not particular about

their wives"; but this has regard only to their caste, not to their morals. Much of the matter connected with women in the law-books has to do with the enormity of ignoring caste-regulations and the graded sins (of those who belong to lower or higher castes) resulting from "caste confusion", social lapses which in a caste-community attain to the dignity of sins, quite apart from their ethical content." As regards 'authorities for conduct', the generally accepted opinion is that "besides Veda, usage, good custom and general divine commandments, one's last recourse when in doubt must be to one's own conscience on inner self and its satisfaction."

VIII.

Chapter VI deals with "Buddhistic ethics". There is not much of a divergence between the rules of behaviour for the Brahmana and for the Buddhist; but there is one marked difference, pointed out by the writer. "In the Brahmanic explanation of ethical authority there is lacking the note of personal devotion until we come to the period of sectarian religions based upon devotion to Rama or Krishna, but from the first this note was dominant in Buddhism. The creed of the Brahman gives Vedic authority for moral behaviour and even argues that Right (including right behaviour) or Righteousness is an eternal principle independent of the Veda and of all other authority, since it is a form of the divine. Hence to do right is to be at one with divinity. But to the Buddhist every rule and precept was uttered by his sole authority, Buddha, in person." Here the writer also notes of certain phases of Buddhistic rules of conduct, which he rightly calls "aberrations" and adds that such aberrations are found in other sects where ethical decadence has gone hand in hand with devotion of mysticism." Apart from all this the author tells us that from an ethical point of view, Buddhism made a great advance in the establishment of the principle of causality; "since this led to freeing morality altogether from the religious practices with which it had been indissolubly connected and which had in great part been recognised as substitutes for it. We have seen that the moral sages of the Brahmans also declared that ethics was more important than the ritual, but the priestly and popular belief was that sin could be removed by austerity and

sacrifice. Now Buddha did not renounce austerity as a means of ethical training; but he taught that all observances of a religious nature kept man from perceiving the vital necessity of purifying himself through himself alone. He made ethical behaviour the first necessity, after one had freed oneself from the delusion of soul and belief in wrong doctrines and ritual observances."

The Jains also, we are told made conduct as important as 'Faith and Knowledge'; but the learned Professor finds it "not possible to know", "how much Buddhism took from the earlier Jain religion". Speaking of man's right to his own religion, the author says that the recognition of this right is "perhaps the latest development of the ethical sense". And he rightly finds evidence for this in the spirit of tolerance permeating the teachings of Buddha, and most significantly in the well-known edicts of Ashoka. "From his Rock and Pillar Edicts we may gather an idea of the practical ethics taught in his day of the spirit of tolerance inculcated. Most extraordinary is it to find such teachings engraved in durable stone as the most important public utterances of a great king. The Edicts date from 261 B.C., at the time when Rome was engaged in the first Punic War, which may serve as a reminder of the difference between East and West at that period." In the following paragraph, the Professor demolishes another long-standing dogma of the Orientalists:—"Buddhist ethics does not really agree with the pessimistic point of view, as that view is usually interpreted. The view that all life is misery is counter-balanced by the cultivation of a spirit not only resigned and serene, but very joyous; "Cultivate that part of the higher wisdom called Search after Truth; cultivate that part called Energy; cultivate that part of the higher wisdom called Joy". Pessimistic in regard to life on earth, in his outlook on the future the Buddhist was a cheerful soul, partly because he was exhorted to be so in his progress toward serenity, partly because the ethical training given him from childhood stimulated kindness, joy and peace of mind. He believed that the practice of these virtues directed him toward salvation and the certainty of finally getting what he wanted tended also to make him optimistic." According to the author "The crowning glory of Buddhism is not the doctrine of non-injury, which early Brahma-

nism also teaches, but the inculcation of that devotion to man which leads to self-sacrifice." As regards 'sanctions'—"apart from the master's teachings which were of course authoritative, the highest sanction for his beliefs was given as Buddha himself insisted, by enlightened reason, not by emotion, however well-disciplined".

IX.

Chapter VII deals with 'Devotion and Morality', where a good account of the rise of the cult of "personal god" has been provided; and in this connection we are provided with a clear exposition of the ethics of the Bhagavad-gita. We have in this connection also an account of the aberrations of this cult; in the form of later Vaishnavism and Tantrism. The ethical precepts current during this period do not differ materially from those of the older period. But the epic 'Lord of Creation' came to be regarded as an ethical Instructor; he is found to inculcate such teachings as the following—"Truth, self-control, patience, and wisdom are practised by the wise. Aryans declare patience, truth, uprightness, and non-injury to be the paramount virtues. When insulted, I do not reply; when beaten, I am patient (or, forgive);when struck, I strike not in return, nor even wish the striker ill. The gods delight in the virtuous and in the wise. Every man becomes what he wishes to be and like those with whom he wishes to associate. The secret doctrine of the Vedas is truth, but to attain to truth one must first attain to self-restraint (all the moral virtues, as explained above, implicit in self-restraint), which is the door to immortality. The secret wisdom (of the gods) is that there is nothing nobler than humanity." "This means that man is himself divine and can by his own exertions, mental and moral, compass the highest. Again, here as elsewhere, the ethical note is emphasized, as in the same book it is said, *satyena cilenasukham*, "happiness (is acquired only) by (the attainment of) truth and by ethical behaviour". Knowledge without morality is as futile as morality without knowledge. Both are to be gained by human effort."

In this connection we find a spirited defence of the 'Ethics of Lord Krishna', where we read that "the ethics of Lord Krishna has been regarded by some modern scholars as unsatisfactory because of the "uncritical

attitude to Dharma" which is held in the Gita. But it is demanding too much of these ancient thinkers to ask that, after they establish the moral imperative as divine, they should then discuss the validity of divinity. The teaching of Krishna recognised that spiritual growth could be attained by the "difficult" way of the old Yoga system of "works" (for the Yoga still maintained the essential character of works as means to a higher end, whereas the work a man does is not the main thing but attitude towards works), but it insisted that to do one's work in the station to which man has been called is man's first duty and that this is better than (Jnana) Yoga exercises. To this then is added the principle of devotion to the Lord Krishna, which again results in ethical advance, for the devotee of Krishna becomes righteous through his devotion." The author is quite right when he observes that in the merging of religion and ethics in Krishnaism of the Gita type the 'devotion' recommended is entirely free from all taint of mystic eroticism. In fact this is what distinguishes it from the later forms of Krishnaism. We cannot help feeling that in speaking of the ethics of the Vedanta Philosophy as lacking "inspiration to call out and strengthen the manly qualities required for the practical side of life", the normally unbiassed Professor has succumbed to the long-standing bias of his distinguished predecessor whom he quotes. Those of us who have had the good (or bad?) fortune of studying the Vedanta at close quarters know full well that the ethics of that Philosophy is as practical and as virile as any other; and the discipline prescribed therein is as effectively useful in the life of the retired philosopher as in that of the practical man of the world.

X.

Chapter VIII is devoted to a very readable account of "Ethical Aberrations": under which title the writer includes the later developments of Buddhism, the later form of Krishnaism or Krishnaism and Shaktism. The book concludes with an interesting and instructive chapter styled "Pro and Contra". The opening lines I cannot refrain from quoting; they are so true, and yet these facts are so often lost sight of even by the Indians themselves—"It may occur to some reader that it might be worth while to conclude the subject of Hindu ethics with a comparison between the

ethics of India and that of America. But, besides being invidious, it would really serve no useful purpose to prove that India's ethical systems of more than two thousand years ago were not erected on modern ideas of social service and philanthropic institutions. Then, too, in contrast with life to-day, the conditions under which the ethics of India was formulated must be considered. When a Hindu law book declares that there can be no proper Veda-study in a city and another warns the priest to "avoid going often into cities", this means that the rules of life laid down in the early Brahmanic codes were composed for villagers, where lay the real life of most of the people for whom the priests made their rules. It is clear also that Buddhistic rules are intended primarily for the monastic life or for the life of a hermit rather than for the world at large. For, though provision is made for the laity by providing them with general rules of good behaviour and teaching them elementary truths, the heart of Buddha's doctrine is for the recluse. Social activities can play but little part in such a scheme." "There is in India a doctrine called non-injury, which in some regards transcends any ethical teaching to be found in Christianity as known in America. It is the gentle doctrine of harmlessness, which more than covers the precept of the catechism 'to hurt none by word nor deed', for it means that it is a sin, and a sin far worse than lying or stealing, needlessly to maim or kill any living creature. This is not a teaching of Christianity, though it has been engrafted upon it and finds expression in a small degree in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the very existence of this society being, however, an indictment of ordinary practice. This ancient rule of Hindu ethics embodies toward all animal life a sympathetic attitude which repels the robust West and is excluded from its mainly virtues. To kill for sport is a commendable amusement practiced by clergy and laity alike; to be a Christian gentleman one does not have to be gentle."

XI.

On page 241, the Professor provides an excellent summing up of Hindu ethical teaching, in the form of a lecture from an imaginary teacher to his pupils leaving his academy and going to enter the world. One is tempted to quote the whole passage in extenso; it is

so beautifully and impressively worded. But the temptation has to be resisted. But we can not resist the temptation of quoting the concluding paragraph which forms the key-note to the author's thesis—"And when we of the West visit India hoping to instil into the Hindus the "higher spirituality" of which we vaunt ourselves the proud possessors, it will be well to remember that, as a goal of living, strict morality and high spirituality will not seem to the Hindus a sudden revelation from abroad, but that they have had that goal before them for many centuries. What India needs is to realize herself, to broaden out her spiritual heritage until it meets the further requirements of this later age, not to rest upon the foundation already nobly erected by her own saints and scholars, but to continue to build along the same inspiring lines. The Hindu epic says "every man is king in his own house," *sarvas sve sve grithe raja*, and everyone likes to feel that one is living in a spiritual house of one's own, of which one is hereditary lord. It is well for the Hindu to be able to think: This is our spiritual and ethical heritage; here is the word of our own saint, who says, "bless them that curse you"; of our own sage, who declares that "the Vedas do not purify an immoral man"; here is the injunction, taught us long ago, to define a nobleman as one who is noble of soul; here is the statement that God is a spirit devoid of all evil and that righteousness is divine; here is the commandment to pity the unfortunate and to seek, not condescendingly but sympathetically, to do good to all. It is upon this basis that the Hindu can best go forward, extending the sympathy taught of old to the more comprehensive needs of to-day and rearing upon the foundation his fathers builded a still greater edifice of good works, in harmony with their ancient endeavour but commensurable with the wider outlook now demanded."

Noble words these,—to be borne in mind by the Hindu as well as his foreign friends. We commend the book to the notice of all students of Indian ethical culture. The book is quite readable for the general student, as it is not filled with quotations; and yet the scholarly element is not wanting; it has been fully supplied in the footnotes, where full references are given. Thus while fully supplying the scholarly element, the author has succeeded in keeping the main body of the book such as can be read with interest and with

profit by one who is entirely ignorant of Sanskrit. This in itself is no small merit of this meritorious work. This volume may be regarded as complementary to the author's well-known *Religions of India*. It takes up—as we have shown—from the beginning in the Rig Veda the moral development of India, traces the springs of ethical culture from their sources in the Vedic period to their final expression in

the limpid pools of Buddhistic epigram, shows how intimately religion and ethics were related, and gives special consideration to the great mass of legal and epical moral teaching, a field which the writers on Hindu ethics have hitherto neglected. On the whole, it is a book of which American scholarship can justly feel proud. It richly merits a very wide appreciation and extensive circulation.

THE ORPHEAN PATH.

By MR. CHARLES WHITBY.

I.

The poet of *The Earthly Paradise*, in describing himself as “the idle singer of an idle day,” maligned his vocation. Granted that such singers exist, they are certainly the exception. He maligned himself, too—a most industrious person, an enthusiast, a man of many missions. Earnestness rather than levity is the badge of the poetic tribe: the reproach levelled at modern minstrels is of taking themselves too seriously rather than not seriously enough.

“O Beauty,” cries Gautier, “we have been created to love and worship thee, if we have found thee; to seek thee unceasingly in this world, if that good fortune has not been ours.”(1) All true poets feel themselves committed to this Quest; some of the greatest have carried it far beyond the limits of the visible world. In so doing they are following the footprints of the Master Musician, whose god-given life and golden accents tamed the fiercest beasts, checked the swiftest rivers, caused flowers to bloom about his feet, and, when he descended to Hades, so charmed its monarch and inmates that Pluto restored his Eurydice, the wheel of Ixion paused, the stone of Sisyphus stood still, Tantalus forgot his thirst, and even the Furies relented. It has been surmised that Orpheus, whose name suggests a man of tawny complexion, brought from

India the doctrines he disseminated in Northern Greece. Whether he had any hand in the composition of the epic poem describing the Argonautic expedition, in which he is supposed to have participated, is very doubtful, but on two points tradition is clear and credible: firstly, that he was a poet of extraordinary power and charm; and secondly, that his mystical and ethical teachings formed the bed-rock of Hellenic civilization. This harmonious blending in Orpheus of the poetic and hierophantic roles is precisely what we should look for in the accredited founder of “the Glory that was Greece,” a unique manifestation on Earth of the ideal unity of Art and Religion. Athens was, remarks Hegel, “a state whose existence was essentially directed towards realizing the Beautiful,” and supports the claim by quoting from a speech attributed to her greatest statesman.(2)

“We love the Beautiful,” says Pericles, “but without ostentation or extravagance.” This Quest was for the Greeks a passion—for without passion there is no greatness—but it was also a discipline, a means of self-conquest and of self-transcendence. Art so conceived and practised can lead, has led, man to the Heights. Poetry being a representative art, poets in so far as they deserve the title, tread this Orphean Path.

To which of the three *Margas* or Paths of

(1) *Mademoiselle de Maupin*.

(2) *Phil. of Hist. Tr.* Sibree, p. 272.

Liberation *Jnana*, *Karma* or *Bhakti* (Knowledge, Works or Devotion) does the Poetic Discipline, it may be asked, belong? To neither, exclusively: it has something in common with each. Impassioned poetry is itself, as Hazlitt tells us, "an emanation of the moral and intellectual part of our nature, as well as of the sensitive; of the desire to know, the will to act, and the power to feel; and ought to appeal to these different parts of our constitution, in order to be perfect." (3) In some poets, however, as in Homer, the element of action predominates; in others, as Byron, Burns and Rossetti, that of emotion; in others again, as Browning, the intellectual factor. In Shakespeare and, on a higher level of aspiration, in Dante and Milton, the three elements are equally blended; but this perfect balance is a rare exception. This obviously is the fault not of the poetic discipline itself but of the one-sided way in which most poets practise it: instead of using their art as a spiritual gymnastic, they commonly make of it a form of self-indulgence, by exploiting those faculties in which they are innately strong and neglecting the others. Much the same is the ease of many readers: they study with enthusiasm the work of poets whose natures resemble their own, affecting to despise that of others of equal or greater merit, whose strength corresponds with their own deficiencies. It is just those whom they would cultivate with most advantage. Darwin in his *Autobiography* deplors the loss of his early love of poetry and music, saying that if he had had to live his life again he would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once a week. How well this great man's humility contrasts with the arrogance of many lesser folk, who make a point of announcing with fatuous pride that they "can't bear poetry!" It is their own shallowness which these condemn, not the golden lore sacred to Apollo.

II.

Although, faithfully followed, the path trodden by Orpheus can lead his votaries to Olympus, it is for obvious reasons a path not suited or even possible to all. The practice and even in some degree the appreciation of

poetry demand innate capacities which are by no means universal. Among other things—and this is the basic need—the would-be poet must be potentially supra-rational, capable on occasion of that celestial madness arising not from disease but, in Plato's words, from "a divine release from the customary habits." There are, of course, various degrees and kinds of inspiration, but all poetry worthy of the name is in some sense inspired. Poetic inspiration is a supernormal state, a state of which not all are capable at any time, and none at every time. Inspiration, as such, is not subject to the will. "A man cannot say, 'I will compose poetry.'" The greatest poet even cannot say it," Shelley declares. (4) Plato is equally explicit: "He who without the divine madness comes to the door of the Muses, confident that he will be a good poet by art, meets with no success, and the poetry of the sane man vanishes into nothingness before that of the inspired madman." (5) This is a Law too often overlooked by those who ought to know—who do know—better. Wordsworth must have been terribly sane when he wrote those *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*!

The Orphean Path should not be lightly entered upon even by those who are conscious of possessing the inborn capacity for that divine madness upon which all progress therein depends. For it is a path beset by special dangers, as the lives of many poets who have succumbed to them testify only too clearly. The nectar of the Gods, at best a perilous draught for mortal lips, begets, if not reverently and frugally tasted, a frenzy which is bestial or infernal; the fire from their altars has magical qualities which have over and over again rendered it utterly destructive to base and presumptuous users. All poets must needs play with fire; and this they can do safely so long only as they remember its divine origin, preserving their own innocence of heart and purity of intention. We may not crudely quench our thirst with sacramental wine, or cook our victuals at the hearth of Apollo. This truth is a key which unlocks the mystery of many deplorable biographies: consider the tragic fates of Marlowe, Chatterton, Savage, Poe, Wilde and Verlaine. Shall the supernal Beauty be blamed whenever a headstrong

(3) *Lectures on ten Eng. Poets. I. On Poetry in Gen.*

(4) *A Defence of Poetry.*

(5) *Phaedrus, Tr., H. N. Fowler.*

votary, neglecting the needful discipline dazzled therefore and bewildered from gazing too boldly on her splendour, perishes in mad pursuit of some deluding phantasm?

If the practice of poetry may be conceived as a Path, it must have at least its point of departure and its goal: a Path implies progress. Can there be progress in poetry, or is it, as some have affirmed, a thing absolute, admitting of no gradations? And this contention must not be lightly dismissed: it has at least a measure of plausibility. Is not Homer, one of the earliest of known poets, for example, still in his own field by far the greatest? Has even Shakespeare surpassed the tragic sublimity of Aeschylus? Or if we apply the same test to the development of individual poets, do we not find that many of them in early youth produce poems of a loveliness hardly equalled by the products of their maturity? Rossetti was but nineteen years old when he composed "The Blessed Damozel;" Poe was even younger when he wrote the exquisite lyric beginning "Helen, thy beauty was to me." These things are perfect in their kind; and what more can be hoped for than perfection?

Still, although perfection is an awe-inspiring word, all that it really means in this application is that, having in his mind's eye an ideal conception, the poet has succeeded in giving it a completely satisfying expression. The perfection of a cameo is one thing, that of a life-sized statuary group another and greater.

It is one thing to produce three flawless stanzas, and quite another to immortalise a whole world of heroic life and conflict in epic song, as Homer did. Every earthly manifestation of beauty, whether natural or human in origin, although inexhaustible in suggestion, has its limitations in regard to what is actually expressed. Consider by way of illustration the development of a typical human individual. His potentialities are unfolded not simultaneously but in succession, the later and higher to some extent at the expense of the lower and earlier. Thus, from the grace and charm of childhood he passes to the activity of boyhood; thence, to the emotional fervour of adolescence; the bodily strength of early manhood; the mental and practical efficiency of maturity; crowned, if he has lived with due regard to eternal verities by the spirituality of old age. Each phase of development has at its own time its appropriate beauty and fitness; and each is

carried on to some extent, but not fully, into those which follow. And so in poetry, the qualities, which we admire in the work of a primitive age would not satisfy us alone in that produced in later and more enlightened times. In the works produced by a particular poet at different stages in his career we look too for a similar progression, or, if you prefer that word, a similar development. This progression, where it occurs, constitutes what I have called the Orphean Path. It is in the main a progress from the outer to the inner, from the lower to the higher, from the sensuous to the ideal, from the material to the spiritual: a visible unfolding of a hidden process of growth in the poet's own soul, and an aid to similar growth in the souls of his readers. Of two poems of equal merit in other respects that will be the more beautiful which reveals a mind moving on the higher plane of consciousness, nearer therefore to that archetypal sphere which is the hidden font of all manifested beauty. This is a principle too often forgotten by modern critics, who in the attempt to apply what they call "purely-aesthetic" standards of judgment in poetry, end by narrowing it down to a merely imitative art, devoid of all moral, spiritual or even broadly human significance. It is not so that the master-singers of any age have understood or practised that art! They have never been too fastidious to feel or show an interest in the great issues that stir mankind. They have left squeamishness of that sort to the *petits-maitres*, the dabblers, the stipplers, the *soi-disant* superior persons.

III.

The grading of poems according to the degree of spiritual insight displayed is no such simple process as it may at first sight appear. Subject-matter is no criterion; a poem purporting to describe the bliss of Paradise may be a merely-conventional exercise; another dealing, like Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night," with the common joys and sorrows of everyday life and its humble yet sublime aspirations may far transcend it in real depth and value. When Wordsworth praises the skylark, which, building its nest on the ground, finds its constant delight in soaring and singing, as "true to the kindred points of heaven and home" he reveals by a flash of intuition one of the deepest mysteries of love and religion. In this contrasting of the humility of life with the

lofty reach of aspiration he has, by the way, been to some extent anticipated by a seventeenth century poet, who thus admonished himself:

The wise example of the heavenly lark
Thy fellow poet, Cowley, mark;
Above the clouds let thy proud musick sound,
Thy humble nest build on the ground.

With a view to getting to close quarters with our subject we cannot do better than consider in some detail the case of Wordsworth, who explicitly devoted one of his longest poems, "The Prelude," to describing the growth of a poet's mind. Born and bred amid the mountain scenery of the Lake District, he grew up "fostered alike by beauty and by fear," and in Book I he thanks the Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe for that

Thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
But with high objects, with enduring things—
With life and nature.

He is convinced that this was no accident; that he was put there for some high purpose, towards which he was being trained and led by Presences of Nature in sky and on earth, by Visions of the hills, and Souls of lonely places. The "shadowy exultation" begotten in those early years by the sublimity of Nature created within him a need of similar emotions, which, when the first freshness of his impressions was outworn, he was compelled to evoke, not by the contemplation of mere outward beauty and grandeur alone, but also by meditation on that hidden reality of which they are at once the type and veil. Wordsworth is no pantheist: he calls himself quite frankly a "worshipper" of Nature, but he always makes it clear that his worship is really addressed not to what she is in herself but to what she reveals within and beyond herself.

In the "Lines composed above Tintern Abbey" the poet contrasts the sober pleasure with which he now contemplates "these waters rolling from their mountain springs.....these steep and lofty cliffs.....these plots of cottage ground, these orchard tufts," with the wild ecstacy of his first visit, when "the sounding cataract haunted him like a passion." In those days of early manhood the colours and the

forms of mountain and wood had sufficed him: they had no need then of any remoter charm derived from thought, "unborrowed from the eye." Yet even at the time of this first visit Wordsworth, by his own account, had outgrown the time of open vision, that brief period of childhood

When meadow, grove and stream
The earth, and every common sight,
To me did seem
Apparelled in celestial light,
The glory and the freshness of a dream.

It must have been so, for, whereas it is in infancy that "Heaven lies about us,"

Shades of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.

He was twenty-three when he first came to Tintern; still young enough therefore to be "Nature's Priest," still capable of glimpses of "the vision splendid," yet nearing the time when it must fade "into the light of common day." In the great Ode from which I quote these passages Wordsworth (let us remark in passing) clearly indicates his conviction of the prenatal existence of the soul. If the strophe beginning, "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting," does not mean this it means *nothing*, and I have small patience with those who suggest that Wordsworth does not expect such statements to be taken seriously. Transcendentalism permeates all his best poetry; it is the very pulse of its being, and is repeatedly implied or avowed without the least ambiguity:

Our destiny, our being's heart and home
Is with infinitude, and only there.

At Cambridge, missing the sublimity of his native hills, Wordsworth's mind, turning in upon itself, "pored, watched, expected, listened," and so in due course, felt

Incumbencies more awful, visitings
Of the Upholder of the tranquil soul
That tolerates the indignities of time.

Later, in London, "begirt with shapes of vice and folly," shapes in pitiful contrast with those of the stalwart unlettered dalesmen, abroad in all weathers tending their flocks among the wilds, acquiring from the very simplicity of their task and its closeness to Nature a majestic aloofness, Wordsworth did not lose that faith in

or reverence for humanity already deep-rooted within. On the contrary, it was strengthened by a sense

Of what in the great City had been done
And suffered, and was doing, suffering still.

Moreover, in London, he tells us, the unity of man, the predominance of a spirit over-ruling ignorance and vice, was borne in upon him by observation of the influences that swayed its vast multitudes, evoking within him that pure bliss felt by

The soul when smitten thus
With a sublime idea.

In Books IX and X of *The Prelude*, Wordsworth passes to the description of his visit to France during the early days of the Revolution, where he soon caught the contagion of popular enthusiasm and "became a patriot," giving his heart to the people. Passing through Paris to the Loire district, he returned to the Metropolis a month after the September massacres, and clearly perceiving that the tendency of events was to place both City and Nation at the mercy of those extremists who were "strong through their impiety," was only prevented by what he came later to recognize as the providential necessity of returning home from intervening at all risks in the cause of liberty and justice.

But since I am not concerned with Wordsworth alone, I must abandon him at the point to which we have accompanied him on his ascent to those heights which, as we all know, he safely reached, having, I trust, said enough to give some idea of the nobility of his aims, and the source of his illumination.

IV.

Let us consider as our next example the case of a very different man, in a remote yet not utterly dissimilar period—the case of Euripides. According to Dr. Verrall, the key to the right understanding of Euripides, the fact we must keep constantly in mind, is the poet's assumption that the gods who play so prominent a part in his tragedies *do not exist*. This view, the view that regards Euripides as to all intents a mere "rationalist," I for one cannot accept, despite its superficial plausibility. Because Euripides held, as he undoubtedly and justifiably did, that "if gods do wrong surely no gods they are," because in innumerable passages he makes his characters or choruses criticise

freely, even contemptuously, the actions of the gods as represented in those current myths, which in common with other tragedians he accepted as subject-matter, it does not in the least follow that he disbelieved in their existence. Certainly he refused, and rightly refused, homage to beings, however powerful, who did unworthy things, but so did Socrates, whose last recorded words were an injunction to Crito to sacrifice on his behalf to Aesculapius. Plato, a devout believer in the gods, rejected with even greater frankness all the poetic fables of their immorality and injustice; by what right then can we assume that Euripides, in repudiating the same fables, wished to destroy rather than to purify the Hellenic religion? There was no doubt a vein of honest scepticism in Euripides: he was a lifelong truth-seeker, and being primarily a poet, not a philosopher, he chose the Orphean Path, following the clue of feeling rather than of thought, and leaving in his track a series of "problem plays" in which the conflicting elements of his nature are symbolized by characters and events. We should be very cautious about reading into these plays our own arbitrary views of their purport; thus, when Professor Murray says of the *Ion* that it is "of all the extant plays the most definitely blasphemous against the traditional gods," I remain unconvinced that it is in any fundamental sense blasphemous at all. Creusa having, according to the myth, been raped by Apollo and secretly borne him a son, the play records the meeting of that son, wrongly supposed to have died in infancy, and his mother in later years. Apollo comes in for some stern criticism from Creusa and others, partly for his outrage but mainly for his supposed desertion of his son. When it transpires that he has after all been watching over Ion's welfare, and when he restores him to his mother, her attitude completely changes—she "commends where erst she blamed him,"—and the chorus sums up by the assertion that in the long run the man who reverences the gods will be justified and the virtuous obtain their due. Where is the "blasphemy" here?(6)

It has been said—although I should be sorry to vouch for the truth of the assertion—

(6) Prof. Murray makes a great point of the duping of Nuthus by Apollo. But if Ion was not in fact his son, he might, Nuthus admits, have been so. I question much whether Euripides or any contemporary would have been sensitive on this nuance.

that the creative work of genius is always done with a bad or at least an uneasy conscience. Less questionable is the assertion of a great living philosopher (Benedetto Croce), that a man cannot reject any problem, once it has been forced upon him by the facts confronting him in his own life. For good or ill, by hook or crook, he must grapple with it, compel it to yield up its meaning to and for him, or, if that be a task beyond his power, content himself with some provisional solution by way of a working hypothesis. This problem of the apparent contradiction between the conduct of the gods, as depicted in the Homeric poems, for example, and their own higher conception of what divinity must and should be, was no doubt puzzling many minds in the days of Euripides. It was, as we say now, in the air. He dealt with it as best he could, leaning sometimes to the side of scepticism, at others honestly trying to reconcile the two factors or to merge both in a higher point of view.

Finally, in extreme old age, in his last and greatest drama, *The Bacchanals*, feeling, I suspect, that he was in danger of being mistaken—as he has indeed been mistaken, and still is—for a mere unbeliever, he left an awful warning of the danger of presuming to flout or defy those very gods whose traditionally-ascribed levity and injustice he had himself so boldly pilloried.

The plot of *The Bacchanals*, taken straight from the Dionysian ritual, is the basic subject of all Attic tragedy. It relates how Pentheus, King of Thebes, refusing to sanction or share in the sylvan festival in honour of Dionysus, the god, in human semblance, first excites his curiosity, then lures him to the glen where the maenads, his mother among them, are celebrating their holy revels. While Pentheus, in hiding, spies upon them, Bacchus reveals himself in awful majesty, denounces the intruder on his mysteries, and arouses the frenzied rage of the women. Led by the King's own mother, Agave, who, deluded by the god, mistakes Pentheus for a lion's cub, they tear him limb from limb, and Agave returns to Thebes, bearing aloft her son's head in insane triumph. This meagre synopsis conveys nothing of the tense life, the fierce passion, with which the old poet has imbued every line of his masterpiece. Its lesson, says Prof. Murray, "is that of the *Hippolytus* in stronger form. Reason is great, but it is not everything. There are in the

world things not of reason, but both below and above it; causes of emotion, which we cannot express, which we tend to worship, which we feel, perhaps to be the precious elements in life. These things are gods or forms of god: not fabulous immortal men, but 'Things which Are,' things utterly non-human and non-moral, which bring man bliss or tear his life to shreds without a break in their own serenity." That is, perhaps, a fair description of the god revealed in the *Bacchanals*—the traditional Dionysus embodied in the myth which the play reproduces. It does not follow that he fulfilled the poet's ideal of even a minor divinity. For my part, I seem to hear him say: "The gods, righteous as I believe, or unrighteous as these fables of yours depict them, at any rate *exist*; so be careful how you offend them." And that, if a true interpretation, was Euripides' last word, unless we may credit the story that among his remains was found a prayer which runs: "Omnipotent God, send Light unto men, that they may know whence their evils come and how they may avoid them."

V.

With regard to Shakespeare—who can hardly be left unmentioned—the indications of spiritual conflict and growth with which his plays abound are, in consequence of the objectivity of his genius, so universalized that it is not easy to find their personal applications. The thirty-seven plays generally attributed to him were written in the twenty years 1591 to 1611, that is, between his twenty-eighth and forty-eighth year, their precise dates and order being largely conjectural. Between the pleasant fooling of *Love's Labour Lost* and the mellow wisdom of *The Tempest* the advance is enormous, and represents a world of effort and experience. A fact of great spiritual significance emerges from even the most cursory consideration of the dates of Shakespeare's tragedies. Of these—excluding the doubtful and unworthy *Titus Andronicus* there are twelve, one of which, *Romeo and Juliet*, the tragedy of boy-and-girl love, was an appropriately early production. The other eleven are crowded into the nine years between 1601 and 1610, that is, between Shakespeare's thirty-eighth and forty-seventh year. In this unique series of deep-sea voyages of the spirit Shakespeare explored successively the ultimate problems of life; doubt in *Hamlet*; ambition in *Caesar* and *Macbeth*;

feminine frailty in *Troilus and Cressida*; malice and jealousy in *Othello*; doubt again, and more profoundly, in *Lear*; the baser aspects of mankind in *Timon*; passion in *Antony and Cleopatra*; pride in *Coriolanus*. Of these problems he gives of course no cut-and-dried solutions; but by subduing the harshest facts of life to the ideal ends of his art he at least suggests the adequacy of our spiritual resources to all demands upon our faith and fortitude. Beauty, the seal of Divinity, permeates all things, he seems to tell us; and is discernible by the seeing eye in all happenings, however sordid or terrible.

Immediately afterwards, in his two final plays, particularly in the *Tempest*, recapitulating and epitomising the stages of his progress, on the eve of departure from the scene of his struggles and triumphs, he surveys his completed work and pronounces it good. In the character of Prospero, the master-magician, Shakespeare bids farewell to that work and the world, dismissing with grateful acknowledgments the imagination which had served him so wondrously well, and consigning to oblivion the hard-won secrets of his art. In Prospero are exemplified the unsoured disillusionment, the genial detachment, the assured faith and serene wisdom which doubtless illumined the closing years of the poet's life, tokens of that spirituality which crowns the service of a great ideal. To my mind, the *Tempest* is a clear intimation that this ideal had proved no mirage; that Shakespeare's quest was attained. But Prospero's conduct in his hour of victory is that of a chastened man, one eager to forgive and forget. And who but can detect through the lines of his epilogue undertones which appeal to a higher than human tribunal?

Now my charms are all o'erthrown
And what strength I have's mine own;
Which is most faint.....
.....now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair,
Unless I be reliev'd by prayer;
Which pierces so that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.(7)

(7) Since writing the above I am interested to read that Prof. A. C. Bradley too feels that these lines "come with a sudden effect of great seriousness." Vide, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*: "Shakespeare the Man."

VI.

In the work of a subjective poet, like Milton, his inner life and progress are more recognizably mirrored than in his more objective creations are those of the "myriad-minded" Shakespeare. Milton had leanings to dramatic form, and for a long time hesitated between that and the epical in the incubation period of his *chef-d'oeuvre*; but his genius, if not as Macaulay declared "essentially lyrical," was dramatic in an entirely different sense from Shakespeare's. Milton, says Mark Pattison, "created his epic as metaphysicians have said that God created the world, by drawing it out of himself, not by building it up out of elements supplied *ab extra*." Shakespeare—to carry on the metaphor—overarches his world impersonally, in "exempt transcendency;" Milton pervades his like the vigilant personal Deity of Puritan theology, intervening occasionally after the fashion of that Deity to modify by acts of special Providence the natural course of events.

In the whole-hearted consecration of his art to spiritual ends there is only one poet comparable to Milton, namely Dante, his predecessor by more than three centuries. Dante's vocation was the more absolute: he seems to have been *born* for his task of summarising the Catholic scheme of life; and every circumstance of his life—his early love and bereavement, the frustration of his political ambition, his exile, poverty, isolation—conspired to bind him to the task in which alone his heart found refuge and his spirit free scope for its powers. The hour too was propitious: the unity of Christendom was unbroken; Science, Religion and Philosophy were still in at least formal agreement; it was possible for a single mind to assimilate, a single poem to epitomize, the sum of acknowledged principles as to the origin, duties and destiny of mankind. The result was the *Divina Commedia*, a work at once intensely personal and yet universal, realistic yet transcendental, true to its own time yet significant for all times, packed with detail yet harmonized throughout by the individual genius of its author and his fidelity to the Catholic point of view. The very name of Dante's heroine seems predestined: Beatrice becomes the symbol not merely of the happiness denied on earth, but of the blessedness, the Salvation, in quest of which he climbs from Hell through Purgatory, and from height to height of Paradise, by the Love impelled

That moves the sun in heav'n and all the stars.

Of Dante it is true in a sense or at least in a degree that can be claimed for no other poet, that his life—the essentials thereof—his art and his religion were *one*. But in a high degree it is also true of Milton, who deliberately qualified himself for his vocation on the principle that he who would "write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem." Yet in Milton, as contrasted with Dante, there is an element of *choice*, an imposition of self-will upon unfavourable circumstance, the result of which is that his *Paradise Lost*, for all its greatness, fails to impress us with that sense of inevitability which we feel in regard to the *Divina Commedia*. This is however a reflection rather on his age—an age of broken lights, divided counsels—than on the poet himself, who approached his self-imposed task in a spirit of almost unparalleled solemnity. In the days when he was "pluming his wings for a flight," he realized that such inspiration as he needed was "not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the life of whom he chooses."

The actual writing of Milton's masterpiece occupied him only from his fiftieth to his fifty-fifth year (1658-1663): he had been blind since his forty-third. The poem had a long incubation period: in a sense, the whole of his previous life had been a conscious preparation for the task. Yet it must not for a moment be doubted that Milton was a poet born; that he owed far more to innate genius than to all the pains he took to cultivate and improve his faculties. In proof of this I need only mention those lovely first-fruits of his Muse, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso* and *Lycidas*. "Had *Paradise Lost* never been written," says Mark Pattison, "these three poems, with *Comus*, would have sufficed to place their author in a class apart, and above all those who had used the English language for poetical uses before." The same critic extols *Lycidas* as the high-water mark of English Poesy and of Milton's own production. I agree. To these early poems, the spontaneous efflorescence of genius in forms of self-sufficing loveliness, our language affords no equals, and few that can bear comparison.

In the thirty lines of *Lycidas* spoken by Peter, culminating in the menace against the faithless herdsmen of "that two-handed engine" that

Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more,

Mark Pattison detects the mutterings of the coming storm of civil war and revolution. Here Milton "leaves behind him for ever the golden age, and one half of his poetic genius." When he resumed his task it was in a higher, more austere spirit, the spirit of one disdaining mere beauty, aspiring to sublimity.

Sublimity, according to Prof. Bradley, as contrasted with mere beauty, a harmonized unity of sense and spirit, "is harsh and hostile to sense.....does not soothe or delight but uplifts us." Poems like *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes* are never popular: their authors are admired rather than loved. We are invited to censure Milton for choosing a task beyond human power, for flouting the Aristotelian principle that *men* in action, not celestial or infernal dignities, are the poet's proper theme.

Some critics affect apprehension that the time may come when the undermining of Milton's theological basis may destroy his hold upon our imagination. Some even hint that for all its intrinsic beauties the *Paradise Lost* is upon the whole a splendid failure. I cannot myself entertain or greatly sympathise with such misgivings, heartily though I detest that legalistic view of the Fall and Redemption which Milton owed to his age and his own up-bringing. It seems to me an immensely significant and fruitful achievement to have breathed such awful reality into the characters of his Archangels and their Adversaries. It is because they were so sublimely or terribly real to Milton that they are so to us, while we read his poem.

Only those to whom the unseen world is, whatever their professed belief, a mental vacuum, and who wish to *keep it so*, will think Milton's endeavour to depict that world a waste of genius, or begrudge the "expense of spirit" involved in sharing his high adventure. I know that the philosophy of the hour affects an easy disdain for "mythology," Christian as well as Pagan, but there will always be simpler souls who, acquiescing in the reality of such "Birds of God" will delight in glimpses of

supernature like this description of the Archangel Raphael:

At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise
He lights, and to his proper shape returns,
A seraph wing'd : Six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine ; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er
his breast.

With regal ornament, the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipp'd in Heaven: the third

his feet
Shadow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
Sky-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly

fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. Straight knew him all
the bands

Of Angels under watch; and to his state,
And to his message high, in honour rise.

The Restoration of the monarchy, coming in Milton's fifty-third year, not only shattered his ideals but brought him many personal misfortunes. He lost his secretariat, his prestige, three-fourths of his modest fortune ; and in the great fire of 1666 his house in Bread Street was destroyed. In Book VII of *Paradise Lost* Milton claims that his song shall be unmarred by the evil upon which he has fallen, "in darkness and with dangers compassed round, and solitude ;" and it is indeed probable that his loss has been our gain. Yet in *Samson Agonistes*, the last and in some respects the supreme effort of his genius, an obvious idealization of his own forlorn plight and that of the cause with which he was identified, signs of bitterness are by no means wanting. Notably is this the case in the passage beginning "God of our fathers, what is man !" in which the Chorus expostulate with the Almighty for His "changes of countenance" towards men "solemnly elected.....to some great work, thy glory," for the "unseemly falls" such men undeservedly suffer, left in old age to the condemnation of "unjust tribunals, under change

of times," or that of the "ingrateful multitude:" in fine

Just or unjust alike seem miserable,
For oft alike both come to evil end.

Samson Agonistes, like the *Tempest*, is a poet's farewell to poetry. But it is more; a farewell to life itself, a final turning away from the enticing shows of nature, symbolized by Delilah's vain appeal to the hero, to the changeless reality beyond. The massive solemnity of the *Samson Agonistes* is due to its utter sincerity: it is a poem that debouches on Eternity, points us beyond itself. Yet in this duality the poem is after all merely true to the type of art in general which has always an intimate yet elusive quality, proffering to our hearts the enjoyment of a treasure—truth involved in beauty—which it defies our intellects to grasp. But in this there is no ground for complaint: every human discipline has its limitations, but art, which is in a sense the most primitive, is also in a sense the most final and comprehensive. For every true work of art is a microcosm in which we contact universal reality, an inexhaustible well of truth and enlightenment. "Veil after veil may be undrawn, and the inmost naked beauty of the meaning never exposed." (r)

There is doubtless a form of aestheticism which is arrogant and presumptuous, claiming for art or poetry a kind and degree of supremacy which reason cannot sanction. It is too often forgotten that no poet can or indeed should be always and only a poet: that his special vocation in no way exempts him from the everyday obligations and efforts of mankind: The artist stands or should stand behind and above his art: it is by no means enough to be an Aeolian harp, "a reed shaken by the wind." True, he cannot command his inspiration, but he can and should avail himself of the wings it lends him as a means of self-transcendence, that is, of self-realization and attainment. He must be childlike; he need not be childish; woo to him if he trail his wings in the mud!

(I) *A Defence of Poetry*, P. B. Shelley.

SWAMI RAM TIRATH : A STUDY.

By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

It has been an increasing pleasure to me to find that Swami Ram Tirath's writings, which I was partly responsible for helping to publish and make known to the world nearly eighteen years ago, have not only had a passing success, but have become a permanent factor in Indian religious literature. The fame, which he has achieved by his posthumous works, is well deserved; and it is my great hope that when I am at last able to obtain sufficient leisure to do so, I may be set free to select, from all his numerous writings, those that are of permanent value, and edit a volume which shall do him justice, not only in the East but in the West. In the present article, which I am writing for the *Hindustan Review*, I shall use some of the material which I had collected long ago when I wrote an introduction to the many volumes which were published under the title of 'In the Woods of Self-realisation'. These volumes have long been nearly out of print, but various abridgments of them have seen the light of day, and a charming sketch of Swami Ram Tirath has just been published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., publishers of Madras, written by his favourite disciple.

Swami Ram Tirath came at a time in Indian history when a deep unsettlement was taking place in the minds of the educated Indian students with regard to religious truths, and when the claims of the material world were becoming all-absorbing and fascinating to the younger generation. Physical Science was occupying the sole attention of intellectual minds, thus, inevitably leading to an indifference to religion and often to contempt of spiritual truth as something superstitious and irrational.

Even in his own college days his spirit was often pained by the general attitude of irreverence towards the spiritual life. The struggle for existence in the material world became often so great among young students that it left too little opportunity for the cultivation of the inner nature of man. Thus a reputation for worldliness and an eagerness for

worldly success were gathering round the educated life in the Punjab. It was into such an atmosphere of getting and spending and wasting one's highest powers, that Swami Ram Tirath's unworldly spirit came with a message that commanded attention by its very contrast. No one could be long in his presence without feeling that the highest happiness in life was to be found, not in the things of the body, but in the things of the soul. It was not so much that anyone had taught him the truths he held so dear, (though he would have been the first to acknowledge how much he owed to the kindly influence of the Forman Christian College where he was both a student and a professor) but he seemed from his earliest childhood to have grown up with an intense inner realisation of spiritual realities, and every instinct in his nature pressed him forward to the devout religious life. Many of those with whom I have conversed have told me about the innate power which he possessed, a power which moved them profoundly whenever they met and talked with him, a power which took their thoughts away from material things and made them feel, if only for the moment, the reality of spiritual experience.

Swami Ram Tirath's published writing, unfortunately, had not the full revision of the author himself. They were taken down often very carelessly in short-hand by his disciples and if he had had the leisure to revise them, he would undoubtedly have altered much, and probably made them much shorter by avoiding repetitions. But even in this unfinished form they bring the individuality of Swami Ram Tirath himself vividly before the mind, and they have a freshness of their own, which more careful revision might have destroyed. If I were asked to point out what I considered to be special qualities that appear in these writings, I should mention first and foremost the point I have already emphasised, namely, the unworldliness that is apparent on every page. Wealth, riches, worldly ambitions, luxuries,—

these are all laid aside without a murmur. The Swami's own life had reached a calm haven, into which the stormy passions that are aroused by the acquisition of wealth and worldly honours, had never come. His inner life had been free from such things. He cannot even understand them. The child nature seems to come out in him as he speaks of them. He smiles at them with an almost childish laughter from his own retreat, or mocks at them with a gentle raillery. This laughter at the importance of wealth appears in most of his poems.

In the second place, I would mention his overflowing charity and his genial kindness of spirit, which seem incapable of bitterness or malice. He is always trying to win men, not to drive them ; to make the best of them, not to blame or scold them ; to attract them by the power of his ideals, not to argue with them in useless and unsatisfying controversy. The bitter and rancorous spirit is absent, and the kindly tolerant spirit prevails. This is especially noticeable when he is dealing with beliefs other than his own. Here he is always courteous and sympathetic. If he has any objection to make, he does it with an apology. Usually, his attempt is to absorb and assimilate all that he can accept,—especially when he is speaking of Christianity,—and mould it into his own system of religious thought. In this respect, he shows the truly catholic spirit, which is the opposite of bigotry. He has a very large share of that charity which 'thinketh no evil' and 'rejoiceth with the truth!'

The third feature, that I should wish to notice in the life and writings of the Swami, was his abounding joy. He was not in the least one of those gloomy ascetics, who in choosing the pathway of renunciation, seem to have left behind them all joy and happiness. He knew what physical hardship and endurance meant in a way that few can have experienced. But this did not embitter him, or make his message one of harshness. On the contrary the very titles of his lectures are sufficient to give a picture of the character of his own mind. "Happiness within" "How to make your homes happy"—such are the subjects that appeal to him ; and his heart goes out in every word as he tries to make his message clear : it is the message of his own inner nature, not that of another's. He is full of happiness himself, which he wishes to give to the world, and he is never so happy as when happiness is his

subject. It is this laughter of joy also which bubbles over in his poems, waking in others an echo of his own happiness. The outward setting of these poems may often be somewhat crude and grotesque and the metre erratic, but the inner spirit may be caught by the sympathetic reader beneath the imperfect vehicle of expression. The message of this gay and chivalrous spirit, laughing at hardship and smiling at pain, is one that sad India sorely needs amid the despondency of so much of her present modern life.

II.

When we come to consider the actual philosophical basis of Swami Rama's writings, we are sometimes puzzled to define or to understand to what system of philosophy he belongs. Probably the truth is that he belongs to no system at all, but rather has passed out of the range of systems into that higher range of poetic thought where philosophy and religion meet in one. It is in this poetical and imaginative view of life that his freshness and originality are seen at their best. His romantic love of Nature, strong in his life as in his death ; his passion for sacrifice and renunciation ; his eager thirst for reality and self-abandonment in search of truth ; his joy and laughter of the soul in the victory he had won ;—all these, and other qualities such as these, which make him break out into song, reveal the true poet behind the philosopher. It is to these qualities that my own heart goes so warmly in response, and it is on these sides that I find by far the strongest attraction to the writer himself.

While I have studied the writings of Swami Ram Tirath and considered what relation they have to the Western mind at its highest and best, I have come to the conclusion that it is the poetry of the West rather than its philosophy or science, which comes nearest to the heart of such man as Swami Rama. This is especially true of that Revolution period in English literature which gave birth to Wordsworth and Shelley and Keats. In the same way, I venture to believe, the poets of modern India, who are seeking to bring the deeply spiritual instincts of the past into living touch with the new movements of the present, will come nearest to the heart of the West. Among these poets of Modern India, I would reckon that remarkable company of religious leaders,

We have in India, between the Ganges and the Jumna, a tract of country known as the Doab. Between these two waters lie the rich alluvial plains, which are ready for the seed. By means of cross channels, cut from one river to another river, the whole country can be irrigated. Thus an abundant harvest may be gathered year by year from the well-watered soil to satisfy the wants of mankind. Eastern and Western conceptions of spiritual life are flowing forward to-day like two great rivers which come from different sources. We need these poet thinkers, both in the West and in the East, who may be able to cut new channels from one river of human experience to another. In this way approximation may be made, and the soil of human life enriched and its area enlarged. Among the different intersecting channels of new thought which are being cut, two appear to me at the present time to be of special significance :

The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the
 hills and the plains,
Are not these, O Soul, the vision of Him
 who reigns,
Is not the vision He? Though He be not
 that which He seems,
Dreams are true while they last, and do not
 we live in dreams?

At the same time, it is noticeable that along with this conception of an all-pervading Divine nature, there has developed in the West, even more clearly and distinctly, in modern times, the conception of an eternally persisting human personality. There is a certain danger in this

From the side of the East, there is the approach made towards the West in what both Swami Vivekananda and Swami Rama Tirath have called 'Practical Vedanta'—the approximation of the modern Advaita Vedanta to the spirit of Christian philanthropy in its social and national applications. Here again the approach may well have its limits, and the social and national development of the East, under the new Hindu impulse, may differ both in kind and in degree from that of Europe under the Christian training of nearly two thousand years.

It is because Swami Rama Tirth was so singularly fitted to make some of these advances towards approximation, and to interpret Indian thought to the West, that I hold his series of lectures to be of great value to my own countrymen as well as to Indians themselves. I would wish to do all in my power to preserve the memory of Swami Rama and keep it fresh and green. Such a memory should be an inspiration, both to those who knew and loved him, and also to the younger student life of India which has grown up since he passed away.

In what I have been writing above and retracing my earlier essay I have had continually one thought in my mind, that the new age which is now beginning in Europe, and had no existence before the Great War, when I wrote my previous words, is certain in the long run to bring the West nearer to the East and the East nearer to the West. For the West has learned, through the bitter experience of international suicide, that its own premises, based on hard individualism and national selfishness and imperial greed, are all fundamentally wrong. The West is being forced by the very outcome of its own experiences to take account of this as it never had done before. There is to-day in Western thought an atmosphere of appreciation of the East and of sympathy with the Eastern mind, that is quite remarkable, when compared with the attitude taken by the West only twenty years ago. The age of aggressive nationalism in the West is passing away ; and poets of the East who can speak of a region of peace and love

and beauty are now listened to, even in the active and bustling West, with an attention which is a harbinger of better days to come. The fact that two names in India, Tagore and Gandhi, have suddenly come within the purview of the whole world, as two names representing world personalities, is surely a remarkable example of this approximation of the West and the East. It is idle to speculate to-day what Swami Rama Tirath might have done, had he lived only twenty years later, and if he had paid his visit to the far west in our own day instead of in an earlier generation. It is possible that he, with his spiritual vision and his power of winning personality, might have taken his place side by side with those who are interpreting the East to the West to-day, as one of their spiritual leaders. We still have his writings left behind, and I believe fully that, in the modern age, there will be a greater appreciation of them than there was in the days in which he lived and in which he died.

THE LAWS DELAYS IN INDIA : A CRITIQUE ON THE CIVIL JUSTICE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

By MR. C. M. AGARWALA, BAR-AT-LAW.

Before dealing with the Report and the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee, whose labours cost Rs. 2,82,867 to the Indian taxpayer (exclusive of printing), it is pertinent to refer to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's note on the causes of delay in Civil Courts and the desirability of appointing a Committee to enquire into the matter. Sir Tej Bahadur dealt first with the causes of delay in the subordinate courts and then with the causes of delay in the High Courts. In the subordinate courts the causes of delay, he classified under three heads, *viz.*, (a) weakness of judicial officers and laxity of the Bar, (b) causes attributable to the state of the law ; and (c) other defects of the legal system. Under the first head the points particularly noticed are :—

(i) insufficiency of judicial officers, (ii) tendency on the part of practitioners to examine too many witnesses and to cross-examine at inordinate length ; (iii) the omission to "open" complicated cases before leading evidence, with the result that the judge is unable, until the completion of the case, to determine what evidence is relevant to the issues and what is not ; (iv) the difficulty of serving processes due to negligence and corruption of an inadequately paid staff ; and (v) the granting of unnecessary adjournments.

Under the second head the points noticed are :—(i) looseness of pleadings due to the misapplication of the old Privy Council *dicta* promulgated before the enactment of the present Civil Procedure Code and at a time

when the Bar was not as efficient as it now is ; (ii) defective laws for the registration of documents with the result that the genuineness of registered documents is frequently challenged in the courts ; (iii) the difficulty, under the Evidence Act, of proving both public and private documents and the practice of practitioners challenging the authenticity of documents the genuineness of which are beyond doubt ; (iv) the delays of Commissioners appointed to record evidence or take accounts ; (v) the idle appeals from interlocutory orders, requiring, in some cases, amendment of the Code ; and (vi) the absence of trained judicial officers to deal with the growing volume of commercial cases in industrial centres.

The points noticed under the third head are :—(i) the defects in the procedure for the execution of decrees and the law of limitation applicable thereto ; (ii) the evils of the *benami* system and the recognition of *benami* transactions by the Courts ; and (iii) champertous claims.

HIGH COURT.

Delays in the High Court were attributed by Sir Tej Bahadur to :—(a) the insufficiency of judges and under-staffing of the translation department ; (b) the difficulty of serving notices ; (c) substitution proceedings ; and (d) overloading of the brief with unnecessary documents.

II.

ARREARS.

It appears from a comparative table set out in Chapter I of the Report that in 1922 there were 2,607,052 suits before the civil courts in India, excluding suits before village and *Panchayat* courts but including suits under Local Rents Acts in Bengal, Assam, Bihar and the Central Provinces. Of this total there were :—in Bengal 845,032, in Madras 414,294, in Agra and Oudh 270,439, in the Punjab 247,998, in Bihar and Orissa 240,973 and in Bombay 221,274. The Bihar and Orissa figures do not include rent suits in Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions as such suits are not tried by Civil Courts in those two commissionships. Of the total number mentioned above, 2,028,345 were decided, leaving 578,707 or 22.19, in arrears. Bihar and Orissa, with 31.34 *per cent.* had the largest percentage of

arrears, and, among the major provinces, Agra and Oudh had the lowest percentage, *viz.*, 14.19. But with respect to 'contested' suits the percentage of arrears in Bihar and Orissa was only 3.01. The majority of the suits, *viz.*, 1,572,021, were decided without contest, so that only 456,324 or 22.4 *per cent.*, were decided after contest. For Bihar and Orissa the figures were uncontested 136,102 and contested 29,340 ; the percentage of decisions in contested suits to total decisions (165,442), was therefore, in this Province, 17.07. Only 5,162 suits in Bihar and Orissa were valued at over Rs. 1,000, and, of the remainder, 91,311, were valued at Rs. 50 or less.

With regard to these figures it must be borne in mind that in some provinces a suit is called uncontested only if there is no contest at any stage ; in other provinces a suit is classified as uncontested if the contest is withdrawn at any period. The Committee observe : "when the parties have been given a full opportunity of appearing before the court, uncontested suits should, and in most cases can, be decided forthwith without a single adjournment. The parties are not brought before the courts as soon as possible and uncontested suits are not always decided forthwith. The delay in deciding uncontested suits is very remarkable in some court." The remedies suggested are :—(a) all necessary copies of the plaint to be served on the defendants should accompany the plaint ; (b) process fees should be paid on the date of the presentation of the plaint ; (c) a date should be fixed for appearance as soon as a plaint is presented and that date should be fixed shortly after the earliest possible date on which the processes are likely to be returned by the serving officer ; (d) on arrival in court the presiding officer should go through the cause list and dispose of all uncontested work at once.

The time taken to obtain a decision in a contested suit of value and involving a reasonable amount of difficulty varies in different provinces, *viz.* :—2½ years in Bengal ; 2 years in Bombay, Sind and Madras ; and 1 year or less in Bihar and Orissa, Agra and Oudh, the Punjab and the Central Provinces. In 1922, out of 54,920 contested suits decided in the Punjab only 19,340 were pending for over months. In Bihar and Orissa 25,207 such suits were decided and the number pending for over three months was 22,400, *i.e.*, in the Punjab 64.78 *per cent.* of these suits are decided within

three months of institution, whereas in Bihar and Orissa only 11.13 *per cent.* were so decided. In this state of affairs improvements which merely secure greater expedition between the date of institution and the time when the suit is ready for hearing, are not likely to remove the real trouble. As the Committee remark: "When there is enough work pending at the end of 1924 to occupy a subordinate judge till the end of 1926, difficult contested suits instituted in 1925 have no chance of being decided before 1927"—and it may be added, only then if the parties are all still alive. The difficulty appears to have arisen out of the fact that in recent years the non-judicial work of judicial officers has increased to such an extent as to make serious inroads into the time at their disposal for judicial work. This seems to be particularly true of District Judges who, as a result, have had to delegate to subordinate judges some of their functions, including that of hearing appeals from the decisions of Munsiffs. The subordinate judges in their turn, having been encumbered with the duty of hearing these appeals and of trying sessions cases, are unable to make any progress with their original civil work. Add to this, the dilatoriness of the litigant, the corruption of the civil court staff, and the unfortunate habit that parties have of dying *pendente lite*, and some idea of the state of confusion may then be envisaged.

III.

FIXING OF DATES.

If the Report of the Civil Justice Committee achieves nothing else it will at least have placed on record a scathing condemnation of the pernicious practice prevailing in most subordinate courts with regard to the fixing of dates. The Committee find that the peculiar manner in which the dates of hearing of suits are fixed over the greater part of India is one of the major factors in producing delay. The practice referred to is that of fixing considerably more work than can possibly be got through in the day allotted for its disposal. Some subordinate judges and munsiffs frankly admitted to the Committee that it was their practice to fix more work than they could complete and they stated that it was necessary to do so because it was always possible that if only sufficient work were fixed for the day a

portion might disappear, and then the presiding officer would be left without full occupation. In order, therefore, that the minds of judicial officers shall not be distracted by the fearful thought that they will not have sufficient judicial work to carry them through the day, the litigants are put to all the loss of time and money occasioned by having to travel long distances to attend a court for cases, which the presiding officer knows have no, or very little chance, of being reached. It is even worse when these litigants have brought witnesses with them and the witnesses are kept for the greater part of the day and then sent back to their homes unheard. In many courts parties appear over and over again without obtaining a hearing and witnesses are brought back on several occasions before their evidence is recorded. Now the reason for this state of affairs,—apart from the fact that there is more work than the existing staff can deal with—is the fear which a judicial officer has of the consequences to himself if there is a case on his file which is not disposed of within the average period or in which nothing is done for a long period of time. An example will illustrate the position. A suit is ready for hearing in January 1925 but owing to the congestion in the courts the presiding officer knows that he will not be able to record the evidence until January 1926. There are two courses open to him, *viz.*, either to fix a date in January 1926 or to fix a date in 1925 and then to adjourn the case from time to time until it is possible to take it up in 1926. The court gains nothing by adopting the latter course. In fact it is put to the inconvenience of writing one useless order after another. Much is lost by the parties. Of course there is always the chance—and who can deny that there are officers who welcome such a chance—that, on one of the dates fixed, either the plaintiff or the defendant will be absent, and then the suit can immediately be dismissed for default or disposal of *ex parte*.

The Committee state that they are "unable to understand how the practice has ever grown up. Higher authorities do not approve the system and discourage it by their orders. If the presiding officer is afraid of a possible stigma from having in his court a suit pending for more than a year, he will not escape by fixing twelve intermediate dates on which nothing is done, for the case will not be

decided within the year." The following passage from the Report deserves to be indelibly impressed on the mind of every judicial officer:—"In any circumstances the system is vicious. It appears to be based upon the idea that the courts may safely ignore the convenience of the public in order to enable them to show a tale of work which they suppose will be considered satisfactory by the higher authorities. It must be impressed, and impressed very clearly, that *the first consideration should be the convenience of the public* and that all other considerations should give way to that." The Committee found and remark with disapproval, that there are instances in which parties are driven to compromise or withdraw by their inability to tolerate the manner in which the hearing is dragged on. It is "a scandal that any litigant should be coerced to a withdrawal in this manner." The conclusion arrived at by the Committee is that the practice has grown up owing to apathy; that presiding officers, merely in order to save themselves the trouble, have allowed their clerks to fix dates and have made no attempt to estimate the possible duration of pending cases; that the clerks fix dates without any attempt at method and arrange four times the amount of work that can be got through in the day. The remedies suggested by the Committee are simple and require only a *bona fide* attempt to study the convenience of the public to make them successful. The principal thing is that the presiding officers should themselves fix dates and arrange the cause list and, in doing this, they should make a rough estimate as to the duration of each case. Never should the amount of work fixed for any day exceed by more than one quarter the amount that may reasonably be expected to be completed and the work not done on the date fixed should be given precedence on the next date.

In those few instances in which court is left with insufficient work to fill up the day, the presiding officer should write judgments in cases which have been heard or examine the pleading in cases which are coming up for issues, or inspect his office, or, in places in which there are more than one court of the same jurisdiction, he can send for work from his colleague and take it on his own file. These suggestions, however, are likely to be of little avail in the absence of constant inspection of the work of the subordinate courts, and, more

particularly, of the order sheets in individual cases. In this connection the following suggestion from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's note is instructive:—"In my opinion it is necessary the inspection of the subordinate courts by the High Court should be carried on more vigorously and more regularly. This may, in some High Courts, involve the appointment of additional judges, but in my opinion the appointment of one additional judge to each High Court whose business it will be to be constantly inspecting the working of the subordinate court will not be a waste of money." Perhaps the appointment of an Additional Registrar in the High Court whose work it would be constantly to inspect the subordinate courts and report direct to the High Court would be equally efficacious and less costly than a High Court judge, who is better employed in judicial than administrative work.

IV.

WRITTEN STATEMENTS.

Serious as are the delays caused by the congestion in the courts, still less excusable are the delays which occur at every stage of a contested litigation. These are in part due to defects in the law of procedure, but are mainly attributable to the procrastinating habits of litigants, the unpreparedness of practitioners and the omission of the courts to exact promptitude by the enforcement of the penalties which have been provided. Experience shows that the average litigant will never do to-day what can be done by him to-morrow, and he will not do it even then if there is the slightest chance of receiving the indulgence of an extension of time from the court. The most glaring instance of this persistent procrastination is in the matter of written statements. It may be said without fear of contradiction that in barely one *per cent.* of the cases—if even in as many—does the defendant file his written statement on the date originally fixed for that purpose. The Code enables the court to pronounce judgment against a party who fails to file a written statement within the time fixed, and frequent exercise of his discretion is alone likely to effect a change in the habits of litigants. The considered opinion of the Civil Justice Committee is that "until the courts make it understood that an order must be obeyed, there will be no great improvement in this or in many other matters, and it may be suggested, with a

certain confidence, that once a court lays down unmistakably that it will enforce an order that has been passed, there will be few instances in which the order will be disregarded."

The blame, however, cannot be laid entirely on the subordinate judiciary. "In their efforts after improvement the latter have been too frequently let down by superior courts ; it would enormously facilitate the work of the better class of practitioners as well as of the subordinate courts, if it were adequately appreciated in High Courts, whether, in appeal or revision, that 'flabbiness' which, in respect of the subordinate judiciary, is at worst a besetting sin, is, in the superior courts, a pestilence which affects all the courts below them." How often does a High Court Judge, with the object of softening the rigours of the law in a particular case, reverse the decision of a lower court, with the deplorable result that the lower court, in order to avoid a reversal of its decision in similar cases, refrains from exercising its penal powers, against suitors and allows a lax practice to grow up which adversely affects the interests of the average litigant.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

With regard to another matter, mentioned by the Committee, namely, the omission to take advantage of the provisions of the Code with respect to the Discovery, Inspection and Admission of documents, practitioners are to a large extent to blame. It does not seem to have been realized how much the work of the Bench and the Bar would be facilitated at the hearing if these provisions were properly used ; the time of both would be saved and the parties would avoid much useless expense and delay. The Committee particularly invite the attention of the courts and members of the Bar to this matter and suggest that these provisions of the Code should be found of peculiar advantage in the hearing of the larger title suits and certain commercial suits and also, occasionally, suits of less importance.

THE ISSUES.

To the layman, it will probably come as a surprise to hear that express provisions of the law are sometimes totally disregarded in the courts and that the culprit is the presiding officer, yet the Committee found this to be the fact. Under the law the formulating of the

points on which the parties are at issue is left to the Court and the presiding officer is directed to do this "after reading the plaint and written statement, if any, and after such examination of the parties as may appear necessary." The Committee found that in some provinces the courts hardly ever attempt to comply with the law, do not read the pleadings and leave the parties to frame the issues themselves, and that the courts which adopt this unauthorised and illegal method are usually the courts in which the delay in framing issues is most marked. The excuse given by the judiciary for this flagrant disregard of the law they are appointed to administer is that, under present conditions, presiding officers have no time to comply with the law and the rules. This objection will not survive examination. "If the law directs the presiding officers to perform a particular duty, that duty must be performed and time must be found for its performance, but, apart from that, this objection is unsustainable" as a short time "spent upon the examination of parties, the studying of the pleadings and careful scrutiny of the documentary evidence may mean five or six days saved during the subsequent hearings."

OPENING THE CASE.

Another matter on which the Committee lay stress is the necessity of the plaintiff's case being "opened" before his oral evidence is led, and the defendant's case being opened before the evidence is adduced for the defence. To the practitioner, the object of this is clear. When a party does not open his case and does not state exactly the line which he proposes to take, it is open to him to change the case which he originally had in mind, and not only to call witnesses whom he had originally intended to call ; but to call others on different points to support a different case, if he sees that the case which he had in mind is not progressing as satisfactory as he desires. If the case is not opened, a party cannot be confined to his original case, for the court does not know what it is. Further, the failure to open the case puts the presiding officer at a disadvantage in dealing with the evidence of each witness as he is called. The Committee was informed that in some cases a pleader does not know sufficiently of his own case to be able to open it ! Allied to this subject is a recommendation of the Committee with regard to the filling of lists of

witnesses. It is suggested that the parties should, before the hearing, be required to file a list of witnesses whom it is proposed to call and should not be allowed to increase that number without any special reason. But it is pointed out that a possible objection to this course is that it will afford a better opportunity to the other side to endeavour to tamper with his opponent's witnesses. To meet this objection the Committee suggests that these lists need not be made public, that they could be kept in sealed envelopes opened only on the day when evidence is first led.

The suggestion is a remarkable one, for its inevitable result would be that on the first day fixed for leading evidence there would be no witness to examine except the parties themselves. The average citizen is not so interested in his neighbour's litigation that he will voluntarily leave his own work for the purpose of travelling a long distance in order to give evidence. The usual course is to summon him and when a summons has once been applied for, the opposite party experiences no difficulty in knowing who has been summoned. There can, however, be no doubt of the soundness of the Committee's recommendation that, in order to obtain quicker disposal of cases, litigants must be penalised for procrastination. "If every litigant is presumed to be too poor or too ignorant to behave with candour and commonsense, if it is always unjust to visit on him the fault of his pleader, then civil justice must of necessity be regarded on the footing that the marvel is not that it works badly but that it works at all." And a "court which undertakes to dispense justice, whether the parties put it in a position to do so or not, ends always as a byword for injustice."

V.

RECORDING OF EVIDENCE.

The most laborious and tiresome work performed by a judicial officer in an original trial is undoubtedly the recording of evidence. In the small cause courts only a summary of the evidence of each witness is recorded but in ordinary suits the presiding officer takes down the evidence of each witness in longhand, in a narrative form. The deposition is then read out to the witness and signed by him. This naturally takes a long time and any effective remedy would be welcome. The

employment of a large number of stenographers may be—and has been—by the Civil Justice Committee dismissed as impracticable. The remedy suggested by the Committee is this: that although junior judicial officers should be required to follow the present practice of recording the evidence in full, experienced officers should be empowered to record merely a summary of the evidence. The Committee refer to the practice in England where the sole record in original civil trials is the note which the judge makes of the substance of the evidence for his own information. It is accepted that the judge, in order to arrive at a correct decision on the evidence, will record everything of importance, and this note of the evidence is all that is required. The Committee justify the proposal on the following grounds: (a) senior judicial officers in India are reliable, intelligent and conscientious; (b) their judgments show that they fully realize their responsibility, and are most anxious to have before them sufficient materials for decision; (c) senior officers almost invariably have small cause court powers and in exercise of those powers they are not required to maintain a full record; and also that (d) they exercise appellate powers and their decisions on the facts are final.

While in no way desiring to detract from the high regard in which the subordinate judiciary is held, it may be doubted whether any change in the existing practice can usefully be based on an analogy with the state of affairs in England. In the first place, the quantity of work turned out by a judge in England is not one of the criteria by which he is himself judged. Judges there are not harassed by the thought that their files show an accumulation of arrears and that they will have to explain the reason of it to a superior authority. No judge in England would ever permit the quality of work to be influenced by the quantity to be disposed of. No judge in England, whether he be a County Court Judge or a High Court Judge, is haunted by the fear that he will be passed over in favour of a colleague who disposes of more cases than he has been able to do. The temptation in India for a subordinate judge to earn promotion to the status and emoluments of a District Judge by *disposing* of cases hurriedly rather than *judging* cases painstakingly, is a factor which can not safely be neglected, when it is sought to introduce an English practise into India merely because it has worked satisfactorily in

England. There are, moreover, many more important differences between the position in England and that in India.

- (a) In England important civil suits are heard by a judge and jury. The jury hear the evidence and decide all questions of fact, and the jury's findings can not ordinarily be directly challenged in appeal. A full record of the evidence is, therefore, not required for the purposes of an appeal.
- (b) In England, even in cases disposed of by a judge without a jury, the findings of the judge on questions of fact cannot ordinarily be disturbed. It is very doubtful whether the average litigant in India has as much confidence in the judges' findings of fact, as has the average litigant in England. This is not necessarily the fault of the Indian judge: it may be due to the fact that the Indian litigant knows that the judge is working against time.
- (c) In England suits are invariably heard from day to day. Immediately the evidence has been heard the parties address the court and judgment is delivered while the evidence is still fresh in the mind of the court. In India the position is far different. Frequent adjournments take place while the evidence is being heard, there is always an interval of time between the completion of the evidence and the hearing of the arguments. Finally, the judge takes the record home and writes the judgment when he can find time—usually after he has written the judgment in several previous cases and heard the evidence in several later cases. In such circumstances it is impossible for him to bear a clear recollection of the whole of the evidence and he, therefore, requires a written record to assist him.

The fact that many senior judicial officers have been invested with Small Cause Court powers is used as an argument in favour of the proposal to empower such officers to record only the substance of the evidence in regular suits.

Now in Small Cause Court suits the amount in dispute is usually trifling; very little evidence is called; the proceedings last ordinarily from 30 to 40 minutes; the judgment is written forthwith; and the superior court is not concerned with the evidence. In spite of all this, if it were possible to obtain simultaneously a moving picture of the proceedings and a gramophone record of the noise in the average Small Cause Court, it is doubtful whether the above mentioned argument would prove very attractive. How often does it not happen that witnesses are being examined in one case while the court is engaged in writing the judgment in the previous case. This is possible only because the law does not require the court to be recording the evidence in full. For the above reasons also it is not desirable to give effect to the Committee's recommendation to extend the pecuniary jurisdiction of Small Cause Courts. There seems at present to be no satisfactory way of shortening the time occupied in recording the evidence. The Committee's proposal may be workable later, when the courts are not everwhelmingly in arrears, and when the subordinate judiciary have no cause to place quantity before quality; but not till then.

VI.

PREVENTIBLE DELAYS.

It is not within the scope of this article to deal in detail with all the faults found by the Civil Justice Committee; nor is it possible to notice all the recommendations made by the Committee for remedying the present state of affairs. Enough has been said to show that many of the causes of delay are within the control of the presiding officers of the courts. Such delays may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) Corruption of the ministerial staff and the process servers;
- (b) the dilatory habits of the litigants;
- (c) the unpreparedness of the lawyers; and
- (d) the omission of the courts to exercise more frequently the penal powers which they already possess.

With regard to the first, nothing but adequate pay, constant supervision and drastic action against the offenders will (if ever) remove the trouble. The other evils can, to a great extent, be minimised by more co-

operation between the Bench and the Bar, and by a strict enforcement of the court's orders. The Committee record that "in the district courts the members of the Bar are apt to resent anything that makes for strictness. As a result, attempts made by the presiding officers to take a justifiably strong line are met, in many instances, by an application for transfer of the suit to another court." The remedy for this seems to be that when a subordinate officer takes a strong line, which is really justifiable, he should receive the backing of the superior authorities. The Report contains many useful suggestions for the devolution of the powers of superior courts to subordinate courts and rightly emphasises the importance and popularity of "Panchayat" courts in places where they exist.

LOCAL BARS.

There is an interesting chapter in the Report on Local Bars. The Committee find that the training of district court pleaders is unsatisfactory for the duties which they are required to perform. They state their view as follows:—"A large part of the evil is attributable to the

system under which any person who passes a University or a High Court test, is admitted, without any previous training in conveyancing, in drawing up pleadings or in the ordinary practice and procedure of the court. No recommendation to cope with the unsatisfactory state of business in our court can, in our opinion, achieve any great improvement if the question of the practical training of the members of the 'mofussil' Bar is not grasped firmly and dealt with seriously and soon." To the layman who considers that lawyers are always overpaid it will come as a surprise to learn that in heavy cases "the remuneration is not at all commensurate with the labour bestowed either in the preparation or in the argument of the case." The Committee recommend the framing of rules under the Legal Practitioners Act with reference to the remuneration of Vakils which will pay reasonably and justly for services rendered in the various stages and enable the appointment of juniors in difficult cases for a remuneration to be fixed by rule and not by the grace of the senior. If this suggestion be carried out, there can be little doubt that it will lead to improvement of matters.

(To be concluded.)

THE LATE SIR RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E.

A LIFE-SKETCH.

I

In the death—full of years and honours—on the 24th of August last, at the ripe age of 88, of that great savant and Indologist, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar of Poona, India has sustained a very serious loss in the realms of scholarship. Sir Ramakrishna was great not only as a scholar of Sanskrit and Indian history and religion, but also as a social reformer. He was born on July 6, 1837, of poor Maharashtra Brahman parents. His father was a clerk in the Revenue Office. Want of facilities prevented young Bhandarkar from receiving an early education: but when his father was transferred to Ratnagiri—the headquarters of a District in

Bombay—the boy entered a school. After completing his education at Ratnagiri in 1853, Bhandarkar went to Bombay and joined there the Elphinstone college. He was very assiduous in his studies in college and devoted himself to the study of English literature, history, natural science and mathematics, which last claimed his particular attention. Passing his scholarship examination, Bhandarkar was in due course appointed a Fellow of the Elphinstone College and was subsequently transferred to the Deccan College at Poona. While there Mr. Howard, the then Director of Public Instruction, persuaded him to study Sanskrit, and in a short time he became very proficient

in it. Then came great educational changes, and all the Fellows of colleges who had undergone the old college course were required to pass the new university tests. Bhandarkar took his B.A. degree in 1862 and M.A. in 1863, both in English and Sanskrit, and thus crowned a glorious academic career.

After passing his M.A., Bhandarkar thought of joining the Law College, but just then he was offered and accepted the headmastership of a high school at Hyderabad (Sind). In 1868 he was transferred to his own *alma mater* and was appointed temporarily to the Sanskrit chair at the Elphinstone College. His method of teaching and his masterly exposition of subjects soon brought crowded classes. In 1872 the Sanskrit chair fell permanently vacant: but contrary to all expectations, Bhandarkar was superseded and the professorship was bestowed upon Dr. Peterson, who was junior to him by about ten years. This was a great blow to Bhandarkar but he bore it patiently and continued to work as Dr. Peterson's assistant. In 1879, he acted for Professor Keilborn as Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona, and on the former's retirement from service towards the close of 1881 was made a permanent incumbent and entered the graded service of the Bombay Education department. He retired from government service in 1893. Besides serving the university as a professor and an examiner, Bhandarkar as a member of the Syndicate (1873-1882) took a leading part in regulating its affairs. After his retirement from professorship, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.

The literary activity of Bhandarkar began with the starting of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1872 by the late Mr. James Burgess, with a view to bring together the results of the researches of oriental scholars. During the years 1872, 1873 and 1874, Bhandarkar was engaged in a spirited controversy with Prof. Weber of Berlin on the question of the age of Patanjali. In May, 1874, he contributed a long article on 'The Vedas in India'. As a result of it he was invited to join the International Congress of Orientalists which met in London in that year. For domestic reasons he could not accept the invitation but he sent a paper on the Nasik Inscriptions, which was acclaimed at the Congress as one of the best essays submitted to it and considerably enhanced his already great reputation as a scholar. Next year

he was made an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. In 1876 was instituted the Wilson Philology Lectureship and Bhandarkar was chosen as the first lecturer. The lectures he delivered in this connection are of permanent value and interest. In 1879 the Bombay Government entrusted him with the work of conducting a search for Sanskrit manuscripts. He issued periodically six volumes of reports regarding his operations. They still form a vast storehouse of historic information on various topics of Sanskrit studies and are of permanent interest to all students of early Indian history. His editing of old Jain manuscripts led to a resuscitation of interest in the history of the Jain sect, of which little was known till then. In course of his search he was able to gather materials which he subsequently utilized for the publication of his *Outlines of Vaishnavism*.

In 1885 the University of Gottingen (Germany) honoured Bhandarkar by conferring on him the degree of Ph.D. Next year he visited the great Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna. After this many learned societies in Europe and America vied with one other in honouring him by conferring honorary degrees. He was justly recognized as the leading Sanskritist in India. In 1884 he published his well-known and scholarly *Early History of the Deccan*. Perhaps his greatest work is *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects* published so late as 1913, as one of the volumes of the late Dr. Buhler's *Encyclopædia of India-Aryan Research*. Towards the end of 1915 many loving disciples and admirers of Bhandarkar conceived the idea of founding an Oriental Institute which would offer facilities to research workers and at the same time commemorate his memory. The scheme soon materialised, thanks to the aid of the late Sir Ratan and Sir Dorab Tata and the Bhandarkar Institute was formally inaugurated by Lord Willingdon in July, 1917. A band of scholars trained under his influence are here continuing the work of Bhandarkar, not the least notable of his trained pupils being his son—Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar—who is at present Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University and whose lectures for 1923, which have just seen the light in the form of a monograph on Asoka the Great, are a notable contribution to the history of India at a time when the Mauryan Empire was at its greatest extent and influence.

Much good may, therefore, be expected to result from the labours of the band of scholars carrying on researches in the fields of Indian history, philosophy and literature at the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona.

Bhandarkar was the last relic of a generation that is known to us more by hearsay than by actual contact. Ranade, Bhandarkar and Wagle were the earliest batch of graduates of the Bombay University, and during the half dozen years that followed their graduation, several men that contributed in one or other direction to the intellectual life of the Maharashtra country got through the portals of the University. But that generation disappeared long ago with the death of Ranade in 1901. Bhandarkar was the sole survivor of it. But unlike Ranade, he was never interested in politics. Public life knew him only in social reform matters. He earned a high reputation for Sanskrit scholarship, and though he was an earnest social reformer—he gave away in marriage a widowed daughter—his fame will chiefly rest on his proficiency as a great savant. His excursions into public life were not always happy. When he was nominated Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, his convocation speech was an attack on the causes of high mortality of the graduates and no less a person than Ranade himself tore to pieces his arguments. Later, when Mehta and Gokhale were fighting the Government of Bombay land revenue problems, Bhandarkar was nominated for a little while to the Bombay Legislative Council, where he supported the Government. But the most unfortunate cut of all came when Lord Curzon nominated him to the Imperial Legislative Council to defend his lordship's higher educational policy as embodied in the Universities Bill, which was attacked with wonderful critical acumen and vigour by Bhandarkar's most brilliant pupil—Gokhale. The spectacle of the venerable Professor opposing Gokhale at each stage was not at all edifying. In spite, however, of such occasional vagaries, Bhandarkar enjoyed the unanimous homage of all for his great learning and ripe scholarship, irrespective of party or community. His love of Sanskrit was as deep as genuine. Though for the last dozen years he had been leading a retired life, his death has roused feelings of genuine regret throughout the length and breadth of India as it means the disappear-

ance of a highly gifted Indian of very high ideals and character.

II

AN APPRECIATION.

By Mr. K. Nataranjan, Editor of the *Indian Daily Mail* and *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Honoured as one of the world's greatest Sanskrit scholars, with all trace of the bitterness of old social and religious reform controversies hushed in reverent homage, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar has passed away at a very advanced age for an Indian. The funeral according to Indian custom, took place the same evening and over fifteen thousand people followed the mortal remains of the great savant to his last resting place. We do not know of any other country where the death of a great scholar and educationist would have evoked the same amount of popular feeling that Sir Ramakrishna's death has certainly evoked in this country. Great soldiers, statesmen and politicians are in other lands the idols of popular enthusiasm. It is evidence of the wide diffusion of true culture among the masses of India—a fact to which the late Professor Max Müller was the first to call attention in his papers entitled 'Literature without letters'—that such an enormous crowd should have gathered at practically a couple of hours' notice to pay its last homage to the illustrious dead. In the account of his South African struggle which Mahatma Gandhi has published, there is a passage which bears remarkable testimony to the high respect inspired by Sir Ramakrishna even among his bitterest opponents. Mahatmaji recalls therein that when he came to India in 1891, with the object of awakening interest in the cause of the Indians in South Africa, he went to Poona among other places, and called on Messrs. Tilak and Gokhale—his first contact with them—and both of them advised that Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, as commanding the respect of all parties and sections in Poona, should be requested to preside at a public meeting to hear Mahatma Gandhi's address. Mahatmaji thereupon called upon Sir Ramakrishna and he found him deeply touched by the sufferings of the South African Indians and ready to do everything in his power to alleviate them. Sir Ramakrishna and the late Mr. Tilak were as the poles asunder in their views on every question. But it is well-known that the latter often consulted the Sage on difficult

points in the interpretation of ancient Sanskrit texts.

The late Mr. Justice Ranade and Dr. Bhandarkar were among the first graduates of the Bombay University and they became staunch collaborators in the social and religious reform movements in India. The difference between the two men was that between Erasmus and Luther. Speaking at a public meeting in honour of the late Mr. Telang—whom he succeeded in the judgeship of the High Court—the late Mr. Ranade had in his own felicitous way drawn an analogy between the Reformation in Europe and the Indian Renaissance. Replying to the charge of a double-life which was often brought against educated Indians, he asked the critics to realise the character of the struggle in which Indians were engaged. It was a memorable speech in every way. In it he spoke of the divided and conflicting life of two civilizations, two forms of faith and two ideals of life and conduct. There were, on the one side, the orthodox people who thought that they might still live and thrive as their ancestors did before them, while, on the other side, were those who thought that the past was dead and buried, that they had no obligations to it and that their obligation was solely due to the present and to the future. “Between ‘these extreme views’, Ranade went to say, ‘there are a small number among us who while they revere their past, would see it gradually adapt itself to the new circumstances with which it has pleased Providence to surround us, as we believe, for our own ultimate good. We cling to the past and yet would keep our hold on the future. We are thus often liable to be misunderstood by foes and friends alike.’” He further pointed out that such men had existed in all periods of transition in ancient Greece and Rome and among the early Christian fathers. The early Protestants also had this experience. He went on to say: “Melancthon and Erasmus lived in the same age as Luther. Sir Thomas More and Bacon were contemporaries of the early Calvinists. Our situation is more complex for it is not only in one department but in all the varied activities of life, social, religious, political and industrial, that this conflict hems us in, and we have to tread the path of duty every moment balancing the one set of valid obligations against others equally imperative with a determination to walk straight but not so as to tread upon the toes

of others.” Now we know that Luther had his compromises as well as Erasmus, but without the candour of Erasmus who admitted that he was a poor actor and preferred to be spectator of the play. Mr. Ranade returned to the subject by saying that was “not strictly correct that men like Mr. Telang paused and halted from want of earnestness or from fear of offending people. Those who live in the past secure popularity; those who bury their past obtain ease. Men like Mr. Telang and others obtain neither ease nor popularity by the very fact that they can neither hold by the past nor forget it altogether. This is the difference in our points of view.”

We have recalled these passages of over thirty years back, because they have a close bearing on Sir Ramakrishna's position in relation to Mr. Ranade in the social and religious reform movements. Dr. Bhandarkar's temperament was more nearly that of Luther while that of Mr. Ranade approximated to that of Erasmus. But, unlike Luther, Dr. Bhandarkar never compromised. He stood like a rock upon his principles and not shift an inch for any consideration whatsoever. It was not that he had no feeling for the past. On the contrary, while even Mr. Ranade in his sermons and in his speeches on social reform drew from the Bible, Dr. Bhandarkar almost sedulously avoided any such reference and invariably based himself upon the *Upanishadas*, the *Gita* and the Hindu saints as the supreme source of religious inspiration. In social and family life, he was in all externals rigidly conservative while where a principle was involved, he did not hesitate to act upon his convictions completely disregarding of the fulminations of orthodoxy. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Ranade were indeed the exact counterparts of each other. The sanity and stability of social and political progress in Western India is largely due to the admirable way in which each supplied what was wanting in the other.

The different points of view from which these two comrades in arms approached the problems of national progress found striking illustration in the controversy which arose between the two with reference to certain observations in the address which Sir Ramakrishna, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered at the convocation of Bombay University in February, 1894. In that address Dr. Bhandarkar called attention to the

relatively high rate of premature mortality among graduates of the University, attributed it to depressing social customs among Hindus and urged the vigorous prosecution of social reform as the principal means of promoting greater health and vitality among educated Indians. In the course of the address. Dr. Bhandarkar denounced in strong terms the spurious patriotism which unduly extolled the past and hated all things which had their origin in foreign minds. This he said is the patriotism of feeble minds incapable of thought and action. He concluded his address with a feeling appeal as follows:—

“My friends, we are living in a momentous period in the history of India. Upon our conduct at this period depends the future of our country. The Indian intellect has been dormant for centuries. Original thought disappeared with the old Rishis; the fermentation of religious and philosophic ideas ceased with the decline of Buddhism; philosophy became verbose, and wasted itself in trifling subtleties; poetry assumed an artificial character; religion degenerated into forms, ceremonies and superstitions, and custom became a hideous tyrant and brought in female infanticide, the burning alive of widows, the marriage of a hundred or hundred and fifty girls to one man, the degradation of womankind, hook swinging, etc. and there was no moral force in the land to do battle with these evils. It was reserved for the foreigner to put some of them down with the strong arm of the law, but in cases in which the foreigner will not interfere, they still flourish. The intellect and moral sense of the country must now wake up under the influence of European civilization and the task and the heavy responsibility of regenerating her has devolved upon ourselves who have felt the influence.”

Two months later, Mr. Ranade spoke at the Bombay Graduates' Association and took exception to Dr. Bhandarkar's arguments attributing the heavy mortality among graduates, not to the great strain upon them of the educational system but to social defects. As a matter of fact the difference between the two great leaders was only as to the relative amount of stress to be placed upon the two sets of causes. But partisans on either side exaggerated them into fundamental differences of outlook. Dr. Bhandarkar replied to Mr. Ranade in a long letter in the press. He said that he did not overlook the heavy strain imposed upon Indian graduates by the system of education. He wrote also as follows:—

“On the contrary, I endeavoured to make out that the education we received did impose a heavy strain upon us, from which our fathers and grand-fathers were free. And I said that the strain in the ordinary walks of life was also heavy in consequence of our having come in contact with a more energetic race. I admitted the strain but, unlike Mr. Ranade and others, I did not propose the reduction of the standards, as that would mean giving of degrees to men with only a semblance of education; but finding from a comparison of the mortality among different classes of graduates that the Parsees stood the strain very well, I advised the Hindus to live like the Parsees and affirmed that change in their social ideas and customs would alone enable Hindus to bear the strain. And I do not know how men who advocate a reduction in the standards can with consistency ask Government to hold the Civil Service Examination in India. The course of study for the examination is certainly more difficult than for the B.A. degree and is as hard as if not harder than that for the M.A. examination. Our best B.A.'s have, when they happen to go to England, to place themselves for one or two years under a professional crammer and even then get a low place in the pass list. Our only way, therefore, is to fit ourselves for the strain which higher education imposes, and not ask that the strain be reduced.”

This controversy had an important effect. Mr. Justice Ranade's view ultimately prevailed and some years after his death, the University adopted what is called the compartment system as a means of giving some relief from overstrain to its graduates and undergraduates. At the same time, the consequences which Dr. Bhandarkar foresaw are being widely felt and acknowledged, as testified to by many teachers before the Bombay University Reform Committee and the recommendation of that Committee in order to raise the standard of efficiency in our schools and colleges.

Differing as they did in their methods, the two men were absolutely at one in their conviction that religion alone can provide a sure basis of healthy social and political progress. And this conviction found embodiment in the Bombay Prarthana Samaj which is a distinctive and characteristic development of the Theistic movement in the Western India. Raja Ram-mohan Roy and Maharshi Devendranath Tagore in Bengal drew their inspiration almost exclusively from the philosophy of the *Upanishadas*. Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ranade on the other hand, while not less attached to the

philosophy of Hinduism, found their immediate inspiration in the mediæval saints of India, who proclaimed that loving devotion to God was the easier and more direct path to salvation than any other method. Their own contribution to the *Bhakti* school of thought was the linking up of religion with social reform and social service. Both Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ranade insisted that the Prarthna Samaj so conceived was not the off-shoot of any alien influences but was in the direct line of succession from the ancient *rishis* and sages whose names have come down to us from time immemorial. In the history of Modern India, the name of Dr. Bhandarkar will ever be linked with that of Mr. Justice Ranade as the two formative

forces in India's progress towards nationhood. The death of Dr. Bhandarkar closes a great chapter in the history of Indian reform, and though he had ceased for some years past to take active part in any public movement, the thoughts of men often turned to him, in his splendid library in his home at Poona, for inspiration and guidance which, whenever and by whomsoever sought, was never denied. A star of the first magnitude has set upon our horizon:—

“So sinks the day star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams and with new spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.”

WILLIAM HAZLITT.

By MR. C. L. R. SASTRI.

The author of *The Spirit of the Age* was no ordinary man ; he was a genius if ever there was one. Now, that word has lost much of its original force. It has become like a rubbed coin. At present there is a general abuse of words. They do not stand singly for an idea, as Mr. Edmund Candler says, but have become clotted in the mosaic of a formula which may mean anything, but which generally does not mean anything at all. They indicate more the absence of thought than the presence of it. Genius is a very rare phenomenon ; almost as rare as the flowering of the aloe or the laying of the phoenix's egg. Hazlitt himself has given us a description of it: “Talent differs from genius as voluntary differs from involuntary power.....A clever or ingenious man is one who can do anything well, whether it is worth doing or not ; a great man is one who can do that which, when done, is of the highest importance. Themistocles said he could not play on the flute, but that he could make of a small city a great one. This gives us a pretty good idea of the distinction in question.” Try him by what test you will,

the man who gave us his valuable criticisms of Shakespear's Plays and of the Elizabethan Dramatists, who gave us *The Plain Speaker* and *Table Talk* and *Winterslow*, his *Conversations with Northcote*, or, as W. E. Henley calls it, his “Boswell Redivivus,” who gave us those inimitable personal sketches of some of his distinguished contemporaries which are gathered together in the pages of *The Spirit of the Age*, the man who was the friend of Coleridge and Wordsworth and Lamb,—he certainly was a genius in the most exalted sense of the term. But we are apt to forget the fact amid the plethora of geniuses that we have amongst us in these most flourishing times. As Mr. Chesterton remarks somewhere, “In the beginning of the twentieth century you could not see the ground for clever men. They were so common that a stupid man was quite exceptional.”

The first thing, then, that we have to bear in mind in regard to Hazlitt is that he was a writer of rare distinction : a writer that has almost no parallel in the annals of English prose literature. There are those, of course,

who like to belittle him, who grudge him his due, who "damn him with faint praise." Hazlitt, certainly, was not a favourite of fortune. He was not born to attract men: his gift lay rather the other way. He lacked those more delicate charities, those *petites morales*, which, according to Boswell, Johnson also was deficient in, and the want of which his best friends could not fully justify. He was not one of your polite and smooth-tongued men. In his own day, as well as now (but to a much lesser extent), malicious critics have followed him, like bandogs, at his heels, ready to bark if he but deviated ever so slightly from the straight line. Not only have they railed at him openly: they have tried to injure him in subtler ways. One of these has been the institution of invidious comparisons between him and his dearest friend, Charles Lamb, with, of course, everything in favour of Lamb. Now, we are not here concerned with the interesting question who, of the two, was the superior writer. There are fashions even in literary likings and dislikings, just as there are in trunk-hose and top-hats, and it is positive hardihood on one's part to ignore them and follow the bent of one's own mind. It is simply asking for trouble. It is meat and drink to be with those who prefer Lamb to Hazlitt: it is the line of least resistance: it is to swim with the current. There are cults whose creed is the worshipping of Lamb; but the danger in such cases is that, however worthy the object of our idolatry may be, we are apt to love not wisely, but too well. There is a curious instance of the fury that is possible to rise in one's breast by the holding of an opposite opinion. It is well-known that Bagehot—a man, who, as Mr. Birrell says, carried away with him to his grave more originality of thought than anybody else—was a great admirer of Hazlitt and preferred him, as a writer, to Lamb. When Crabb Robinson heard this he could not control his righteous indignation and raved like a mad man: "You sir, *you* prefer the works of that scoundrel, that odious, that malignant writer, to the exquisite essays of that angelic creature!" Bagehot protested that "there was no evidence that angels could write particularly well." Apart from the question of who, as between the two, was the greater writer, this incident gives one an idea of the fog of prejudice in which Hazlitt has been enveloped. In fact, the first

difficulty that one encounters in writing of him is this unmeaning and very unjust prejudice.

Hazlitt the man is too often mixed up with Hazlitt the writer when one is judging the merits of his books. This is unfair. As long as biographies have their vogue, of course, an author's private life cannot be completely overlooked; but surely it should not weigh with one too much; and, meeting his detractors on their own ground, he was not, all said and done, half the bad man they represent him to be. Doubtless, he was not perfect: he was not a man to model one's life upon. We cannot indeed go to him for the homely virtues. For the matter of that, if we turned our scrutinizing eye on those around us, we should find hardly a dozen among them who could satisfy the canons as laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. And moreover, we should not be aware of some of Hazlitt's foibles had he not himself revealed them to us: he was his own accuser. He loved to sit for his own portrait, and the figure that thus emerges from his canvas is not a very exhilarating one: there are too many shadows. Had he not, like Rousseau, his favourite, loved to dwell upon himself, had he not often retreated into his ivory-tower, had he not worn his heart upon his sleeve "for daws to peck at,"—he would have passed, like most others, for a virtuous enough man. In fact, those who are regarded as infinitely better than others in the moral scale are, the greater part of them, not really more worthy than their more unfortunate brethren, but they have the skill to hide their vices and to look what they are not. The world is essentially a world of make believe, and those who want to pass off for a certain thing (which they are not) often do succeed in getting themselves reckoned at their own valuation. They get enormously more for their wares than their original cost-price. They follow the fruitful maxim that unless we show ourselves off to be some pumpkins, we shall not be regarded even as encumbers. But, as Mr. Augustine Birrell has pointed out. "It does not follow as night the day that lives were wholly free from shameful incidents because, as recorded by biographers, those who led them are made to appear as

'Men that every virtue decks,
And women models of their sex,
Society's true ornament.' "

The worst that can be said about Hazlitt is that he lacked prudence and foresight. He was not well-versed in the ways of the world. He was, however, honest to his back-bone, and he carried independence of thought to a point that was never attained before, nor, probably, ever will be. He was a radical in politics; and he never changed his party or his principles. As Sir Leslie Stephen has said, "Amongst politicians he was a faithful Abdiel, when all others had deserted the cause." He was so thorough-going in his views that he even went to the length of sacrificing his best friends for the sake of an opinion or a principle. He was an admirer of Napoleon when it was a point of good breeding to hold him in utter detestation. Whatever his opinions, he expressed them most fearlessly: as he himself says, he had considerable intellectual courage: he

"Dared to be a Daniel,
Dared to stand alone."

He was one of those who are born to be in a minority and, very often, in a minority of one. But that never made him unhappy. He was thrice fortified, as one who knows his cause to be right. In fact, this was one of his most pleasing traits; and one to which we should give the fullest meed of our praise. A thoroughly honest and independent man is born but once in a while, and we should, instead of reviling him, regard his arrival as a portent. Instead of which, Hazlitt is branded with the mark of a vicious man: The ways of the world are really mysterious, and sometimes black is regarded as white and white as black: the order of things is often reversed. For a wise man there is no meaning in labels: he that would be happy would not put much trust in public opinion: "that way madness lies."

Hazlitt was a man of quick sympathies, and it is interesting to know the beginnings of his violent liking for Napoleon. When Napoleon was first consul, he was introduced to an officer called Lovelace: "Why," he exclaimed with emotion, "that is the name of the man in *Clarissa*." When Hazlitt heard of this incident, he, in Mr. Birrell's words, "fell in love with Napoleon on the spot, and subsequently wrote his life in four volumes." There is another instance. He relates, in his famous essays, "The Fight," his meeting, at an inn, a tall English yocman who let fall the observation that to him "Shakespear, Hogarth, and Nature

were just enough to know." Hazlitt at once set himself to cultivate his acquaintance. He certainly had an eager spirit.

Hazlitt was, essentially, a solitary man. In spite of his nomadic way of life and love of conversation, he shut himself up within himself. He was self-immersed to the point of moroseness. The man was thoughtful from early boyhood. His first readings were in philosophy and metaphysics; and his first writings, too. He set much store by these youthful effusions; he recurred to them often in his writings. But they were the least part of his literary work; we mention them only to indicate the bent of his mind. Not only was he thoughtful: he thought on his own lines. His mind was untrammelled by what was said and thought before: he always struck out a path for himself. He was fully justified in saying, "I have written no common-place, nor a line that licks the dust." As Coleridge wrote of him, "he said things in his own way."

He felt the first impulse to write on coming across Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord*. For the first time it struck him what a fine thing it was "to be able to convey the slightest conception of my meaning to others in words." He knew the tortures of expression; though he was an exquisite writer, the gift came to him only late in life. If Burke first led him to appreciate the art of writing, of self-expression, it was Coleridge who encouraged him to join the literary brotherhood. Hazlitt describes, in his well-known essay, "My First Acquaintance with Poets," his meeting with Coleridge at his father's house, the interest which that great man evinced in him, his being invited to Nether Stowey, and his accompanying Coleridge on his way back for six miles and being held entranced by the poet's ceaseless discourse—"I would swear that the very milestones had ears, and that Harmer-hill stooped, with all its pines, to listen to a poet as he passed." In his writings Hazlitt often recurs to Coleridge even where there would appear to be no reason for it—but with ever diminishing enthusiasm: the hero-worshipper gradually gave place to the stern critic. Here is a typical passage:

"I may say of him (Coleridge) here that he is the only person I ever knew who answers to the idea of a man of genius. He is the only person from whom I ever learned anything. There is only one thing he could learn from

me in return, but *that* he has not. He was the first poet I ever knew. His genius at that time had angelic wings, and fed on manna. He talked on for ever ; and you wished him to talk on for ever. His thoughts did not seem to come with labour and effort ; but as if borne on the gusts of genius, and as if the wings of his imagination lifted him from off his feet. His voice rolled on the ear like the pealing organ, and its sound alone was the music of thought. His mind was clothed with wings ; and, raised on them, he lifted philosophy to heaven. In his descriptions you then saw the progress of human happiness and liberty in bright and never-ending succession, like the steps of Jacob's ladder, with airy shapes ascending and descending, and with the voice of God at the top of the ladder. And shall I, who heard him then, listen to him now? Not I! That spell is broke ; that time is gone for ever ; that voice is heard no more ; but still the recollection comes rushing by with thoughts of long-past years, and rings in my ears with never-dying sound."

Hazlitt was no book-worm : to him reading was not an end in itself : he had no vanity of knowledge. He read few books and those of old authors ; and to these he turned again and again. He did not care for contemporary literature : excepting Scott, he did not allow new writers a place on his shelves. He was as conservative in his literary tastes as he was radical in politics. He says somewhere : "Women judge of books as they do of fashions or complexions which are admired only 'in their newest gloss.' " In his essays, "On Reading Old Books," he gives the reason for not liking to read new authors : "I hate to read new books.....Contemporary writers may generally be divided into two classes—one's friends or one's foes. Of the first we are compelled to think too well, and of the last we are disposed to think too ill, to receive much genuine pleasure from the perusal or to judge fairly of the merit of either. One candidate for literary fame who happens to be our acquaintance writes finely and like a man of genius, but unfortunately has a foolish face, which spoils a delicate passage ; and another inspires us with the highest respect for his personal talents and character, but does not come up to our expectations in print. All these contradictions and petty details interrupt the calm current of our reflections."

Hazlitt made an exception, as we have pointed out, in the case of Sir Walter Scott. He simply revelled in his novels. He indeed had no great idea of Scott's intrinsic genius ; in fact, he gave him the merit of the compiler and not of the original thinker. All the same, he was struck by the stories and by the characterization. He had an eye for essentials and often hit the target in the very centre. Much water has flown under the bridges since Scott wrote, but we wonder if any one has written of him better than Hazlitt. He says, "His (Scott's) worst is better than any person's best.....His works (taken together) are almost like a new edition of human nature. This is indeed to be a author!"

Hazlitt tried his hand at painting in his earlier days, and spent much time at his brother's studio. He dabbled in the art for some time, only to give it up later for the profession of literature. Though he did moderately well in it, he had the wit to recognise that he was not made to wield the brush but to ply the pen. But the early love never altogether forsook him and he turned his knowledge of the art to literary ends. A great body of his writing is devoted to the criticism of pictures : he wrote like a man who knew what was going on behind the scenes. He especially loved Titian ; and his name is often found in his books.

Hazlitt was one of the earliest dramatic critics. He loved playgoing and loved more the writing upon it. He has given us descriptions of some of the best actors of his day ; he has pointed out, with a keen eye, their respective merits and defects. This of Edmund Kean : "He treads close upon the genius of his author (Shakespeare)." In his essay, "On Actors and Acting," he has shown us the nobility of the profession and criticised those who speak of it disdainfully ; "Players are only not so respectable as they might be, because their profession is not respected as it ought to be." This essay is one of his best. He begins it with this striking sentence : "Actors are the abstracts and brief chronicles of time." This one and that "On Going a Journey," and "The Fight," and "My First Acquaintance with Poets," and "The Feeling of Immortality in Youth," and "The Indian Jugglers," are, if Hazlitt had not written anything else, quite sufficient to ensure his fame. It is in speaking of the second of these essays

that Stevenson declared: "We are mighty fine fellows but we cannot write like William Hazlitt." In fact Stevenson was so enamoured of Hazlitt's writing that he even wanted to write his biography, but was deterred from doing so by the author's *Liber Amoris*: a misfortune both to Hazlitt and to the world of letters. Hazlitt has been unfortunate in his biographers (except perhaps the most recent of them, Mr. P. P. Howe) and if Stevenson had not fought shy of the experiment, we should have had not only the best but the most sympathetic biography of our author that has up to now been written.

Hazlitt's Shakespearean criticisms are perhaps the best of their kind. Heine stated that, up to his time, Hazlitt's was the best comment on Shakespear. Of Hamlet, Hazlitt writes: "Hamlet is a name; his speeches and sayings but the idle coinage of the poet's brain. What then, are they not real? They are as real as our own thoughts. Their reality is in the reader's mind. It is *we* who are Hamlet." He says of Romeo, "Romeo is Hamlet in love." In speaking of Shakespear's insight into Nature, he says: "Other dramatic writers give us very fine versions and paraphrases of Nature; but Shakespear, together with his own comments, gives us the original text, that we may judge for ourselves." Hazlitt's writings are thickly strewn with quotations from Shakespear. When speaking of Hazlitt in his critical capacity, we should remember that he had no formal training of any kind, that he was his own guide in the intricate paths of literature, that, whatever his views, he spun them, spider-like, entirely out of himself. He was indebted to nobody. His thoughts were his own and bore the impress of strong originality. He did not so much instruct his readers as guide them along wholesome channels. He pointed out the best passages of each of his authors, and helped to kindle his own enthusiasm in the breasts of his readers or hearers. He was, taken in the lump, a much better teacher than many so-called Professors of Literature. He was never dry or uninteresting. "He read with the taste of the connoisseur, and he wrote with the fury of the enthusiast." (Charles Whibly). The chief quality of his writings is "gusto." The man was fond of literature from the very bottom of his soul—he lived and moved and had his being in it. He read his favourite authors as lovers read the faces of their

beloveds. He was so in all things. Whatever he took to, he took to it with his whole heart: he did not like half-measures. With all his love of books, however, he was not that hateful thing—a pedant. He loved the things of the world and bustled about it as much as anybody else; and he interpreted his books in the light of the facts of life, or so much of them as he managed to grasp. Literature to him was a relaxation, not a toil; and anything is a relaxation that "comes home to the bosoms and businesses of men." As Prof. Oliver Elton says, "Literature gives him perhaps the least alloyed element of his happiness, and good words are like a glass of wine to him." As for the value of his criticisms, the same writer says: "By the time he has done (his lectures at the Surrey Institution) he has managed to present a body of critical writing more than equal in mass to all that is saved from the pens of Lamb and Coleridge put together; more panoramic in range, and more connected in view, and, at its best, as rare and revealing in its own fashion as theirs." In the opinion of Prof. Saintsbury, "You get such appreciation, in the best, the most thorough, the most delightful, the most *valuable* sense, as had been seldom seen since Dryden, never before, and in him not frequently. I do not know in what language to look for a parallel wealth."

It is as an essayist, however, that Hazlitt is chiefly known. He wrote about a hundred essays in all; and not one of these is dull. To be sure, there is no system or method in them; but system would have been the undoing of Hazlitt. There are some writers who cannot write to order: things come to them *impromptu* and not as *per* arrangement. It almost looks as if nothing gives them greater delight than defying rules. Some of the greatest writers have trusted to instant inspiration rather than to pre-meditation; and, though it is not a wholesome practice from a theoretical point of view, it does often work well in practice. It is not that they are lacking in powers of thought: there is a greater body of thought in some of their writings than in those of the methodical essayists. What is method, after all? Every one has his own method; and some there are who have no method at all: that is *their* method. The important thing is, not whether one has thought out one's line of procedure before-hand, but whether, when the whole thing is done, it is readable: that is all that we ask of a writer,

and leave his principles of work to himself. Nobody judges an actor by going into the green-room and examining the devices of his "make-up:" we judge him *after* he has come before the foot-lights and by the manner of his acting. The same is true of the essayist. It is the cumulative result that we want; not the steps by which a thing has been completed. Hazlitt, then, lacked system; he has himself told us: "After I begin them (the essays) I am only anxious to get to the end of them, which I am not sure I shall do, for I seldom see my way a page or even a sentence before-hand; and when I have as by a miracle escaped, I trouble myself little more about them." In spite of this, however, Hazlitt was a born writer. He could write upon anything and could write that marvellously well. It was with him no matter what he wrote, it was at once imbued with a form of its own, and was stamped with the unmistakable mark of genius. Writing came natural to him, and the subject was only of secondary importance; sometimes, it must be allowed, the subsidiary swallows up the primary, and the captain's luggage all but sinks the ship and cargo. But the thing works well in his hands, and his essays give unending delight. In a phrase immortalized by Charles Lamb, they belong to the class of "perpetually self-reproductive volumes—Great Nature's Stereotypes."

Something must be said about Hazlitt's style. De Quincey, as is well-known, did not like it; he condemned it as being "discontinuous," and his thoughts as being "abrupt, insulated, capricious and non-sequacious." "Hazlitt's brilliancy is seen chiefly in separate splinterings of phrase or image, which throw upon the eye a vitreous scintillation for a moment, but spread no deep suffusions of colour, and distribute no masses of mighty shadow. A flash, a solitary flash, and all is gone." This may be so; but De Quincey was never known to have been guilty of giving anybody credit for writing well excepting Sir Thomas Browne and himself. He was saturated with the idea that his own style was the finest in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters beneath the earth, and that all others must perforce write badly: his geese were all swans, while other writers' swans were geese. We do not pretend to be able to analyse Hazlitt's style too minutely, but we venture to say that it is as

perfect a prose-style as ever was written: at its very best, it is superb. Hazlitt is fond of simple but forcible sentences, where every word tells. He is fond of variation. At the end of a couple of sentences we remain at the same point of thought but, with each sentence, the sense of it is brought home to us in ever-increasing measure, and at the end of them all we are left in no doubt whatever. He is fond of images; and he hurls them at our heads one after another without the least betrayal of effort. Quotations abound; sometimes in the most innocent places. He applies them in his own way; he does not mind repeating them as often as he pleases; and after reading him for some time, we become as familiar with them as he himself. We can know the man from his writings. There is an unmistakable ring of sincerity in his words. The man *feels* every syllable he writes, and makes *us* feel too. He plunges into his subject headlong; every word that he utters is a blow aimed at the heart. And then he is fond of beautiful comparisons. He is describing the play of Cavanagh, the famous fives' player: "His blows were not undecided and ineffectual, lumbering like Mr. Wordsworth's epic poetry, nor wavering like Mr. Coleridge's lyric prose, nor short of the mark like Mr. Brougham's speeches, nor wide of it like Mr. Canning's wit, nor foul like the *Quarterly*, nor *let* balls like the *Edinburgh Review*. Cobbett and Junius together would have made a Cavanagh." Was ever a player described like this before? While about his style, it is well to know what Hazlitt himself thought about style in general. At one place he writes: "I hate to see a load of band-boxes go along the street, and I hate to see a parcel of big words without anything in them." Elsewhere he says: "The proper force of words lies not in the words themselves, but in their application.....I hate anything that occupies more space than it is worth." Or, again, "It is as easy to write a gaudy style without ideas as it is to spread a pallet of showy colours or to sinear in a flaunting transparency.....The florid style is the reverse of the familiar. The last is employed as an unvarnished medium to convey ideas; the first is resorted to as a spangled veil to conceal the want of them. When there is nothing to be set down but words, it costs little to have them fine." W. E. Henley concludes his essay on Hazlitt with this memorable sentence: "Hazlitt is ever Hazlitt; and at his highest moments Hazlitt is hard to

beat, and has not these many years been beaten."

Hazlitt excelled even more as a talker. He loved good talk and good company. If he was a good talker, he was even a better listener and has recorded in imperishable language the conversational peculiarities of his friends, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, Haydon and Lamb. The passage is too well-known to need quotation. Here is Lamb's certificate of Hazlitt's prowess as a talker. He writes to Wordsworth: "In spite of all there is something tough in my attachment to Hazlitt, which these violent strainings cannot quite dislocate or sever asunder. I get no conversation in London that is absolutely worth attending to but his." Talfourd writes: "In argument he was candid and liberal; there was nothing about him pragmatistical or exclusive; he never drove a principle to its utmost possible consequences, but, like Locksley, 'allowed for the wind.'" If anybody used a bright and impressive phrase, it was at once locked up in Hazlitt's memory, and he recurred to it long after it was uttered. He was generous in appreciation of others and unstinted in his generosity. He always gave everybody his due. He loved more to dwell on the merits of others than to lose himself in admiration of his own. Unlike Hal o' th' Wynd, he never "fought for his own hand" in literary honors. It is Mr. Birrell who says, "A life more free from greed of gain, or taint of literary vanity is not to be found in the records of English literature." In Sir Leslie Stephen's words, "Still less was he selfish in the sense of preferring solid bread and butter to the higher needs of mind and spirit. His sentiments are always generous, and if scorn is too familiar a mood, it is scorn for the base and servile."

We shall come to a close; and in doing so, shall content ourselves with a few general observations. Most writers have judged Hazlitt rather too harshly. The world has been one too many for him, as Mr. Tulliver (senior) in *The Mill on the Floss* would have said. All of

us have vices and none is so pure that he can, with impunity, throw stones at others. The only difference is that the vices of some have the sanction of fashion and pass unnoticed or unproved. Most often the so-called saint is nothing of the kind: he is only a whited sepulchre. His virtue is only skin-deep. And even if Hazlitt was a bad man, that fact has absolutely nothing to do with his books. The two are quite separate things. The worst fault in Hazlitt was his temper; but the man has been dead nearly a century, and *we*, at any rate, don't stand to suffer anything at his hands. As "E. E. K." wrote in *The New Statesman* recently, "We do not meet Hazlitt in the flesh and we run no risk of touching some sore point, or of stirring what he would have called the 'quills upon the fretful porpentine.'" It is much more desirable that we try to understand the causes of his unusual bitterness than that we lash ourselves into fury at it. Let us first "scan" the man aright, and only afterwards lay the whip of Zabern across his shoulders, if we still persist in our opinion of him. Let us rather emulate Lamb's charitable disposition: Lamb who *had* often reason to be angry with Hazlitt: when *he* (knowing all the circumstances) could forgive him, it is, surely, much less difficult for us to forgive him, too. Here is what Lamb says: "Protesting against much that he has written, and some things which he chooses to do; judging him by his conversation which I enjoyed so long, and relished so deeply; or by his books, in those places where no clouding passion intervenes, I should belie my own conscience if I said less than that I think W. H. to be, in his natural and healthy state, one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing. So far from being ashamed of that intimacy which was betwixt us, it is my boast that I was able for so many years to have preserved it entire; and I think I shall go to my grave without finding or expecting to find such another companion."

A PLEA FOR FEELING.

By MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW.

When one thinks of the immense strides that the passionate pursuit of truth and beauty has taken in Europe during the present century, one is filled with mingled wistfulness, admiration, astonishment, doubt, and perhaps, at times, despair. For is it not a fact that with the rising magnifying powers of our telescopes and microscopes and our resources in general the material universe has gone on becoming indefinitely vaster and more complicated, so that where we had looked for solutions of old difficulties we have more intricate problems confronting us? Surely as our knowledge increases our horizon recedes, and there is no port in sight! The amount of effort and enthusiasm wasted would be too tragic to be contemplated. What is true of the material or sensible world is equally true of our imagined world of realities. The philosopher, nobly, indefatigably, heroically struggling against overwhelming odds, is perpetually building up his fabric of reality amidst the ruin and rubble of magnificent piles, of which it was said:

"Our little systems have their day
They have their day and cease to be."

It is extremely doubtful if after two and a half millenniums of speculative thought we have succeeded in laying down the first axiom of *real* knowledge, *i.e.*, of knowledge of reality.

Not indeed that we are the sport of chance, or of a malicious and tantalising demiurge! That amount of pessimism is quite unwarranted. Possibly we are taking a wrong path to a perfectly legitimate goal. And if that is so, the farther we travel the farther we shall be from our end. Is it not possible that we have somewhere made a grievous mistake in taking our bearings, and adopted a course infinite in length, and from which there are no cross-cuts or even open views to the expanse around; so that not only is a return difficult, but as we follow it we develop strong prejudices against alternative courses?

In short it appears that we have developed our brains at the expense of our feeling. Yet feeling is the better half. Who can deny this who has given a thought to the stirring appeal that patriotism made to the ancient Athenian, to the intoxicating joy of which a true work of art is a perennial fountain, to the ecstasy of religious fervour, to all that is greatest and best in the crowded annals of human achievement and aspiration?

Thought is after all mechanical, and lacks the leverage for upward flight and progress that we find in feeling. Reality is not a thing to be understood, but to be felt; and trying to apprehend it with the footrule of logical concepts is about as absurd as wilfully shutting one's eyes and touching a flame with one's hands to appreciate its beauty. Why should we assume that while physical nature is common to man and the material universe, moral nature is peculiar to the former? This violates in a way the law of continuity. Besides, the monism of thinkers like Bertrand Russell—to which quite an important body of philosophic thought seems to be rallying—would appear to countenance the idea, not indeed that the material universe is moral forthwith, but that the false antagonism between matter and mind has proved a mare's nest, which long deflected the current of speculative thought into useless channels.

That, however, obviously, is not enough. It appears we should go a step further and adopt as a working hypothesis the idea of a moral principle underlying the universe, and judge of its validity by the results it will enable us to achieve. Instead of trying to apprehend the universe directly we should address ourselves to a Being of whom this world is a—probably more or less misleading—manifestation. This seems fairly rational: If mind and matter are true contraries, how is it possible for mind to *know* matter? Knowledge, which is the relation between them, is unthinkable unless either we assume an intelli-

gence behind matter—of which matter is one of the manifestations, or take refuge in some sort of hylozoism and say that life and consciousness sleep in stocks and stones.

Science tries to understand the universe through the gateways of our senses: Philosophy tries to explain it in mental terms. These are, perhaps, to use a more or less vague but suggestive language, two dimensions of knowledge. The third dimension, one could urge, is Feeling—direct perception of reality. There is a great deal of moral and spiritual force held in reserve in man—unsuspected and untapped sources of energy and apprehension. Just as on the material plane the second dimension is a miracle to a being who can perceive only one dimension, and the third dimension to one who has only two, there ought to be no difficulty in imagining that with the tilting up of our knowledge into the third dimension our most obstinate difficulties may suddenly meet with surprisingly easy solutions, leaving us to wonder how childish we allowed ourselves to be baffled.

Even in the mind of the acute logician, the busy lawyer, the matter-of-fact man of the world, we have, perchance, some unsuspected reservoirs of feeling which languish for want of stimulus. Who knows but that the hero, the artist, the poet, the prophet are but different and, so to speak, inchoate types of perfection, which just fall short of shooting together into a common mould—an ideal which we can, with our clouded vision, only vaguely describe as self-expression or self-realisation in the highest sense. Who can say that the vision that stands out before the patriot in the moment of self-sacrifice is fundamentally different from that which inspires the poet or the artist, or, again, that either is really distinguishable from the Epiphany which the prophet witnesses? Can we not say that this well-defined class of personality has this in common that it enjoys a privileged vision of a more or less perfect order of things?

When we have already despaired of adjudicating upon the reality or unreality of our material universe, we have no *locus standi* to discuss the question of the reality of that other world; and in fact, without swearing allegiance to Platonic philosophy, we can well believe that these seers, in their supreme moments of inspiration, live and move and have their being in a happier world than ours. Nor can the erring,

struggling humanity do better than aspire to some such ideal existence where truth and beauty, in some manner yet incomprehensible, coincide and appear as two aspects of the same reality.

It may be admitted that this form of expression runs rather close to the common twaddle often condemned as maudlin. But truth not infrequently flows through unexpected channels. Opinion, even "enlightened opinion", is the worst of all tyrants. And independence of thought ought to be the test of our honesty.

As soon as we grant that there is a higher world, our material universe, whether technically real or not, loses its claim to our first consideration, and may be discarded as invalid, like a doubtful copy, the original of which has been discovered. This is again very nearly Platonic. But it appears that there is a deal of truth in Plato's way of explaining the world of phenomena. In fact Plato's thought was the natural and inevitable result of the surroundings in which he was brought up. Philosophy and Art and Poetry and Patriotism, which reflected the outstanding characteristics of the Athenians of his day, afforded to the Hellenes frequent glimpses of the divine world above. Plato, therefore, did not dream, he only saw more clearly what others about him were dimly perceiving. The national feeling found an articulate expression in him. Plato could not have lived in any other age. Further, Plato was not only a philosopher but an artist; so much so that his philosophy is the most artistic system of philosophy that we have inherited from any single thinker.

There is nothing either original or novel about this creed. As a matter of fact we are already, instinctively if slowly, feeling our way to a life where, with the development of the mind, higher and deeper feelings become possible, where love leads to sweeter ecstasies and sublimer tragedies than the poets have preserved for us in literature. In spite of the inevitable narrowing influence of the economic struggle on the family, we find that social relationship and domestic affection are being refined and enriched by keener sensibilities and deeper realisation of psychological affinities; so that it is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that our friendships and our sympathies are truer and richer to-day than they were at any previous period, allowing of course for the change

in circumstances ; and the passion of lawless love, ever rebellious, is scaling new heights of sublimity and splendour under the modern conditions of exquisite sensibility and delicate intellectual balance. Altogether there is an increasing richness of life and largeness of interest. This contention is further supported by the growing importance we are attaching to *belles lettres* and fine art, to the general artistic tone and temper of our age. In short we are at last taking up the threads dropped by the sculptors of Classic Greece and the painters of Mediæval Italy. Our modern æsthetic training is no longer confined to the schools, but permeates our daily life, ennobling our interests and our outlook. We are rising, by slow degrees, as it were, from the lower plane of mechanical intellect to the higher one of feeling and realisation—from noisy dialectics to contemplation. This is certainly the right direction. We have pursued truth long enough, but to little purpose ; let us tack about and pursue beauty. The gods may take pity on the misguided mortals yet.

Another point is worthy of consideration : We have, or we believe we have, outlived the age and necessity of religious or moral dogma. Prophets do not appeal to us, and miracles leave us cold. The philosopher has robbed us

of our faith, and has given us no light in its place. As an Indian poet has aptly said, the modern philosopher is like a firefly who makes a pretty show and shines about, but no number of them can dispel the gloom. In fact the philosopher only proves the abyss to be deeper and darker. Now a welcome feature of our modern progress is that while we refuse to accept doctrines on credit, we are developing our character and moral judgment on perfectly sound lines. We prefer moral instinct to a system of iron morality with the sanction of Jove's thunderbolts behind it. We have, for instance, a high sense of honour, a growing instinct for social service and co-operation, and the secular passion of patriotism. Morality, in the higher sense, is only a kind of feeling. So this is another path by which we are emerging on the same highway.

Thus the outlook for the future is by no means gloomy. Only we should recognise and confess a little more openly the direction we are following under so many more or less flimsy disguises. It appears as if scepticism and destructive criticism had reached their limit, and we were on the eve of some great constructive movement—a definitive step forward. All the signs seem to point that way.

THE DISMAL DEVIL'S GLARE IN THE DARK—VII.

By MR. K. C. SEN.

NEGRO SLAVERY.

Negro slaves existed in Spain as far back as 1442 A.D. when they were obtained in exchange for Moroccan prisoners of war. The Portuguese obtained Negro slaves through Arab middlemen, who bartered horses for slaves at the rate of ten to eighteen slaves for each horse. They also obtained them in exchange for silks from Granada and Tunis, and Silver.

Every year between seven and eight hundred slaves were brought to Portugal. When Indian slaves were being brought to Spain in large numbers and shortness of labour was felt in the Indies, the Spanish monarchs permitted Negro slaves, born in the power of christians, to be taken over to the New World. Thus the foundation of the slave-trade was laid by royal command—I mean the slave-trade as carried on between Africa and America.

H. G. Wells gives the following brief account of Spanish exploitation in America :—

“To begin with each story is nearly always a story of adventurers and of cruelty and loot. The Spaniards ill-treated the natives, they quarreled among themselves, the law and order of Spain were months and years away from them; it was only very slowly that the phase of violence and conquest passed into a phase of government and settlement. But long before there was much order in America a steady stream of gold and silver began to flow across the Atlantic to the Spanish Government and people”.....“After the first violent treasure hunt came plantation and the working of mines. With that arose the earliest labour difficulty in the new world. At first the Indians were enslaved with much brutality and injustice. But to the honour of the Spaniards they did not go uncriticised. An importation of Negro slaves from West Africa began quite early in the sixteenth century. After some retrogression Mexico, Brazil and Spanish South America began to develop into great slave-holding, wealth producing lands”.....“So it was that Spain rose, to a temporary power and prominence in the world's affairs. It was a very sudden and very memorable rise. From the eleventh century this infertile and corrugated peninsula had been divided against itself; Christian population had maintained a perpetual conflict with the Moors; then by what seems like an accident it achieved unity just in time to reap the first harvest of benefit from the discovery of America. Before that time Spain had always been a poor country; it is a poor country to-day, almost its only wealth lies in its mines. For a century, however, through its monopoly of the gold and silver of America, it dominated the world.”

Elsewhere Wells speaks of the making of the United States thus :—“If one were write a full, true and particular history of the making of the United States it would have to be written with charity and high spirits as a splendid comedy. And in no other regard do we find the rich tortuous humanity of the American story so finally displayed as in regard to slavery. Slavery, having regard to the general question of labour, is the test of this new soul in the world's history, the American soul”.... “Slavery began very early in the European history of America, and no European people who

went to America can be held altogether innocent in the matter.”.....“American slavery began with the enslavement of Indians for gang work in mines and upon plantations, and it is curious to note that it was a very good and humane man indeed, Las Casas, who urged that negroes should be brought to America to relieve his tormented Indian proteges. The need for labour upon the plantations of the West Indies and the South was imperative. When the supply of Indian captives proved inadequate the planters turned not only to the Negro, but to the jails and poor houses of Europe for a supply of toilers”.....“The year (1620) that saw the Pilgrim Fathers' landing at Plymouth in New England saw a Dutch sloop disembarking the first cargo of Negroes at Jamestown in Virginia. Negro slavery was as old as New England, it had been an American institution for over a century and a half before the war of independence. It was to struggle on for the better part of a century more..... ‘All men are by nature free and equal’, said the Virginian Bill of Rights and outside in the sunshine, under the whip of the overseer, toiled the negro slaves”.....“It witnesses to the great change in human ideas since the Roman Imperial system dissolved under the barbarian inrush that there could be this heart searching. Conditions of industry, production and land tenure had long prevented recrudescence of gang slavery; but now the cycle had come round again, and there were enormous, immediate advantages to be reaped by the owning and ruling classes in the revival of that ancient institution in mines, upon plantations, and upon great public works..... In some respects the new gang slavery was worse than any thing in the ancient world. Peculiarly horrible was the provocation by the trade of slave wars and man hunts in Western Africa, and the cruelties of the long trans-Atlantic voyage. The poor creatures were packed on the ships with insufficient provision of food and water, without proper sanitation, without medicines. Many who could tolerate slavery upon the plantations found the slave-trade too much for their moral digestions. Three European nations were chiefly concerned in this dark business, Britain, Spain and Portugal, because they were the chief owners of the new land in America. The comparative innocence of the other European powers is to be ascribed largely to their lesser temptations. They were

similar communities ; in parallel circumstances they would have behaved similarly”.

This last remark gives an inimitable generalisation of the ethics of western civilisation. Self-interest, self-love, selfishness lies at the root of it, supported by antipathy, contempt, hatred for neighbour. Self-love established Negro Slavery in America and self-love abolished it. I intend to prove this at some length, because it is usual to ignore the fact that slavery was revived, not continued by western civilisation, while great stress is laid on the morality of that civilisation, which abolished it afterwards. History written by the ascendent people of the world has a meaning different from History that may be written by the suffering peoples or by outsiders. Unhappily there are no impartial outsiders now left in the world to write this history. Occasional glimpses of truth flash across the dark pages of history as written by the more cultured among the ascendent races, who have an eastern orientation in their modes of ethical thinking. Mr. Wells is one of them but the very height of his culture stands in his way when he wishes to expose in their true colour monstrosities of the civilisation in which he lives. This will be evident from the quotations given above. A few instances of the cruelties practised by slave-traders and slave-owners will throw light on the depths to which the civilised mind of the West can sink.

“On their way across the Atlantic the poor wretches suffered horrible torments being packed as closely as the sufferers in the Black Hole of Calcutta, in nearly as stifling an atmosphere, so that large numbers died on the way”.

As a matter of fact the negroes were treated as mere inanimate merchandize. There was no law to prevent this practice, and the traders regulated their conduct by the code of commercial morality which reserves the highest approbation for the largest profit. The humane trader who suffered loss would be held to just ridicule, and soon pass into the abyss of oblivion in which are now packed up the majority of mankind, according to the theory of the survival of the fittest, during the last fifty-thousand years and more. Seeing that fifty-thousands of Negroes were annually transported across the Atlantic and seeing further that the slave trade lasted for two hundred years, it may be calculated that ten million Negroes of both sexes were in all treated to the horrors of the Black-Hole on the bosom of the Atlantic.

Whether the proportion of the dead fall short of that of the tragedy of Calcutta is not known. The fact that the burial of the dead was inexpensive and informal probably had something to do with the indifference with which the death of a Negro was looked upon in the same way as a coster-monger looks upon a rotten fruit in his basket.

“When in 1788 a Bill was brought in by Sir William Dolben, by which means were to be taken for improving the sanitary condition of the vessels carrying slaves, the slave-traders resisted it and argued that the Negroes liked being taken from their own barbarous country and danced and made merry on deck. On enquiry it transpired that they were from time to time flogged on deck in order to keep up the circulation of the blood in their numbed limbs, and that what their tyrants called dancing was merely their shrinking from the lash. The slave-traders were poets, and they carried their art into practical life and politics with a grim humour for which the people of Caledonia are specially distinguished in British literature. The humour fell upon good soil and bore fruit, for though the bill was passed in the lower house the Lords so changed it as to make it useless. In 1789 and 1790 Wilberforce urged the Commons to abolish the wicked slave trade entirely, and in 1792 Pitt spoke vehemently in support of the proposal, but the House of Commons refused to accept it. The men of property of whom the House was composed thought that the first duty of legislators was to protect property, whether it was property in human beings or in houses and goods.”

It may be mentioned here that this principle of jurisprudence was not in the least deviated from when ultimately in 1806 Fox signalled the close of his career by moving a resolution for the abolition of the slave-trade as far as British ships and colonies were concerned. On March 25, 1807, the royal assent was given to a Bill for the abolition of the slave-trade. During the eighteen years that elapsed between Dolben's Bill in 1788 and the ultimate abolition in 1807, the slave-trade had become an unprofitable business. The western coast of Africa had become denuded of population and the cost of bringing negroes from the interior was increasing to a prohibitive extent. The Northern States of America were gradually reducing their slave stock, and the Southern

States introduced a system of slave-breeding which harshly competed with the trans-Atlantic importation. The slave-trade had lost its value as property and there was no real opposition to Fox's resolution, at least nothing like what Dolben's Bill had encountered in 1788. Western civilisation would have been false to itself if it had allowed a profitable trade to pass out of hands under a vague influence of humane considerations. The highest principles of its ethics are based upon prevision—upon forward not upon backward vision. Their contents are economic, not theological. In a few years more the slave-trade would have died a natural death by atrophy without claiming space for its burial in the statute book of England, or such extreme unction as was administered to it by the high-priests of the House of Commons.

The entire slave-trade was thus abolished for, though for many years several natives had taken part in it, it had practically passed exclusively into the hands of the British hunters by the treaty of Assiniboia in 1713. Western civilisation was not outwitted by the abolition of the trade. It substituted slave-breeding for slave-hunting. Abraham Lincoln deftly called it Negro-breeding. Negroes in large numbers were made with the whiteman's blood. When the whiteman takes a burden on his shoulder he carries it to its destination at any sacrifice. The slave-trade was abolished but slavery still remained. For some years Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and Zachary Macaulay (the father of Macaulay, the historian), had been pleading the cause of the slave. In the West Indies slaves were often subjected to brutal cruelty—to take a few instances:—a little slave girl, having dropped some cream was scolded by her mother, a slave woman named America. The master of the both of them had America flogged with no less than 175 lashes for remonstrating with her daughter, holding that as the child was his property, she ought only to have been scolded by himself or his wife. 'Three slave women were flogged for crying when their brothers was flogged merely for sighing'. When Stanley came into office, as Colonial Secretary, new as he was to the details of the subject he mastered them in three weeks, and carried in 1833 A.D. a bill for the complete abolition of slavery, though leaving the former slaves apprentices to their masters for twelve years. The purchase money given was twenty million pounds sterling.

The apprentice system was found unsatisfactory, and was soon done away with.

The three instances of cruelty gathered from Gardiner's history of England are fraught with the deepest psychological and economic significance. The Englishman is not cruel by nature, and at the same time we may be sure that the instances do not stand by themselves either as poetic exaggerations or as accidental manifestations of brutality. Such occurrences were becoming common. They involved a question of policy. Their very nature will show that sudden outburst of passion was not the motive force, but a deep rooted conviction that the slave-women were becoming self-conscious, that is to say, that they were becoming conscious of their natural rights as mothers and sisters. This self-consciousness was badly in need of being smothered if slave labour was to retain its accustomed profitableness. A self-conscious slave is a dangerous creature. He cannot be killed because his death means loss to his master. If he neglects his work his wages must still be paid, consisting, of course, of food, clothing and shelter. If flogging sends him to bed his services are lost for the time being and the account of profit and loss would cause more mental anguish to the master who gave the flogging than to the slave who received it. If flogging was ever inflicted it was done in cold blood, and if there was any heat, it was derived from the calculation of gain and loss, and not from natural indignation or divine retribution. Slavery is profitable only so long as the slave remains unaware of his natural rights, such as the right of the mother to scold her child, the right of the sister to cry when her brother is tortured or to sigh when he is flogged. The self-consciousness whose existence is indicated by the exercise of the rights of scolding, crying and sighing, was fast spreading among the entire slave population, and was surely also manifesting itself in ways deeply detrimental to the financial position of the masters. Slavery and self-consciousness are bad bed fellows. They form a poisoned mixture which gives the slave owner no peace of mind, makes his life a burden to him, and makes him wish he never had slaves. The slaves were ceasing to be property. *i.e.*, useful sources of gratification, and were fast assuming the character of encumbrances. The present was melancholy, the future was heart-breaking. In a few years they would find it profitable to emancipate the slaves, and throw

them upon their own resources by way of punishment for their cussedness. They therefore readily accepted the twenty million pounds lavished upon them by the government of the country. It would be interesting to know how many members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords were interested in the plantations of the Colonies affected by the abolition of slavery. That would enable history to appreciate the true nature of the charity which British people showed to the Negro-slaves. In 1788 A.D. the year in which the Bristol and Liverpool merchants, who had made a profit of several million pounds by the slave-trade, resisted the amelioration of that trade—a resistance which was too strong for government to bear. How in the course of 18 years the psychology of the people had a deflection of such magnitude, from meanness to greatness, it is difficult to understand and then how in 25 years more the old psychology was turned wholly topsy-turvy is a mystery which will ever arouse suspicion but may possibly successfully ward off direct blows of historical light. Such a sudden change in national psychology is more difficult to comprehend than a change in the psychology of a subject race claiming Autonomy for a nation of three hundred million souls which have lived for many centuries under foreign domination. It is easier to believe that a watch which was 15 minutes too slow last evening is going 15 minutes too fast this morning, than to realize the drastic change in the national psychology implied by the abolition of slavery. The only possible explanation is that people were convinced in the course of the interval between 1788 and 1833, not that the slave-trade or slavery was immoral, but that they were either unprofitable or that their profitableness was a rapidly diminishing quality. It is possible individual planters who treated their slaves with considerateness and thereby arrested a too rapid growth of their self-consciousness, expected to make good profits out of slavery for sometime longer but on the whole it is reasonable to think that legislative interference noisily anticipated what *laissez faire* would have quietly accomplished in a few years more. That there were considerate men among the planters of the southern states of the United States is evident from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which calls pointed attention to more than one such character, one of whom particularly unduly indulged his slaves, to compensate for his wife's temperament

which had lost its human worth by love of repose and luxury. Their daughter was an angel and was loved as such by the slaves of the household. One can never forget the lofty indifference of this gentleman, the peevishness of his wife or the heavenly sweetness that characterised the child. It is a paradox in the history of Negro slavery that while harsh treatment tended to abolition, kindness made for its perpetuation.

In 1788 there were fifteen thousand slaves in England employed in domestic service, thereby giving considerable relief to a section of the population, who were troubled by the constant migration of people from the south to the north of England where the new mechanical revolution was drastically changing the condition of labour by causing a redistribution of population all over the country. The general interest of the middle classes in the cause of slavery received a shock by the judgment of Lord Mansfield which declared that a slave could not breathe in England. The political opposition to slavery came overtly from people whose moral sentiments were unaffected by the prospect of material gain or loss. What amount of covert opposition came from those whose material interests were affected cannot be determined. It seems fair to conclude however that those who were impressed by the growing economic weakness of slave labour caused by the increasing self-consciousness among the slaves were fain to be relieved of their burden at public cost.

It may be remarked also that by the time slavery was abolished the Dismal Devil was energetically engaged in his mission work, in spite of, rather by the instrumentality of, the mechanical revolution. Population was increasing fast, and wages were falling, and unemployment was increasing. The whiteman was crying for bread and the drudgery of slaves. The population was crying for relief from the growing pressure exerted by the Dismal Devil. Negro slavery had very little chance against this rapidly growing white pressure. As a fact of history we know that while the British legislature abolished slavery in the British Colonies the surplus population of Britain, particularly of Ireland, quietly abolished slavery in the Northern State of America. The struggle for existence, the Devil's method of selection (not natural selection which refers to lower forms of life) was violently shaking society and political psychology in the civilised world, and

the redundant people of Europe, who were, for centuries, accustomed to cross the Atlantic for the purpose of exploiting others and to eat bread in the sweat of the faces of others were now swarming into the trans-Atlantic continent in quest of bread at the cost of their own perspiring faces. It is thus that the Dismal Devil befriended the negro, and emancipated him from the shackles which had tormented him for centuries. His services are generally unrecognized and the abolition of slavery has been traced to the mysterious influence of the sermon on the mount, for which Western civilisation has shown very little respect elsewhere. I have dwelt upon this aspect of the abolition of slavery *literally* to "*give the devil his due*".

The following extract from Henry George's "Social Problems", Chapter III, will be found interesting:—

"The trees as I write, have not yet begun to leaf nor even the blossoms to appear; yet passing down the lower part of Broadway these early days of spring, one breasts a steady current of uncouthly dressed men and women, carrying bundles and boxes and all manner of baggage. As the season advances the human current will increase, even in winter it will not wholly cease it flow. It is the great gulf stream of humanity which sets from Europe upon America—the greatest migration of people since the world began. Other minor branches has the stream—Into Boston and Philadelphia, into Portland Quebec and Montreal, into New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, and Victoria come offshoots of the same current, and as it flows it draws increasing volume from wider sources. Emigration to America has, since 1848, reduced the population of Ireland by more than a third. But as Irish ability to feed the stream declines English emigration increases, the German outpour becomes so vast as to assume the first proportions, and the millions of Italy, pressed by want as severe as that of Ireland, begin to turn to the emigrant ship as did the Irish. In Castle Gardea one may see the garb and hear the speech of all European peoples. From the Fjords of Norway, from the mountains of Wallachia, and from Mediterranean shores and Islands, once the centre of classic civilisation, the great current is fed. Every year increases the facility of its flow..... yet inspite of this great exodus the population of Europe as a whole is steadily increasing",

This is the character and dimensions of the army transported by the Dismal Devil across the Atlantic to fight negro slavery, and to emancipate the blacks by putting the whites in fetters, to ransom the African in exchange for the European. So great has been the onslaught of date that even America, with her vast waste lands, has been compelled to acknowledge her gratitude to the Devil, and to exclaim "Enough, Enough" in the shape of exclusion acts passed in the legislatures. This is how the Dismal Devil achieves his purpose, and leaves to the ingenuity of the world to give credit to his enemy's son who arrogantly insulted him when he had offered to make him the Emperor of the world.

The story of the abolition of slavery in America is slightly different in detail from the story as told for England. In the constitution of the Commonwealth which was prepared in 1786 there is no mention of slaves though the foundational principle of it was that "all men are born free and equal". Dolben's Bill for improving the sanitary condition of the ships in which slaves were carried, it will be remembered, was defeated in the House of Lords in 1788. It was urged that slaves were private property, and no legislature could interfere to abolish property. No doubt in Russia they have abolished it in 1917. But a sufficiently long time had elapsed since the slave holders discussed natural and Roman jurisprudence in the House of Lords, to enable Russian psychology to undergo a drastic orientation. It seems that the psychology of the English speaking people was the same on the west of the Atlantic as on the east about the time to which the present discussion relates, and it is no wonder slaves was considered as property on both sides of the ocean towards the close of the Eighteenth Century. In England the slave-trade ceased to be property, *i.e.*, a source of profit, in 1806. But America is a large country, north and south as well as east and west. Many degrees of latitude and longitude are included in it. The northern two-thirds is cold and the southern third is wet. There is a middle region with medium thermal conditions. Opinion regarding slavery soon come to be divided. The north formally declared against it. The south was determined to retain it. The middle region sat on the fence. The abolition of the slave-trade by England had probably a mixed motive behind it. The Commonwealth of America

derived more benefit from the slave-trade than England. English statesmen thought that slave labour might be easily replaced in the colonies by indentured labour imported from the vast possessions which England commanded in the tropics. As a matter of fact this source of labour soon began to be tapped, and now India furnishes most of the labour required for the plantations in the West Indies, which were above affected by the abolition of slavery in 1833. The condition of the Southern States of America was different. The abolition of slavery led to diminution of labour they had no means of replenishing. No Irishman would go to South Carolina to sweat for his bread. America was an enemy to England. She had defeated her in War and turned her out of America proper. The principles of jealousy and hate probably suggested that it would be statesmanlike to inflict a greater injury on an enemy by incurring a smaller injury to oneself. Whether thinking in England actually proceeded on this line cannot be ascertained, but the ethics of Western civilisation are quite in accord with it. Uninstructed school boys are very much impressed by the folly of cutting one's nose to spite an enemy. They are not enlightened enough to see that the adage implies greater and more certain injury inflicted on self as compared with that inflicted on the neighbours. War recognizes the legitimacy of the ethics indicated above particularly Tariff-War. For though this kind of war pretends to look to the ultimate benefit of one's own nation, its immediate purpose is to cause injury to another nation or to other nations, specifically pointed to. The law of the survival of the fittest, the law of gladiatorial life thoroughly justifies it. Self-disregarding mentality is virtuous when it is accompanied by a greater disregard for the interests of neighbours. In other cases as explained in the preceding section, it is a vice. This dictum of Western ethics is generally overclouded, for noodles and molly-coddles, by the higher principle which distinguishes between immediate good and ultimate benefit, and gives to the latter the higher value, while at the same time it points to the wisdom of incurring immediate loss for the sake of ultimate gain. There are hills behind hills—an interminable series of hills, alternating with valleys deep or shadow, broad or narrow.

Dolben's Bill did not directly aim at the abolition of the slave-trade. Ostensively it rested on human sympathy, but its indirect

effect was to make the slave-trade unprofitable and thereby to deprive slavery of its value as property. It failed for the time being, but it discouraged the slave-traders and had thus an educative effect. Slaves themselves were becoming rare on the western coast of Africa, and sooner or later the slave-trade was bound to disappear. The planters in America foresaw the disappearance and took time by the forelock. They maintained the slave population by slave-breeding. The slave-breeding was costly as compared with the importation system. A slave woman who had conceived had to be taken out of work for some months. There were the risks of death in the creation of another life. So the slave owners did not like sexual intercourse between male and female slaves. But when the worse comes to the worse the whiteman instead of being overwhelmed by despair shows extraordinary resourcefulness. In the present he did not wholly depend upon slave men for purpose of slave procreation. Besides there was the risk of demoralisation and physical relaxation. The mule is preferred to the full-horse for certain purposes and the result was an amalgamation of two extreme types of blood. This amalgamation was not a new thing in the history of slavery. But what people did out of uncontrollable passion before was now turned into profitable industry carried on in a systematic way. There were mullattoes and quadroons and probably also Eur-Africans with fourteen anna white blood. If slavery had not been abolished in America there would soon arise men and women whose blood would be indistinguishable from that of white men and white women, but who would have been treated as full blooded blacks. In fact a new race of men would come into being, who had white skins, spoke English and followed christianity but who were called negroes, and were slaves by profession. They would be a puzzle to future ethnologists who would in vain try the test of colour, language or religion and who would be baffled by cephalic measurement. Evidently science would come to the conclusion that the whitemen in Europe had revived Greek slavery and that the slaves called negroes were really agnates and cognates, brought under subjection by some mysterious process. Further continuance of slave-breeding industry might prove to be a national danger.

To understand the history of the abolition of slavery in America one ought to read Abraham Lincoln's speeches on the subject. It

was he for whom the abolition of slavery was literally a life and death question. He lived to accomplish it, and he died because he had accomplished it: he was assassinated for the energy and perseverance he had shown for the abolition of slavery. I shall make some illuminating excerpts from his speeches:—

“Is it not plain in what direction we are treading? In the colonial time Mason, Pendleton and Jefferson were as hostile to slavery in Virginia as Otis, Ames and the Adamses were in Massachusetts, and Virginia made as earnest an effort to get rid of it as old Massachusetts did. But circumstances were against them and they failed, but not because the good will of its leading men was lacking. Yet within less than forty years Virginia changed its tune, and *made negro-breeding for the cotton and sugar states one of its leading industries*”.

This speech was made in 1865 and is known as the lost speech. The brief extract is full of significance. There is much on the surface and more below it. In spite of the abolition of the slave-trade that is, the trade with America, the number of slaves was increasing in America, and slavery was spreading to new states. Slave-breeding was substituted for the slave-trade. Slave-breeding became a regular industry. In Virginia it was one of the leading industries. The laughter and applause with which this declaration was met gives an indication of the manner in which the industry was carried on.

Abraham Lincoln was convinced of the national danger which this diabolical industry stood for. His object was not merely to show that slaves were increasing in numbers, and slavery was expanding in area, but he wanted to indicate how the slave population was increasing by the demoralisation of the white-man.

“There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people at the idea of an indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races. Judge Douglas wants to fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries”. This was delivered in 1857. The quotation indicates how the amalgamation was going on. Judge Douglas's charge was that abolitionists were trying to emancipate slave women in order that they might marry them. Lincoln replied by indicating that while the philogamic instinct of the white man discriminated between white women and negro women, the sex instinct and the commercial instinct of the advocates of

slavery were perfectly blind to such discrimination. Further on in the same speech Lincoln observed:—

“I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either”.

“In those days, as I understand, masters could at their own pleasure, emancipate their slaves but since then such legal restraint has been made upon emancipation as to amount almost to prohibition. In these days legislatures hold unquestioned power to abolish slavery in their respective states but now it is becoming quite fashionable for State Constitutions to withhold that power from the legislatures”.

This last passage has reference to the Southern States and States of the middle zone, where slavery was expanding. In the Northern States slavery was non-existent either by interference of state legislature or by the goodwill of masters, and in 1856 there were four hundred and thirty-six thousand free Blacks in America.

Slavery disappeared in the north because the climate was not congenial to the negro, who often fell ill and was more frequently indisposed. He required warm clothing, costly animal-food, expensive medical attendance. The master felt worried by frequent suspension of work and by uncertainties of the future. There was no extensive plantation in the north requiring gang labour, while for domestic work the white women, born and brought up under circumstances in which the curse of Adam acted like a blessing, preferred even in plenty to enjoy work as pastime and hated idleness as a sin which visited the sinner with due punishment here as well as hereafter. As explained in a previous section this was the period when the settlers in the north enjoyed real domestic happiness, and lived as Christians out of home. The state of things changed when plenty of bread roused the desire for cake and God walked out in proportion as the devil walked in. Slavery was then felt as a necessity and black slaves came in plenty. It was not long before white free labour became available. The Devil that had roused the desire for cake had been actively at work in Europe where men and women in large increasing numbers wanted bread. The latter came out in quest of it across the Atlantic, and drove out the blacks towards the south. The masters in the north sold their

slaves to dealers coming from the South, which was taboo to the new army of immigrants, and used the sale money as capital for business on which free labour was employed. Capital and labour are in one respect like the sun and light. It is an unsettled point of dispute in science which came into existence first. The same dispute still troubles the philosophers of economics regarding capital and labour. In North America the labour of free and Christian men and women created capital and capital created slave labour first and free labour afterwards. Being relieved of the necessity, to a large extent if not wholly, of slave labour the north began to denounce slavery as sinful. Mr. Wells gives credit to German culture for launching the crusade against slavery. He says, "at a time when Germany is still the moral whipping boy of Europe it is well to note that the German record is in this respect the best of all. Almost the first outspoken utterances against Negro slavery came from the German settlers in Pennsylvania. But the German settler was working with free labour upon a temperate countryside well north of the plantation zone; he was not under serious temptation in this matter". What credit is here bestowed on distinctive German culture on the one hand is immediately snatched off by the other. Mr. Wells might well have put it thus:—Western civilisation is a civilisation of profit and loss; of self-love and hate for neighbour, of camouflage and pretentious piety. Slavery was unnecessary in the north and therefore it was abolished in the north. Slavery was necessary in the south; therefore it continued in the south and excited the piety of the north where people began strenuously to fight against it.

The following extracts from Wells' *Outline of History* will be useful; "South of the Mason and Dixon line tobacco growing began and the warmer climate encouraged the establishment of plantations with gang labour. The red Indian captives were employed. Cromwell sent Irish prisoners of War to Virginia; convicts were sent out and there was considerable trade in kidnapped children, who were spirited away to America to become apprentices or bond slaves. But the most convenient form of gang labour proved to be that of Negro Slaves. The first Negro Slaves were brought to Jamestown in Virginia by a Dutch ship as early as 1620. By 1700 Negro Slaves was scattered all over the states, but Virginia, Maryland and Carolina were

their chief regions of employment, and while the communities to the North were communities of not very rich and nor very poor farming men, the south developed a type of large proprietors and a white community of overseers and professional men subsisting on slave labour. Slave labour was a necessity to the social and economic system that had grown up in the south, in the north the presence of slaves was unnecessary and in some respects inconvenient. Conscientious scruples about slaves were more free, therefore, to develop and flourish in the northern atmosphere".

The south required labour in three different ways: it required (1) gang labour (2) tropical labour and (3) inexpensive labour. Negro slavery admirably fulfilled these conditions, and they fought strenuously for slavery against the half real, half-counterfeit scruples of the north. John Mill it is said, would have been a good Christian if he were not a great philosopher. Most white men would have been good Christians if they were not advanced civilised men. It is western civilisation that has turned Christianity out of the west. But where the interests of civilisation do not collide with those of Christianity the white man appears as a good Christian. Civilisation is the first charge on his psychological possessions. This is how the south appears so dark, and the north so bright. It may be argued that this weakness or strength, call it by whatever name, is common to all civilisations so far known to men. The Greeks and the Romans would have behaved like the modern Europeans under similar circumstances. This last point is irrelevant, because western civilisation owes its characteristic features to Greek and Roman civilisation. As regards other civilisations it may be remarked that the difference between them and western civilisation owes its origin to the greater virility which the latter possesses. But the differences of quantity once setting in, in a complex psychological mass, soon produces differences of quality, specially when certain elements receive more heat and stirring than other elements. Love of self and hate of neighbour have both received the maximum of caloric influence and medical stirring in western civilisation and these form the foundation of ethics, personal, communal and national. So far as personal ethics is concerned there are men in the west who can challenge anybody in the world for goodness of conduct. But conduct in an

advanced civilisation is largely divorced from character, from the inner psychology of the soul. Camouflage, by reiteration, becomes converted into sincere conviction. The northern states, in their war with the south, began with rank camouflage, and ended with firm conviction. Naked sincerity can have no place in civilisation. If the world wishes to be openly and unreservedly sincere it must give up civilisation, to say nothing of western civilisation. Civilisation without hypocrisy is a balloon without hydrogen. Western civilisation would be smashed in a month if the confessor were truly served. The ritual of the confession is a farce in catholicism leavened by western civilisation.

There is another difference. What is regarded as aberration of conduct in other civilisations is considered as normal in western civilisation. This idea of the norm is being gradually reinforced by the culture of western civilisation. That culture is pragmatic in essence and is invigorated by the theory of natural selections, which implies struggle for existence, and which latter in its turn, implies competition, jealousy and hate for neighbour. Men never fight out of mutual love. They fight because they hate each other. If the fighting begins with a small amount of hate, the hate is invigorated afterwards by the belligerents calling each other names. Warriors in primitive time as they went on fighting and shooting arrows loudly abused their adversaries. In modern times this is done through press, platform and pulpit. In the last war polite literature was dropped from aeroplanes to madden the enemy. Probably in the next war wireless apparatus will be used for pushing mustard seeds into the enemy's ears. Hate lies in the beginning, it lies in the end, it pervades war throughout. Now no civilisation has been free from hate. In other civilisations hate is regarded as a moral aberration, western civilisation supports hate by the theory of civilisation and thus fixes its normalcy. It makes the theory of life conform to the common practice of life, and bestows normative value on it.

Darwinism can never agree with a weak race. It would lead to decadence and annihilation by the extinction of hope and a sickening diffusion of fear: hence, though it is sometimes attempted to be driven into the culture of subject races, it cannot long thrive there. Darwinism will never thrive in India. It can thrive only among the virile nations and it is

doing so there at present. But hate is becoming normal even in India. Chaos is staring at the face of this wretched country.

The civil War which ended by abolishing slavery in the United States was not launched upon exactly on that issue. It was immediately caused by the attempt made by the South to secede from the North. The north had a majority in the congress. The result of the war proved the true justification for representative government, which is based upon majority of votes directly, and upon superior muscular power (war-power, in all its aspects, including arms, ammunitions, intelligence, military trading, etc.) indirectly. If the majority were found to be weak in war-power, representative government would cease to command respect. Monarchy fell in France because the royal war-power, once the mightiest in the world, proved to be extremely weak. In the same way fell other monarchies. The justification for democratic rule resides in the fact that the ruling party is physically the strongest party. The southern states made the experiment in order to see whether the United States were ruled by a genuine or a counterfeit majority, obtained by the power of elocution and camouflage. The civil war has strengthened democracy as a principle of government all over the world, and most states are now democratic. The southern states have profited by the experiment, and they are thriving more amply with free negro labour than they ever did with slave labour. If they knew the secret that distinguishes free from slave labour there might have been no civil war and no bloodshed. The British people discovered this secret and gained by the abolition of slavery in their colonies. The colonies were close to the southern states and it is wonderful the latter failed to understand the secret though a quarter of a century had passed since slavery had been abolished in the colonies. In the protracted dispute over the slavery question extending over a number of years none of the advocates of abolition tried to convince the planters of the south that they would gain and not lose, by the abolition. Each party having taken a definite position refused to withdraw from it. This looks like sheer obstinacy, but it proves the work of western culture and keeps the dogma of Darwinism intact. Without this combative spirit, ever trying to decide whether you or I am fit to survive, western civilisation would cease to be

what it is. It would lose its vigour, virility, and vertebrateness, its ascendancy and chauvinistic pride. It would lose all that makes it so glorious.

It is curious that the civil war did not arise out of the issue whether slavery should be abolished. The question before the congress was whether slavery could be extended to new states. The issue was comparatively unimportant. Yet the southern states did not yield. I have already explained why they did not.

I think it is permissible to conclude that slavery in the northern states of America as well as in the British colonies was abolished because slavery was less profitable than free labour and because free labour was available. In the southern states slavery was abolished by the vigour and doggedness of western civilisation more than by economic conviction.

It might be misleading not to mention that though the issue on which the civil war was fought was not whether slavery should be abolished yet the southern states felt, and rightly felt that if they yielded slavery could not survive long. This ultimate issue formed the principle burden in the controversy that raged for many years between the advocates on the two sides. The smaller issue though it was chosen, lawyer like, by the abolitionists, their leader, Abraham Lincoln continually insisted that the constitution did not intend to continue slavery indefinitely and his arguments were for the most part directed towards abolition and not merely to the prevention of the expansion of slavery. To have dragged in the question of profit and loss, would have weakened the abolitionist position. The superiority of free labour is not an absolute fact. It depends upon circumstances, and the analogy between the British colonies and the southern states was open to controversy. The southern states felt that they could not expect free white labour, like the north, imported from Europe. They also felt that part of the emancipated black labour might seek work outside their accustomed limits. Perhaps they were most influenced by the idea that the slave population which multiplies by

slave breeding would lose its principal creative factor by emancipation. Figures go to show that they were right. The present negro population is said to be about seven millions. The population of 1909, as given by Lord Bryce in his *American Commonwealth* was about eight millions. The slave breeders' interest was keener and deeper than the interest of wedlock. The incentive was stronger, industry cried for more men, and western civilisation was not likely to fall short of its duty. The emancipated slave-men on the other hand probably entered into wedlock with meticulousness, for to him increasing population meant increasing misery, while to the breeder increasing population was a triumph, biologically as well as economically. It is possible the advocates of slavery foresaw this result. Lord Bryce has declined to compare the present prosperity of the south with its prosperity in the prewar period, though he finds that prosperity has been increasing since the close of the war. White labour is coming in under the pressure of the Dismal Devil's glare in Europe and in the Northern states. Besides white labour was formerly deterred not merely by the climate of the south, but more forcibly by its disinclination to work side by side with slave labour.

The south considered the growth of the mixed breed of black Europeans or white negroes an economic necessity, while the north considered it a political anomaly. Here was the point where the two sides seriously lost contact. The civil war was thus a contest between economics and politics. The south stuck to economic advantage out of self-love, the north dreaded political danger out of hatred for neighbour. Thus both self-love and hatred for neighbour played their part in the War.

The population is not only not increasing but it is gradually relapsing into deeper darkness as the white element as a factor is absent in reproduction. It is difficult to say whether humanity on the whole would have lost or gained by slave-breeding in the long run, apart from the interests of the north or the south of the American states, if it continued indefinitely.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUSTANI LITERATURE,*

By PANDIT MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI.

Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif's essay on Urdu (Hindustani) literature, which was originally written as a thesis and secured for the author the degree of Ph.D. of the London University, has now been published in book form. The first part contains a general survey of Urdu literature during the century preceding the Indian Mutiny of 1857, in the second part are discussed the various channels, (for instance, Administration, Education, Press etc.) through which "English influence" has affected it, and in the third part are set forth the results of this influence both on its technique and spirit, on verse and prose. In so far as it gives to foreign and non-Urdu-knowing readers a bird's-eye-view of Urdu literature and its development under modern influences, Dr. Latif's book serves a useful purpose, but I am afraid that judged by a fairly high critical standard, it will not—by reason of its faults of omission and commission, which will be mentioned later—be regarded by those who know Urdu literature, at first-hand, as a sound and accurate contribution to its study and appreciation. At best, it appears to be a compilation, based on information gathered mainly from second-hand sources, and not a study of Urdu literature founded upon original works. Another defect is that the author gives such prominence to his political and communal prejudices that it tends to vitiate the value of his literary criticisms and conclusions. When the claims of Urdu for recognition as the most important modern Indian language are in question, we are told again and again that it is the common language of the Hindus and the Muhamedans. And yet Dr. Latif tells us (on page 106) that "Urdu literature is essentially a Muslim contribution"! He has also allowed himself to say hard things about the much-maligned Hindus in discussing educational and political influences in Chapter III. He refers to them as "the erstwhile subjects" of Mussalmans (p. 41)—as if the seventy millions of Muslims in this country are all descended from foreign emigrants!—and talks, like a typical well-seasoned bureaucrat, of "the clamour of the

Hindu politicians" (p. 42). I could quote many other similar lapses, but I forbear, as the two instances, noted above, will satisfy an impartial reader of the soundness of my contention. However, I do not complain:—

شیریں ے چفازں کا یہی حال رہیگا
فرمایش خون سر فرهاد رہیگی

II.

The first part of the book, in which the writer has attempted a general survey of pre-British Urdu literature is, I think, the weakest part of the book, because in his zeal to exalt the later "reformers", he has done, in my opinion, less than justice to the old masters. Take for example the following statement which he makes in all seriousness. "What followed was, that until the advent of English influence, all that went under the name of Urdu literature, which is entirely in verse, was all imitative, artificial and uninspiring...hedged in by hard-and-fast rules, revelling in a narrow circle of thin and hackneyed ideas, and making a virtue of extravagance, meaningless subtleties, far-fetched conceits, and empty declamation" (p. 11). Now surely this unqualified statement is too sweeping and every student of Urdu poetry will feel bound to record his protest against it. I am perfectly aware of the limitations of the Urdu poets, their deference to convention, their false morality, their submission to the ideals of a decadent age. And yet in spite of these they did produce poetry which the Urdu-reading public will not willingly let die. "They were" (to quote from the late Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar's review of Sheikh Abdul Qadir's *The New School of Urdu Literature*) "the men of their age, and the dominant ideas and sentiments which they felt passionately and profoundly, they idealised in their poetry. The chief merit of their poetry, therefore, is its sincerity. It

**The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*. By Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif (Forster, Groom & Co., 15, Charing Cross, London, S.W. 1) 1924.

is a genuine reflex of their real nature, and of the real nature of the society in which they lived and moved and had their being. There are guilty sentiments in it, because the poets themselves cherished those sentiments. Its vein, in general, is despondent and pessimistic because the poets themselves were pessimists. But whatever most agitated their minds, whatever kindled their emotions and set fire to their brains, found its way into their poetry, and so it is that whether we like it or not, we cannot help feeling its magnetism, because it is sincere, because it has come forth from the innermost depths of the poets' hearts, and is a genuine record, according to their lights, of what they thought and felt in the world". This quotation from an admittedly qualified scholar and critic gives the truth of the matter and it is a much more correct estimate of the poetry of *Mir*, *Dard*, *Atash*, *Ghalib* and *Anis* than that conveyed in the sweeping generalisations of Dr. Latif. What is said and the way it is said, these are the two cardinal points in poetry, and of these two essentials the latter is the greater. Have not these cunning artificers in words—so gratuitously condemned by Dr. Latif—forged out of them phrases and expressions that linger in our ears and haunt our memories? Has Dr. Latif been never moved by the deep pathos of the poetry of *Mir*, ringing with the anguish and agony of real passion, and has the almost tragic wistfulness, which is the dominant note of the Sufi poets, never haunted his memory? Has he never felt the charm of the felicity of the inevitable phrase and, even more, of the cadence, which gives to certain lines of *Ghalib* their mysterious potency? If Dr. Latif has not had his emotions touched by the best poetry of the old masters, and if all that they wrote is to him merely "imitative, artificial and uninspiring", then I can only say that I am sorry for him. There is another statement of his (on p. 21) which, to put it mildly, sounds extremely curious. Dr. Latif says that there is a considerable variety of verse forms—he himself enumerates eighteen which he considers important—and that "no one is entitled to the name of a poet unless his works show specimens of all." Is that really so? *Atash* never wrote anything but *ghazal*, and yet even Dr. Latif would have to think twice before he denies to him the name of poet! Sweeping statements like these may misguide the foreigner; to a student of Urdu poetry they

only show that the author has not taken the trouble to know it, at first-hand.

III.

In discussing the post-Mutiny period of Urdu literature the ruling passion of Dr. Latif seems to be an exaltation of *Hali*. Now no one can deny the value of *Hali*'s protest against the conventionalities and limitations of his predecessors and of his efforts to acquaint his contemporaries with the modern canons of poetic art, but Dr. Latif should know—if he does not—that *Hali* is not accepted as a great poet outside a limited circle of admirers, who confound the personal with the literary estimate and exaggerate the merit of his poetry because its matter appeals to their communal feeling and prejudices. In fact in poetic qualities, the verse which *Hali* wrote in the style of the old masters is superior to his "reformed" poetry. Take for example the very opening lines of *Hali*'s much-belauded *Musaddas*, which Dr. Latif calls his greatest work:

کسی نے یہ بقرط سے جائے ہوچھا
مرض تیرے فزیدی مہلک مہین کیا کیا
کہا دکھ جہان مہین نہیں کوئی ایسا
کہ جس کی درہ حق نے کی ہو وہ پیدا
مگر وہ مرض جسکو اسان سمجھیں
کہ جو طبیب اس کو ہزبان سمجھیں

Translation:—"Some one went to Hippocrates and asked him as to the diseases that were fatal. He replied that there was no disease, the proper cure for which had not been created by God—except that which the patient would regard as easily curable and hence treat with disdain the suggestions of the physician."

Or again the very first lines from his *Dewan*:

چند خط لکے ایک دانہ لے
کہیںچکے بارون سے یہ کہا
دیکھ لو ان میں چٹے ہیں خط
کوئی ہے چھوٹا کرلی ہوا
ہے کوئی چرے ہاتھ لگے
دے یہ نہیں چھوٹے خط کو دہا

Translation:—A wise man after drawing some lines said to his friends: “just notice that of these lines some are long and some short. Is there any one who without using one’s hand can lengthen the smaller line?”

May I venture to ask Dr. Latif whether he seriously contends that this is poetry? If Byron’s *Childe Harold* has been described as “Baedekar in rhyme,” what is one to say of these disquisitions in rhyme on medicine and geometry? If this is from the leader of “the new school of Urdu poetry”, what of the rank and file? It is not poetry for the simple reason that the thing could have been said very much better in prose and the man who could write such stuff can never be regarded as a poet worth the name. Dr. Latif in his enthusiasm for *Hali* writes (p. 66) of his favourite as if he were the peer of the immortal poet, *Anis*, as a composer of *rubais*. This contention can not be acceded to by any one who possesses either critical acumen or ripe literary judgment. I think that the uncouthness of the diction—quite apart from its very unpoetic sentiments, suggestive of the washerwoman—of the following *rubai* of *Hali*’s is enough to make Mir *Anis* turn in his grave:

دھونے کی جے اے رفار رجا باقی
کپڑے پہ تے چپ تک کہ دھبا باقی
دھو شوق سے دھبے کو وہ اننا نہ رکو
دھبا رہ کپڑے پہ نہ ڈیڑا باقی

Translation:—O! Reformer, there is need for your washing so long as there is the stain on the cloth. Do wash out the stain, but do not rub it so hard that the cloth itself may disappear along with the stain.

IV.

Another critical dictum (p. 95) of Dr. Latif with which I am in disagreement relates to the *Fisanai-Azad* of the late Pandit Ratan Nath *Sarshar*. Now it is not correct to say—as Dr. Latif does—that it is “written partly in prose and partly in verse,” and though (like the *Vanity Fair*) it is lacking in the unity of plot, it is certainly not lacking in the “consistency of characterization.” In fact, if there is one writer of Urdu fiction who more than

another has made his characters live and move it is Ratan Nath and the *Khoji* of *Fisanai-Azad* and *Maharaj Bali* of *Sair-i-Kohsar* are as alive and as consistent as *Falstaff* or *Becky Sharp*. This is more than can be said of any other writer of fiction in Urdu. I am also surprised to find that while enumerating the agencies, which have helped to form modern Urdu prose, Dr. Latif makes no mention of the *Oudh Punch* of Lucknow, which was edited by the late Munshi Sajjad Husain and counted among its contributors men like Machchhu Beg *Sitam Zarif*, Ahmad Ali Kasmandvi, Ahmad Ali *Shauq*, Tirbhuvan Nath *Hijr*, Jwala Prasad *Burq* and Akbar Husain *Akbar*, and which (along with the Aligarh school of writers) did so much to spread the new light and the canons of modern criticism, and to replace the artificial and stilted style (of Rajab Ali *Suroor* and his contemporaries) by the easy, natural, flowing and flexible prose of modern days. Nor has Dr. Latif even mentioned in his references to modern Urdu poets the name of Pandit Braj Narayan Chakbast of Lucknow, though he is one of the recognised leaders of the modern school and his poems on India, Mr. Gandhi’s agitation in South Africa, the Hindu University, Mrs. Besant’s incarceration, the *Ramayana*, and *Dehra Dun*, to name but a few, are widely read and appreciated. And I can not understand the entire omission of any reference to the *Zamana* of Cawnpore, which under the able and experienced editorship of Munshi Daya Narayan Nigam, has done so much during the last quarter of a century to further the development of Urdu literature, from the list of the “leading periodicals”—except on the assumption of the want of a first-hand knowledge of the materials on which such an essay as Dr. Latif’s should have been based.

Apart from these, there are also a few minor slips to which I may call attention. Persian remained the language of courts not till 1832 (p. 6) but 1835, and a fragment in Urdu poetry is designated *Qita*, not *Maqta* (p. 66), the latter being something quite different. It is not correct to say that only a few sentences of prose were written by *Insha* (p. 77). He wrote a complete story called *Kuar Udai Bhan*, from which a few sentences are quoted by Muhammad Husain *Azad* in his *Abi Hayat*. And its style is not “the Indo-Persian in vogue in the latter days of the Moghul Empire”, but very simple Hindustani, for as Azad definitely states, *Insha*

had studiously refrained from using a single Persian or Arabic word in the course of the whole narrative. Maulvi Zakaulla was not a professor "of Mathematics" at the Muir Central College, Allahabad (p. 91) and Maulvi Shibli did not write any life of Harun Rashid called *Al-Harun*, nor did he write a historical work called the *Royal Heroes of Islam*, apart from *Al-Faruq* and *Al-Mamun* (p. 93). In fact, as he himself fully and clearly explained in his preface to *Al-Mamun* he projected a series to be called the *Heroes of Islam*, which was to include ten heroes from ten famous Islamic dynasties (from the second Khalifa to Sulaiman the Magnificent) but he actually wrote only two of the series, *Al-Faruq* and *Al-Mamun*. As regards Harun Rashid, Shibli himself said in *Al-Mamun* that he did not select him as the hero of a biography, because he was guilty of the blood of the Barmecides! In spite of this Dr. Latif, for want of first-hand knowledge, declares Shibli as the writer of "the lives of the famous Harun Rashid and his son". The name of the author of *Indar Sabha* was not Amanat Ali (p. 98) but Sayid Agha Hasan, and I do not know what authority Dr. Latif has for the statement "that Amanat had not the courage to lend his name openly to this production for fear of the orthodox critics". A reference to an authority would have been useful for checking the accuracy of Dr. Latif's statement, which seems to me unwarranted.

V.

Having now expressed my differences from certain opinions of Dr. Latif and pointed out the limitations of his work and errors of fact in his statements, which I have done solely in the interest of sound literary criticism, it accords me satisfaction to find myself in complete agreement with him on some important points, specially because the opinions expressed by him are not

exactly popular and their expression required a certain amount of courage. Every language has its own genius and while reform and innovation are no doubt necessary, from time to time, in literature as in all other human activities, the reformer is bound to take care that the changes which he advocates do not clash with the genius of that particular language and literature. Every language has its own conventions and every poetry has its own technique, and in art as in morals, as in everything that man undertakes, true greatness is the most ready to recognise and most willing to obey the simple outward laws which have been sanctioned by the experience of mankind. Dr. Latif, does not approve of the introduction of English technique in Urdu poetry (p. 67) and I agree that the efforts of Maulvi Abdul Halim Sharar and his friends to write in Urdu blank verse have ended in ludicrous failure and have added only to the gaiety of nations. Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnori's appreciation of *Ghalib*, curiously enough, enjoyed a certain vogue at one time, but it is uncritical, extravagant and unsound, and I am glad that Dr. Latif condemns it as such (p. 103). Shibli is a writer of undoubted merit and stands in the front rank of the Aligarh school but his historical writings show a lack of judgment and perspective and more often than not he ceases to be an historian and degenerates into an advocate. As Dr. Latif rightly remarks (p. 121) "in his eagerness to emphasise those aspects of Islamic history often misrepresented or overlooked by Western writers, he has sometimes failed to dwell on the seamy side as well, and so make the picture complete and faithful". And there are critics, who find the same fault in *Hali's Hayat-i-Javed*. Here I should bring this appraisal of Dr. Latif's book to a close. If a second edition be called for, I hope the author will carefully revise the book in the light of the criticisms I have offered in the course of this survey of its merits and defects.

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF IMPERIALISM.

By "A MERE NATIVE."

Judge it from whichever point you may, and without overlooking or condoning the faults of the book under consideration, it must be acknowledged by an impartial critic that the late Lord Curzon's *British Government in India* is, on the whole, a work of importance and interest. Before, therefore, we survey its contents in detail, it is but right to advert to the circumstances surrounding its birth and growth, as also some subsidiary matters. The book, which was begun by Lord Curzon during his term of viceroyalty in India, represents the author's labour and researches of a quarter of a century. It is an epitome of the records of the Governors-General in their personal aspects, in which the Indian careers of the successive British rulers of this country, mainly in their social facets, are brought under review, for a period of a century and a half. It is also worthy of note that the author was correcting the proofs of the second volume when he passed away, and so the work possesses a pathetic interest as well, as it shows his enthusiasm for his self-imposed task, almost to the very last moment of his fast ebbing life. As such this last literary production of the ex-Viceroy's is of especial interest for more reasons than one. It was while resident in the Government House, Calcutta, that Lord Curzon conceived the idea of writing its story and of its inmates during the century and more of its existence. Compiled from materials very largely unpublished and not generally accessible, Lord Curzon's volumes represent much industry and considerable research. Unearthed from papers buried in the Indian Record Office and supplemented by confidential information collected by himself, the results of Lord Curzon's researches, in the work before us, throw a flood of light upon many a long-disputed point of Calcutta topography and archæology, and furnish a new and authentic commentary upon some of the problems of the British rule, though (of course) it is not possible to accept all his

deductions and conclusions. Casting his net wide, he takes in the viceregal careers of the successive rulers of India—their idiosyncracies, peculiarities, tastes and fashions, as also the ceremonies of a bygone age—and presents a picture (hitherto for the most part unpainted) of the conditions under which British rule in India grew from modest beginnings to its present imposing dimensions. Whatever view we may take of the author's mental and temperamental limitations, credit is certainly due to him for writing an attractive and interesting work.

In the opening chapters many questions of historical and antiquarian interest are elucidated and discussed—the houses occupied by Warren Hastings, the alleged discovery and commemoration by Lord Curzon of the site of the Black Hole, and the identity of the Council House in which occurred the many famous and tempestuous scenes between Warren Hastings and Phillip Francis. The tale is told, for the first time, of the long and bitter conflict between Lord Wellesley—the builder of the Government House—and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which is a memorable episode in Anglo-Indian history. In the first volume will also be found a graphic description of the erection and the contents of the Queen Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, for which Lord Curzon, while Viceroy, raised funds amounting to over £4,00,000 and which is both the National Gallery of India and undoubtedly the noblest monument that has been erected in this country, since the days of the Great Mughal. It certainly deserved a detailed description. In the second volume Lord Curzon develops the main purpose of his work, namely an account of the viceroyalty of India, its constitutional history and development,

British Government in India. By (the late) Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K.G. 2 Vols. (Cassell and Company Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

its functions, powers, features, and methods, together with an account of the manner in which the post of Governor-General has been filled and the Government of India conducted. Based on his personal experience of the office and an unrivalled knowledge of the principles and practice of British administration in India, this volume will be of permanent utility to Indian publicists and political reformers, as it touches upon various political topics of current and permanent interest.

It is, however, the personal aspect of British rule in India that is the real subject-matter of Lord Curzon's work and its most interesting feature. It is these personal appreciations of the author's predecessors, derived from authentic and often original sources, that constitute the most attractive feature of the book under survey. In a work covering so large a ground, there is bound to be room for considerable difference of opinion—to which we shall come later—but the importance and interest of the work are beyond all doubt; for it is the barest truth to state that until now no such synopsis of Anglo-India has been furnished—let alone by one who himself was personally familiar with the responsibilities and burdens of viceroyalty. As a documentary basis for the British administration in India it will prove of unrivalled usefulness to historians and students of Indian history. Written by a scholar, whose mind was alert, and whose power of expression brilliant: who could claim, moreover, a richer experience of his subject than any other author, Lord Curzon's work will take a prominent place among the records of the foundation and development of British rule in India.

Lord Curzon's book thus falls into two divisions. The one deals with the Government Houses at Calcutta and Barrackpore and certain matters of local interest. The other is historical in form, and aims at letting us see the succession of Viceroys as they were—in their ideals, their strengths and their weaknesses. None other than Lord Curzon could have done this so well. He himself points out that he had been acquainted with no fewer than ten ex-Viceroys. He had served as Under-Secretary at the India Office and as the Viceroy, for a longer than the normal term, and had thus ample opportunities of examining his predecessors' official letters and minutes. Further, he had made an elaborate study of all the published and much private

material about his predecessors, with the result that his book will save future students of Anglo-Indian history much wearisome investigation. Taking all these facts and circumstances into account we have nothing but admiration for the way in which the talented author performed his self-imposed task to the best of his lights—though, in the portions of this survey to follow, it will be our unpleasant task to criticise severely some important features of the book, judged from the Indian point of view.

II.

Having made these general observations in appreciation of Lord Curzon's book, we shall now advert to some of its important features. To begin with, the book is distinctly a misnomer and should not have been designated *British Government in India*. Being, in the main, a story of the Government House at Calcutta and of the Viceregal country-seat at Barrackpore, till 1912—when the metropolis of the Indian Empire was removed to Delhi—it has nothing to do, strictly speaking, with the government of the country under British rule. The author advisedly eschews reviewing the political policy and public acts of the Governors-General and devotes himself mainly to recording their lives in their personal and social aspects. All this may be—and, indeed, is—interesting, but it has got nothing to do with the Government of India as such. That is perhaps the first criticism one may reasonably offer on this rather more or less pretentious book, the greater part of which may not unjustly be described as but a glorified guide-book to the Government Houses at Calcutta and Barrackpore—though in the second volume there are, as stated above, topics dealt with, to some of which we shall refer, which are also of current political interest.

The next criticism we shall offer is that the style of the book is generally heavy, florid and at places even (what the late Sir Rash Behari Ghose called Lord Curzon's famous convocation address on "Truth" delivered at the Calcutta University) "Corinthian", devoid of sweet simplicity, to say nothing of Attic grace. At many places it is pedantically artificial, grossly stilted, and showily laboured, with a conspicuous attempt at straining after effect. A few instances picked up at random—which could easily be multiplied—will bear out our contention. The author writes (Vol. I, p. 212): "Nevertheless

the law of alternation compelled him to revert to the immutable fashion of his predecessors". "The law of alternation," forsooth! must be a Curzonian discovery of great scientific value! Again (Vol. I, p. 247) he writes—professing to regret the progress of mechanical inventions—"In nothing has the march of events, the progress of mechanical invention and the remorseless desire to economize time, left a deeper mark upon Calcutta life than in the supersession, by later and more prosaic means of transport of the picturesque and stately riverian pageantry of the past." Old Dr. Samuel Johnson could scarcely have bettered these sentences in turgid pomposity. There is a good deal of the same kind of stuff bestrewn in these two big and solid volumes. Grandiloquence, in fact, was one of the besetting sins of Lord Curzon as much in style as in all public and private actions, and bombastic expressions and sesquipedalian phraseology are found scattered throughout these pages. At one place the author talks of Sir John Lawrence having "abominated dinners" (Vol. I, p. 231); at another he indulges in the expression—"the manuscript roaring of lions". This must be a very peculiar kind of roaring—that produced by manuscripts! The metaphor may be rather mixed, but the comparison is at any rate original—with a vengeance!

Having dealt with the inappropriateness and incongruity of the designation of the book under notice, in view of its contents, and commented upon the style affected by the author, we may now turn to some other aspects of Lord Curzon's performance. For a work, dealing with personal and social details of the lives of so many British rulers of India, it makes rather dull and sombre reading. One does not light in it on brilliant sallies of wit, light raillery, genial banter, attractive persiflage and smart repartees. These, indeed, are but too conspicuous by their absence. Nor are even interesting stories found in abundance. In the course of a rather careful perusal of the book, we have chanced upon but two good stories, which can be said to possess some interest. One is rather sad, but the other is marked by subtle humour. The first concerns a famous astrologer in a remote part of India, who was asked, as a proof of his skill, to cast a horoscope on the day on which Lord Mayo was paying his fatal visit to the Andaman Islands. "He did so and having worked out the calculations replied: 'The king of Delhi

is dead to-day'." Lord Curzon writes: "None of those present understood and he declined to explain this oracular utterance. Not until five days later did the news of the assassination of the Viceroy reach India". The other—which is the best story in the book—relates to the literal interpretation of an order issued by Lord Curzon himself. It was to the effect that when the Viceroy wrote a note of instructions for the draft of a despatch the exact words must be adhered to. But we had better quote Lord Curzon's words:—"Some years after I had gone there was current an amusing tale of the manner in which an order that I issued was interpreted in the time of my successor, Lord Minto, who had strong sporting proclivities and was quite indifferent to style. A scheme having been devised in his day to stay the deterioration of the splendid little ponies of Burma, when the proposals were laid before the Viceroy he wrote on the file: 'I agree the Burma pony is a damned good little piece of stuff.' The clerk in the Government of India Secretariat drafting on the case accordingly began: 'Sir, I am directed to inform you that in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council the Burma pony is a damned good little piece of stuff.' When taken to task the defence of the culprit was unanswerable. For he explained that in the time of Lord Curzon an order had been passed that when the Viceroy wrote a note of instruction for a draft, the exact words should be adhered to in the draft. That order had never been rescinded, and he had observed it." This is about the only humorous story in these two large volumes which is, indeed, a great pity; but then we know that Lord Curzon's sense of humour was by no means robust and it is not surprising, therefore, if interesting stories sparkling with flashes of wit and humour do not abound in his two volumes.

III.

The whole of Lord Curzon's first volume and the rather long first chapter in the second (the latter dealing with the country-seat at Barrackpore) are not likely to appeal much to the average Indian reader. They are mainly concerned with the history of the construction of the Government Houses at Calcutta and Barrackpore, and constitute, as stated above, but an illustrated guide-book, cast in the form of an historical narrative, but a guide-book none the

less for the benefit mainly of Calcuttaites. They may not, therefore, unjustly be characterised as a glorified Beadecker to the two buildings—being concerned mainly with their topography and architecture. Here again the historical sketches of these buildings have been utilized as but back-grounds for bringing into striking relief the exploits of Lord Curzon himself—the many improvements he carried out, the numerous embellishments he introduced and the various sources of comfort and convenience he added to. These are described in the minutest particulars and the amplest details, and make rather dull and tedious reading. Not many even in Calcutta, we suppose, are at this date at all interested in knowing the number of curtains or the quality of the silk stuffs for them ordered by Lord Curzon, or the name of the firms which supplied them, or the shapes of the flower pots and the designs of the chairs which replaced the old ones, or the great trouble which he took in hunting out long-neglected nooks and corners for stowing away trunks and boxes, and so on and so forth. But, of course, the object of all this padding is quite obvious. It was to emphasize, at each turn and point, the conception embodied in Lord Ellenborough's famous dictum in connection with the first Afghan war: "Alone I did it." This seems to have been the primary object of the author throughout the book—to deepen the shade on the picture of his own exploits as Viceroy and to try to bring out how much greater he was as compared with each of his predecessors, if not the whole lot of them rolled together. We have, perhaps, put it rather bluntly or crudely; but we are in good company since the same impression, we find, was produced by a perusal of these volumes even on Lord Birkenhead who (in the course of his review of the book) has recorded his view that in the back-ground "there towers the figure of Lord Curzon himself—majestic in mien, magnificent in gesture, magniloquent in phrase, *facile princeps* among the rules of India; infallible in pronouncement, irrefutable in argument and withal an historian who can draft a history intense with interest and weighty in worth and present it in the guise of a 'delightful narrative.' This is but putting in suave and tactful language what we have recorded above in rather brusque form.

About the only topic of general interest discussed in the first volume is that connected with the alleged Black Hole incident of Anglo-

Indian history. Lord Curzon replaced in marble the brick and mortar monument put up by Holwell (which had disappeared) on the site believed to be that of the Black Hole. Now in recent years considerable doubt has been cast by the researches of Indian scholars and students of history as to the truth of the Black Hole incident and it has been contended by them that the alleged tragedy, with which all readers of Macaulay's essay on Clive are but too familiar, was not an historical incident, but a tale "faked" for the purpose of creating a sensation against and thereby justifying an unprovoked attack on the then Nawab Nazim of Bengal. We do not say or desire to suggest that this new theory can be said to have been so completely established as to have been placed beyond the region of controversy. Nevertheless, it is there and has got to be tackled by all supporters of the old story. What does Lord Curzon do? Why, brush it aside with a mere wave of his hand! Is that the right attitude for an avowed historian of the British-Indian period to take up? To this there can be but one answer. But let us hearken to Lord Curzon and quote his own words on the subject (Vol. I, p. 176):—"The two-fold attempt to show, firstly that the Black Hole incident never occurred, and secondly, that Holwell never commemorated it in the manner described is, however, the most barefaced instance known to me in history of the lengths to which political or racial partisanship, coupled with a sufficient lack of moral scruple, can be made to go. Nevertheless I am disposed to think that both Holwell's monument and mine will be found to successfully survive the shock." The shock of what? Of Truth? Has any thing untrue ever survived the shock of Truth? If so, when and where? In writing as he has done—in discussing an alleged historical incident—Lord Curzon himself has been guilty of betraying "political or racial partisanship" more than any of those whom he has so charged, without analysing the new data available. He should have kept an open mind on the subject and written on it with the temperance befitting a critical historian such as he claims to be.

But perhaps freedom from political or racial bias is too much to expect of one like Lord Curzon whose temperament and mentality are frequently betrayed throughout the book by his constant references to Indians and things Indian by the use of atrocious word "native." This grossly offensive and highly objectionable

word, as applied to Indians and every thing Indian, appears on almost every page of Lord Curzon's book. It is "native" this and "native" that, throughout these two large volumes. The word "Indian" is very seldom used in its legitimate sense, and is frequently misapplied to men and things Anglo-Indian. At one place the diseases suffered from by a retired Anglo-Indian official are characteristically described as his "Indian ailments"! Now what does the word "native" mean? Let us turn to the most authoritative lexicon—the *Oxford*. It defines the word "native" as follows: "(As noun) one born in a place ('a native of Scotland'); member of non-European or uncivilized race." There can be no doubt that it is in the latter sense that Lord Curzon, and writers of his ilk, have used and still habitually use the word in applying or rather misapplying it to Indians; and it was, therefore, that the Government of India many years back banned and proscribed the word "native" in official use—and all honour to them for it. But Lord Curzon would not be what he was—a thorough-bred Tory Imperialist—if he did not write of the Indian as "native" for it was bred in his bone to look upon the Indians of to-day, at any rate, as an "uncivilized race." It is true that at one place he delivers himself in writing of the Indians as follows:—"There is such an infinite capacity for loyal service among its peoples: there comes from them, like the breath of a warm wind, so irresistible an appeal for justice and protection: they are so grateful for kindness shown! As Queen Victoria wrote to me in the last six months of her life: 'No people are more alive to kindness or more affectionally attached, if treated with kindness, than the Indians are.'" But in spite of the fact that Lord Curzon had to deal with such a kindly, loving and grateful people, he managed to alienate from him the sympathies of a very large section of them throughout India, and specially in Bengal, and left behind him problems of very great magnitude and difficulty for Lord Minto and his successors to solve. This was because of his temperament and mental outlook. To him the Indian and everything Indian was "native", to the good Queen Victoria the Indian and everything Indian was "Indian". That explains why the memory of the great and good Queen is still cherished throughout the length and breadth of India in the highest regard, while Lord Curzon's is held in so light

esteem. Queen Victoria having no personal knowledge of India possessed imagination which enabled her to get under the skin of her Indian people; Lord Curzon for lack of it failed to evoke the love and gratitude of the Indians, in spite of his first-hand knowledge of them.

IV.

As we have said above the second volume—except the long chapter on the Barrackpore park and viceregal country-seat in it—is of more general interest, especially the chapter headed "Some Notes on the Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship of India". In this Lord Curzon has incidentally discussed some questions of current political interest, to one or two of which we may usefully advert here. Dealing with the practice of exchanging weekly letters between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, which are treated as confidential, Lord Curzon rightly deprecates the practice, which unfortunately prevailed between Lords Morley and Minto. He says that in their time "it was found that the private and secret correspondence by wire, between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, without the knowledge of their respective Councils and uncommunicated to them, had been carried to a point which amounted to usurpation of the powers of the latter and was inconsistent with the constitutional basis of Indian Government. Lord Morley, combined with an austere but flexible Radicalism an irresistible personal charm, had the most despotic of tempers, and was an impassioned apostle of personal rule. He was apt in Parliament to speak of himself and the Viceroy as though the Government of India was conducted by a sort of private arrangement between these great Twin Brothers, upon whom no sort of check could be exercised by irresponsible and incompetent out-siders." (Vol. II, p. 117) Lord Curzon also deals with the question of the qualifications for viceroyalty and lays it down as a fundamental principle: "It is not right or expedient either that one who has been head of the Indian Government in England should become head of the Government of India; or alternatively that a retired Viceroy should be Secretary of State for India in London. The principle rests, in my judgment, upon a solid foundation. In the former case it might be difficult for an ex-Secretary of State for India, who has been the official superior of the

Viceroy and may have been called upon to overrule him on many occasions, to defer, as Viceroy, to the authority which he had once wielded himself in England: and further he might be tempted to use his power in India to enforce projects which he had initiated and failed to carry, in London, thereby enjoying, so to speak, a double spell of Office. Conversely the returned Viceroy, if appointed at a later date to the India Office, might be inclined to pursue at home, whether wisely or unwisely, the policy with which he had been identified in India; he might even not be averse from applying to his successor the curb under which he had fretted himself. If, on the other hand, he were to look at cases too exclusively, through the glasses of 'the man or the spot' he might fail in his duty as Secretary of State" (Vol. II, pp. 54-5). These are, indeed, very cogent reasons and we hope they will always be kept in view in making appointments to viceroyalty.

Lord Curzon was opposed to the elevation of the members of the public services in India—civil or military—to the office of Viceroy, as also of even members of the Royal family. "It is conceivable", he says "that a day may arise when provincial autonomy may have reached a stage of development in which the nexus between the various Local Governments might be supplied by a Royal head of the State, wholly dissociated from politics, and charged with social and ceremonial duties alone. But such a situation, quite apart from its acceptability or the reverse to the holder of the office, would involve the complete transformation of the Imperial Government in India as it has hitherto existed: and it is not in my view a consummation that is either to be encouraged or desired" (Vol. II, p. 61). In the last sentence there speaketh Curzonianism with a vengeance. No provincial autonomy in India, no constitutional governorship or viceroyalty—only the "Imperial Government in India" and no modification of it even in ages to come! That is Lord Curzon all over—waving the banner of Imperialism, for the good of India! Not only that but he seems to have regretted even the change entailed by the substitution of the Company's rule by the direct control of the Crown, in 1858. In the result, says Lord Curzon "the Governor-General both lost and gained in the process. On the one hand a very necessary check was placed upon his initiative and he could no longer wage war or make treaties or commit his employers in

England behind their backs. The Governor-General ceased henceforward to be a quasi-independent potentate. On the other hand, though the Viceroy was still exposed to the curb of Whitehall, sometimes pulled in his mouth with quite unnecessary violence, he was freed from the tempestuous caprice of the Court of Directors and the internecine conflict between the rival authorities in London." So far as Lord Curzon is concerned, he would have been evidently happier could he but wield the authority of the Governor-General of the olden days, when he could wage war or make peace! But even in his own degenerate days Lord Curzon did all he could to emulate the glorious example of his *beau idéal*—Dalhousie—by sending an expedition on a peaceful mission to Lahasa! Writing of the authority of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon makes some interesting observations. He says:—"In India itself the power of the Viceroy has remained on a singularly uniform and impressive level of distinction" though Indian public opinion is apt to credit him "with even greater power than he really possesses. As the movement towards provincial autonomy in India develops, and as the parliamentary analogy is more and more applied to the conduct of affairs at Simla and Delhi, so the prestige of the Viceroy may be diminished and his influence curtailed." The author does not add in so many words, but he clearly implies that that will be, indeed, a great disaster, the more so as Lord Curzon was terribly distrustful of capacity of the House of Commons to manage and control successfully the affairs of India. Not unnaturally perhaps the democratic House of Commons was, in his judgment, unfit to wield the destinies of the autocratic, Imperialistic Government in India.

V.

That Lord Curzon and the crusted, old Tory Anglo-Indianism of which he was the high priest, should be mortally afraid of the interference of House of Commons in Indian affairs, of the establishment of provincial autonomy and its inevitable concomitant in the way of constitutional Governors (as opposed to autocratic administrators) is not at all surprising to those familiar with Curzonian mentality. This, however, is blazoned in no uncertain terms, on the very title-page of the first volume of the book under notice, in the shape of an extract from

a letter addressed by Timur (Tamerlane) to Sultan Bajazet, culled from Chapter IXIV of Gibbon's immortal *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and this motto, so deliberately chosen, may be rightly taken to be the *raison-d'être* of Lord Curzon's own performance. It runs as follows: "Dost thou not know that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? That our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gates? and that we have compelled Fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our Empire?" Surely rank and blatant Imperialism such as is betrayed in the quotation placed on the title-page of the book from Gibbon, as a suitable motto to indicate its contents, is wholly incapable of assimilating the establishment of constitutional government amongst those whom it regards as mere "natives."

We shall now conclude this critical appreciation of Lord Curzon's book with a rather long quotation from it, which will throw into striking relief the merits and demerits of the author alike as a writer and a statesman; as also bring into prominence his temperament, mental frame and outlook on India and the Indians. It will also bear out the criticisms we have offered on the work under consideration. Writes the author:—

So different are the conditions in this respect of the present day from those of half a century ago—and still more, of course, as we go further back—that no standard of comparison can be set up. And yet I can truthfully say that in the thousands of Viceregal minutes, memoranda and letters, which I have been called upon to peruse, I cannot recall a single harsh or unfeeling reflection by any of these writers upon any section of the Indian race. Each Governor-General as he has assumed his onerous charge, has been inspired not so much by the magnitude of the task as by the moral obligations which it has entailed. Each has sought to do his duty by the millions of every class and creed: many have formed the warmest attachment to the people of the country: some have left the most touching tributes to their character. I have never found in the records of any Viceroy any trace of that pride of colour or arrogance of tone which is sometimes charged against younger and less experienced Englishmen in that country. It is perhaps not unnatural that, in a land where a small minority of one race rules a vast population of another, and where a racial prejudice either exists or can easily be called into being, the British rulers who have

been most popular have been those who appeared to take the side of the Indians against their own countrymen, who openly espoused the native cause in a controversy, or who made social and, in more recent times, political concessions to Indian aspirations. It is very easy to acquire this sort of popularity in India. A speech here, an appointment there, a yielding to popular clamour in a third case—and the thing is done. British Viceroys have as a rule risen superior to this form of temptation. A few, by a consistent policy of deference to Indian sentiment, particularly where it has brought them the disfavour of their own countrymen, have attained a more enduring reputation. Such has been the fortune of a Bentinck, a Canning, or a Ripon, in eulogising whom the Indian love for hyperbole has found a fruitful field for exercise. But the Indian is gifted with extraordinary natural acumen; and while he invests with a nimbus the brow of the Englishman whom he believes to have taken his side, he regards with scarcely less respect the man who has held the scales even and has set justice before partiality. Warren Hastings was regarded by the Indian community in Bengal—relatively few and voiceless in those days—as their champion and friend; Dalhousie they approached with mingled awe and admiration; they bowed to the splendid presence of Mayo; they could not fail to be attracted by the courtly charm of Dufferin and Lansdowne. Some Viceroys have interfered openly to protect the natives from violence or outrage at the hands of the white man. Lord Lytton essayed the task; the writer exposed himself at one time to considerable obloquy from his countrymen for a renewal of the effort, and exaggerated accounts were circulated of his alleged partisanship in notorious cases. The truth of these will perhaps one day be told. The right standard of conduct is surely that there should be the same degree of sanctity attached to Indian as to British life in India, and that acts should not be condoned in one case which would be condemned in the other. The smaller class of Indian officials was intensely grateful for any interest shown in their welfare; and one of my proudest possessions is the Address that was spontaneously presented to me when I left India by the subordinate native servants of Government in the public offices at Simla; while the tenacious affections of the Indian peoples may be illustrated by the fact that, though I have left that country for twenty years, I continue to be addressed by natives from all parts of the land who believe themselves to have been treated with injustice, and who imagine that I am still in a position to give them protection or redress.

This rather long passage—for reproducing which we make no apology—shows Curzonian

Imperialism at its best and at its worst. To take first the good points of it:—it is paternal, inspired by a fairly high sense of duty towards the Indian "peoples" (plural number, always, if you please, and never singular number even by mistake, for that would be admitting Indian homogeneity) in so far, but no more, as it is consistent with British Imperialistic domination, tolerant, progressive at a rather slow pace (a permissible Irishism this, it is submitted) and, on the whole, capable of adapting itself, under very great pressure of public opinion, to changing circumstances and shifting environment. Its objectionable features are its being practically unresponsive, wholly mechanical, absolutely soulless, totally unsympathetic and prodigiously unimaginative. It is heedless of popular longings and aspirations for freedom in administration and political liberty, as it treats human beings as "natives", that is rather as pawns on the chessboard of British Imperialism than as living units capable of achieving or entitled to political freedom and self-government. Lord Curzon's *British Government in India*, viewed from the Indian perspective, is the gospel of British Imperialism at its best and at its worst.

THE EXTERNAL OPIUM QUESTION.

A remarkably complete handbook has just been published by the "Committee on the Traffic in Opium" of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States. It contains a summary of the Opium Conference held at Geneva from November 1924 to February 1925, with appendices containing complete texts of the Final Agreement, together with a text of the Hague Convention of 1912. It has reprinted also the letter of Mr. Stephen Porter—when he left Geneva, having been recalled by President Coolidge—and the various speeches that were made on the memorable occasion. Many other points are also contained in this extremely useful handbook, which is a great boon to those who are seeking, from a long distance, to follow out all the intricacies of an extremely difficult question of world-wide importance. Let us consider briefly in this review, in the light of the documents which are now before

us, what really happened to cause the quarrel over opium between America and Great Britain.

II

America had originally come into the World Opium Question because in her own borders the number of opium addicts (owing to their taking morphia and heroin, which are alkaloids of opium) had been ever increasing. Some even put the number as high as one million, though this figure has recently been challenged and is probably beyond the mark. Canada also has become very seriously affected; Montreal is to-day one of the most drug-addicted cities in the world. For this reason, America, which had stood outside the League of Nations on the other matters, determined to come into the League on this one humanitarian question and to seek to find out in this way whether the League was really able to function in the cause of humanity or not. America has been desperately disappointed. She has failed indeed in the end; Mr. Stephen Porter, the American representative, actually left the Conference Chamber, having given in a letter to be read by the President, stating that he saw no longer any use in continuing the discussion when it only ended in futility.

Let us explain America's point of view. Mr. Stephen Porter said, that there was only one way of stopping opium addiction and that was by restricting opium poppy cultivation to the full amount needed for medical and scientific requirements. Anything beyond that amount was certain to be used for addiction, and such abuse was nothing else than an abuse; it was no legitimate use at all. He stated further that it was useless to seek to stop the smuggling of opium after it had been extracted from the poppy and manufactured into the drug. Opium was such a tiny drug, especially when made up into the alkaloids of morphia and heroin, that it could be concealed anywhere. No amount of detective work could prevent smuggling. But while the plant was actually growing and the fields were white with the poppy, it was not hard to detect it and to prevent its being grown in excessive quantities. All that was really required was for the world to agree together that no more poppy plants should be grown than were needed for the world's medical needs. The countries, where poppy could be grown—such as India, Turkey, Persia—ought to be marked out, and each of them should be allowed one

fraction of the world's needed supply—say, for instance, each of these three countries might grow one third and no more. Then this opium should be dealt out to different countries of the world in the proportion needed for the medical purposes. By this method, the whole world would be properly served, and there would be nothing left over for vicious opium consumption.

But Great Britain, representing India, and other countries also, rejected this simple proposal, even when America offered a long lease of years for its accomplishment. They said that they could not agree to the formula of restricting the poppy cultivation to medical needs only, but that they were prepared to carry out the Hague convention and to put down opium smoking, if only China ceased to allow smuggling. Then the American delegates tired hard to find a common meeting ground along that line of approach. But here again financial interests, which were always in the back-ground, prevailed. The powers, who were chiefly interested to maintain their colonial revenues, derived from opium ultimately won the day.

III.

The Hague Convention had spoken explicitly in Articles 6 and 7 about the suppression of opium smoking but it had put in a saving clause, that those powers who were not able to suppress it immediately should do so "as soon as possible". The Hague Convention had been signed in 1913. But the Americans said bluntly that the contract had never been kept. Ten years had passed and opium smoking was going on in the Far East just as before. This is what made America despair and its representative did not mince matters at all. For instance, India had sent out to Saigon, in French Indo-China, in 1923; no less than 2925 chests of Indian opium (to be used for smoking) which was more than 6 times the amount of 1913. Yet Great Britain, on behalf of India (which provided the opium) and France (which held Saigon as a possession) had both of them signed the Hague Convention in 1913, declaring that they would suppress in their Far Eastern possessions the sale of opium for smoking *as soon as possible*. Naturally America asked "How much more time do you want? Do you want a century?" To this no definite reply was, of course, vouchsafed.

America made an offer of ten years, and then of fifteen years, in which these European

Powers should keep their word, and cease from trifling on this subject any longer. But Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of Great Britain, though anxious to conciliate America flatly refused each American offer. He stated that opium was being smuggled from China. Let *first* the Chinese opium be stopped and no smuggling into British territory take place, let this be decided by an International Commission, and then after an interval of fifteen years from *that* date, the Hague Convention article, which Great Britain and France had signed twelve years back, might be put into effect. In this formula it was evident that a loop-hole was left for delay, just as had been done at the Hague.

Mr. Stephen Porter broke in, impatiently, and said almost rudely that this was merely another delay for revenue purposes, similar to all the former delays. How long was Great Britain continuing to break contracts? He made one final offer. He offered eighteen years in which to fulfil engagements; but Lord Robert Cecil stuck to his own formula saying that only eighteen years after China had stopped smuggling would Great Britain carry out the Hague contract. Then Mr. Stephen-Porter cabled to President Coolidge and he was recalled. "Despite", he wrote, "over two months discussion and repeated adjournment it now clearly appears that the purpose for which the Conference was called cannot be accomplished. Unfortunately those nations in whose territory opium smoking has been temporarily permitted are not prepared to reduce the consumption, unless the producing nations agree to reduce production and to prevent smuggling from their territories, and then only in the event of an adequate guarantee being given that the obligations undertaken by the producing nations would be effectively and promptly fulfilled. No restriction of the production of raw opium under such conditions can be expected."

Thus with the American withdrawal, the Conference failed. Great Britain carried her point and obtained the indefinite delay. Smoking dens in Singapore will be as full as ever for many years to come, and the revenue of Saigon and the Straits Settlements will be hardly at all affected. There are some points in the final resolution which are of great international value, but the Conference as a whole failed. The more is the pity!

C. F. A.

THE LIVING RELIGIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.*

By MR. W. G. RAFFE.

This remarkable work is the permanent record of a noble idea, well organised and triumphantly carried into an emphatic completion. To have conceived the original idea, to have obtained amity and unanimity among living adherents among so many vitally different religions, all speaking from the same platform, is an achievement of which many a man might be justly proud. Mr. Hare, however, has nowhere claimed any special benefits for his work, and indeed he would perhaps rather view it as a normal part of the aim to which he has devoted no small part of his life: that of the study of comparative religions. There are few scholars in Britain, perhaps in the world, who are so deeply and accurately versed in the many religions, past and present, of the world, as he who is the editor of this splendid volume.

Mr. W. L. Hare has never taken the trouble to acquire academic trophies, and like such other eminent editors as Bernard Shaw, or H. G. Wells, his university was that of the world rather than the narrower sphere of schools and colleges. Yet his attainments are recognised in them, as may be seen by the fact that in a world-wide competition held some few years back, for an essay on "Prayer" Mr. William Loftus Hare stood second among the vast roll of 1700 scholars who competed, their papers being examined without the judges knowing who had written them. He is, of course, well-known in England as a discerning and critical lecturer on Comparative Religion, and at one time was appointed as Director of that subject for the British Theosophical Society, a post which was later unfortunately suspended owing to lack of funds. He is also known as the editor of the monthly journal, *The Ploughshare*, the one-time organ of the Society of Friends, which exercised a remarkable effect on educated opinion during the war period, and is now editor of the *Garden Cities and Town Planning Review*, which is among the influential architectural and sociological journals of Great Britain. These facts are a few only that may be properly mentioned here,

for the very good reason that Mr. Loftus Hare was the inspiring mind at the back of the idea of this Conference, which is without question the biggest event of this kind in the history of the British Empire. More than that, it was the most successful of any in the world. It is a definite and practical demonstration of the brotherhood of mankind and the unifying and underlying idea that is behind all religions, no matter in which localised form a definite religion may appear. The organisation of the Conference was carried out by him, with the energetic aid of Miss Mabel Sharples, and the help which he has always received from his wife. Almost every authority on religions, other than those currently in Great Britain, has been more or less closely interested or identified with the Conference, and, as the reader will see below, many of the foremost Indian scholars gladly gave their highly appreciated services. Although the first idea was to hold this Conference at Wembley, it was found that the attendance which might there be expected would not be good, so it has held in the Imperial Institute, where it received the friendly greetings from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, then Prime Minister, in a characteristic message of welcome.

Where so many fine scholars have concentrated the seance of a vital religion into a short space, it is in nowise possible for us to attempt any summary, and to criticise would be as impossible in our space as invidious in any attempt at differentiation. Every contributor is a scholar, a sincere believer in his own religion, and has respect and tolerance for the beliefs of others. We shall, therefore, be content to summarise the contents in a cordial and sincere recommendation of this volume to all our readers. Works of this kind are all too rare to miss reading: they are too precious to be allowed to moulder on some dusty top-shelf; and in this we have the considered conclusions not merely of one man but of no less than forty scholars of world-wide reputation. Thus the work is more than an ephemeral affair: it is alive,—as long as the religions which are so excellently treated.

II.

**Religions of the Empire*. A Conference of Some Living Religions within the Empire (London 1924) Edited by William Loftus Hare. With an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Ph.D. Messrs. Duckworth & Co., London, 1925.

The work opens with a section entitled *General Aspects*, with an introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, the genial Principal of the School of Oriental Studies (University of

London) and is followed by a *Sketch of Modern Religious Congresses*, by the editor, and concludes with the opening address of that well-known explorer and student of religion, Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. The papers presented to the Conference come next, with the section devoted to Hinduism, first *An Historical Note on the Religions of the Hindus* by Dr. A. S. Geden, and then an admirable contribution on *Orthodox Hinduism or Sanatana Dharma* from the able pen of Pandit Shyam Shankar, M.A., of Benares, followed by *The Religious Aspect of Hindu Philosophy* by Pandit D. K. Laddu, Ph.D., of Poona City.

The second section deals with Islam, commencing with *An Historical Note on Islam* from the well-known Oxford Professor, Dr. Margoliouth. We have then magnificent contributions from Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (of the Mosque at Working) on *The Basic Principles of Islam* and one on *The Spirit of Islam* from Mustafa Khan of Lahore, followed by more specialised papers by Sheikh Kadhim El Dojaily (of Baghdad) on *The Shi'ah Branch of Islam* and on *The Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam* by Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-din, Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifat-ul-Masih (of Qadian). The Sufi aspects of Islam are represented by two admirable papers by Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and by Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali (of Ranma) on *An Historical Note on Sufism* and *Sufism* respectively. Already we have noted material enough to fill a dozen books but we have scarcely started, and we come next to Buddhism. *An Historical Note on Buddhism* is written by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt, M.A., while Dr. W. A. de Silva, of Colombo, writes with full authority on the *Status and Influence of Buddhism in Ceylon* followed by an able paper by Mr. G. P. Malalasekara, on the *Influence of Buddhism on Education in Ceylon*. The Mahayana school of this religion is dealt with by Mr. Shoson Moyamoto, of Tokyo in *Mahayana Buddhism* but the Hinayana school is not represented.

We then reach the consideration of those religions which do not number so many adherents in India, introduced with *Historical Notes* by Sir Patrick Fagan. *Zoroastrianism: the Religions of the Parsis* is ably handled by the Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad Noshirvan, D.Ph., of Poona City, followed by an absorbing paper on *Jainism* by Rai

Bahadur Jagmander Lal Jaini, M.A., M.R.A.S., of Indore, and the *Sikh Religion* ably expounded by Sardar Kahan Singh, of Nabha.

The great land of Aryavarta is thus seen to claim, and rightly, the premier place as the nursery of the great religions of the Empire. China has an even greater population but as a land of philosophy and true religion must yield place to India, as indeed must all countries of the West as well. Chinese religion is presented in two papers, leading with *An Historical Note on Taoism*, by one of the first of European scholars on religion, Dr. G. R. S. Mead, B.A., the well-known editor of *The Quest*; the other paper being on *Taism* by Mr. Hsu Ti-Shan, of Peking.

The progress of *Modern Movements* next claims our attention, under which head we find a series of able reviews of certain sects or developments out of the older doctrines. *Historical Notes* are contributed by Rev. W. S. Utton Page, O.B.E., and then we have some excellent work on the *Brahmo Samaj* and the *Arya Samaj* by Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., and Professor S. N. Pherwani (of Shikarpur). The Bahia movement is dealt with in a further two papers, one of which is a joint work of the Bahia Assembly, presented by Mr. Mountford Mills, of Canada, and the other, on *The Bahia Influence on Life* by Mr. Ruhi Afnan of Haifa.

Turning then to the beliefs held by those known as *primitive peoples* the section leads off with *An Introductory Note on Primitive Religion* by Professor Alice Werner, L.A., following which is *Some Account of the Maori Beliefs* by Ven. Archdeacon Williams, of New Zealand, *Beliefs of some East African Tribes* by Mr. R. St. Barbe Baker (Kenya Colony), *The Bantu Religious Ideas*, by Mr. Albert Thoka (Pietersburg, South Africa) and *Some Aspects of the Religion of the West African Negro* by Mr. L. W. G. Malcolm, F.R.S.E.

III.

This remarkable list completes the papers dealing with specific doctrines of religious belief, and we then meet a comprehensive series of essays on the psychology and sociology of religion. The *Introductory Note* to this section is by the editor, Mr. William Loftus Hare, and next is a paper on *Man and Nature* by Sir Francis Younghusband, together with *The Naturalists Approach to Religion*, by Professor

J. Arthur Thomson, LL.D. of Aberdeen University. Mr. Victor Branford, the moving spirit in the Sociological Society, next deals with *Primitive Occupations: Their Ideals and Temptations*, Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., on *Holy Ways and Holy Places*, while Mrs. Rachel A. Taylor discusses *The Idea of the Sacred City*. Mr. C. Dawson gives us a paper on *Religion and the Life of Civilization* followed by the Editor's contribution, *The Ideal Man*, while Professor Patrick Geddes, well-known in India, expounds the place of *Religion on the Chart of Life*.

This is the last section of this notable work, which is completed with a *General Survey* by Mr. Victor Branford, and a *Summing Up*, by Rev. Tyssul Davis, B.A. So we complete the perusal of the 515 pages. It is stated that some of the longer papers have been necessarily abridged, but this has been so well done that had not the fact been mentioned, it could not be otherwise discerned. Those who, knowing one religion well and others perhaps not at all, and who may be inclined to object to the short-

ness of some papers, may take heart from the reality of the balance that has been reserved. Few editorial pens indeed, could have surpassed the diplomatic care which careful reading has discovered. There are no illustrations, but several diagrams, indicating something of the historical process of the exoteric doctrines, and tracing some of the main dogmas elucidated. We wish there had been one of these valuable diagrams to each religion that is dealt with. They take but small space and convey a useful constructive idea with something approaching correct historical perspective, and the sense of such perspective is nowhere more needed than in the study of Comparative Religion. Perhaps these will be added to the future edition this work is bound to have. We would also like to see "time graphs" and population statistics in graphic form, approximately indicating the numbers in each faith, and perhaps in the main sects. This information is in most instances available, and would add still further to the high value of the work.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

RECENT WORKS ON INDIAN HISTORY.

A History of Kerala. By K. P. Padmanabha Menon (Diwan's Road, Ernakulam, Cochin) 1924.

History of the Nayaks of Madura. By R. Sathyanatha Aiyar and S. Kirshnaswami Aiyangar (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

Dravidian India Vol. I. By T. R. Sesha Aiyangar (India Printing Works, Madras) 1925.

History of the Maratha People. By C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis Vol. III (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

The Glories of Magadha. By J. N. Samadar. (The University Office, Patna) 1925.

The Early History of Bengal. By F. J. Monahan (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

A History of India. By V. S. Dalal (V. J. Pathakji, Havadia Chakla, Surat) 1924.

A Political and Administrative History of India, 1757-1920. By K. H. Kamdar (M. C. Kothari, Raopura Road, Baroda) 1924.

A Short History of the India People. By A. C. Mukerjee (S. K. Lahiri & Co.) 1924.

A History of the Indian Wars. By Clement Downing (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

The unsatisfactory and inadequate character of existing books on Indian history cannot be better demonstrated than by the publication, in rapid succession, of new manuals, dealing both with the entire country and particular areas and periods, that are appearing almost daily, written both by Indian and European scholars. They embody the results of independent study and research and in several cases materially alter the accepted views relating to men and movements. Not all recent publications are, it need hardly be said, of equal worth; some of them

suffer from preconceived prejudices and hypotheses, others are based on insufficient data, yet others are vitiated by inaccuracies and an absence of the historic sense. But the scientific historian is abroad and we may before long hope to have a definitive and authoritative series of volumes dealing with the various phases and epochs of Indian history.

During 1717-1723 there lived in Cochin a Chaplain, Jacobus Canter Visscher, by name. He wrote, during his stay there, observations bearing "upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms, as well as their origin and their modes of Government, and other similar subjects." The late Mr. Padmanabha Menon, well-known as the author of the valuable *History of Cochin*, completed in 1910 an account of Malabar based mainly on the observations of Visscher. This volume which has now been published under the editorship of Mr. T. R. Krishna Menon is a fascinating account of a little-known period of South Indian history. A number of contemporary portraits add to its attraction, and the format is all that can be desired. It is a useful addition to Indian historical literature.

We have frequently had the pleasure of expressing our appreciation of the admirable work that is being done by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and his energetic associates in the Madras University. So far as the history of Southern India is concerned their work is that of pioneers. We have before us the *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, written under Dr. Aiyangar's guidance by his erstwhile Research Assistant, Mr. R. Sathanatha Aiyar. Some information relating to the Nayaks was available in Nelson's *Manual of Madura* and in Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*. But we have now for the first time a connected history of South India from the palmy days of the empire of Vijaynagar to the eve of the British occupation. Mr. Aiyar supports his conclusions with the sanction of numerous authorities, and his presentation is throughout lucid. Those who have visited Trichinopoly and Madura and have seen the magnificent architectural remains there, can form some idea of the departed glory of the Nayaks; the palace of Tirumala Nayak in Madura has, by an act of rare vandalism, been converted into "dusty purlieus of the law" which is a great shame. This valuable book of Mr. Aiyar's deserves to be commended as recalling a forgotten chapter of Hindu greatness in Southern India.

Mr. T. R. Sessa Iyengar's *Dravidian India*—of which we have before us the first volume—may be regarded as a very helpful supplement to Dr. Gilbert Slater's book on Dravidian Culture. The thesis which

Mr. Iyengar maintains is well expressed in the words of Mr. C. R. Reddy who has contributed a foreword: "We, Dravidians, are proud to be shown that as between Aryan and Dravidian, if there has been borrowing on the one hand, there has been giving on the other; that, if we received, we also gave; that what assimilation there has been is mutual and not one-sided; and that the Hindu civilisation of to-day is the common heritage of both." The opinions expressed by the author are in many cases open to dispute, but that he has rendered a distinct service to the Dravidian cause by drawing attention to it cannot be questioned. We shall revert to this meritorious work after its completion.

The History of the Marhatta People, by Mr. C. A. Kincaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis has already attained the distinction of a classic, for its accuracy and impartiality. We have before us the third and final volume which deals with the Maratha period from the death of Shahu to the end of the Chitpavan Epic in 1818. It will be recalled that in the first volume a promise was made to include a short account of the Maratha States between 1818 to the present day; that promise has not been redeemed. In the words of Michelet, Mr. Kincaid tells us, *L'âge me presse*. We wish once again to express our warm appreciation of the ability, fairness and accuracy which are such marked characteristics of this monumental work. The work in its now completed form takes the reader from the beginning of the Christian era to the overthrow of the Maratha empire. It traces the events that led to the sudden and unexpected rise of that greatest of India's captains—Shivaji Bhonsle. It clears up the tangle of the War of Independence, records the re-growth and consolidation of the kingdom under Shahu and his great ministers, Balaji Vishvanath, Bajirao Ballal and Balaji Bajirao; and it tells of the great regency of the renowned Nana Phardnavis and finally of the downfall of Bajirao II, briefly narrating the reconstructive work of that wise administrator, Mountstuart Elphinstone. The two previous volumes were published in 1918 and 1922. Vol. I covers the period from the earliest times to the death of Shivaji and Vol. II from to the death of Shahu. The authors have had the advantage of drawing on Rao Bahadur Parasnis' unrivalled collection of original Maratha letters and documents, a number of which are here published for the first time, and which throw light on many hitherto misunderstood passages of Maratha history. The work will long remain the standard work on the subject.

Professor J. N. Samaddar needs no introduction to our readers; only a few months back we reviewed appreciatively his useful contribution on the Economic

Condition of Ancient India. In the present volume entitled *The Glories of Magadha*, he gives us an account of the Magadhan capital, of the Edicts of Asoka, and of the fate of the monasteries of Nalanda and Vikramasila. The book consists of six lectures delivered at the Patna University and is of particular value and importance as dealing with the two mediæval Universities. We warmly welcome the publication of these lectures which, in the words employed in the foreword by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, are an earnest and able contribution to an important field of study.

A pathetic interest attaches to the *Early History of Bengal*, inasmuch as its author, Mr. F. J. Monahan, died in 1923 before its publication. It deals with the history, institutions, inscriptions and art of the Maurya period and should have been properly designated the "Early History of Behar". It was only a preliminary to a projected work bringing the history down to modern times; it is nonetheless "complete in itself and of a value which makes it worthy of the study of all those who are interested in the History of India." This view of Sir John Woodroffe, who contributes a foreword, is amply borne out by a perusal of the book. It is one of the most painstaking and detailed history of the Maurya Period, starting from the establishment of the Maurya dynasty on the throne of Magadha and covering the reign of Asoka. Several maps and illustrations add to the usefulness of the book which though incomplete is valuable for the period it deals with.

The second volume of Mr. V. S. Dalal's *History of India* deals with the Buddhist period, and is divided into thirteen chapters of greater or less interest. Those in particular relating to the Andhra and the Gupta dynasties, and with the life and teaching of Sankara are illuminating. The early death, in 1920, of the author was undoubtedly a great loss to Indian scholarship, but his two volumes of *History* are a fitting memorial to him, in spite of some limitations.

A Political and Administrative History of India, 1757-1920, by Mr. K. H. Kamdar of Baroda, is a summary of his "Survey of Indian History." It treats of the British period as the dates indicate; it contains an account of the foreign relations of the East India Company with the Indian States, and the second part deals with the constitutional and administrative growth of British India from the close of the Mutiny to the beginnings of responsible government. The author is careful to avoid rash and hasty conclusions and his criticisms are throughout characterised by moderation. It is a book that can be confidently recommended for use in high schools, for which purpose it is evidently intended.

Mr. A. C. Mukerjee's *A Short History of the Indian People* has for a generation retained the useful patronage of the school boy and is now in its sixth edition. It is scarcely necessary to say anything fresh in its praise; it has met and will continue to meet the needs of the high school student. All that need he said of the present edition is that the gifted writer has made full use of the latest works on the various periods of Indian history and has incorporated the researches of scholars like Sarkar, Beni Prasad, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others. It is thus abreast of the latest researches.

Mr. William Foster's services to Indian history are many and valuable; his last work on "The East India House" has deservedly received wide appreciation. The book before us, *A History of the Indian Wars*, was written in the eighteenth century by an English sailor named Clement Downing who was in India from 1715 to 1723. His "Compendious History" was published first in 1737, and the present volume is an exact reprint of the original edition. It is a book of great interest and curiosity, though its accuracy in several matters is open to doubt. It will be welcomed as a useful and handy edition of a rare book, edited as it is by a scholar of the eminence of Mr. Forster.

RECENT BOOKS ON "THE INDIAN PROBLEM."

Indian Politics. By J. T. Gwynn (Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 22, Berners Street, London) 1924.

Indian political affairs are daily undergoing such kaleidoscopic changes and the situation assumes every day such bewildering aspects with tremendous rapidity that it does not take a book on current topics long to become obsolete. Mr. Gwynn contributed, during 1922, a series of letters on the Indian problem to the *Manchester Guardian*. Without casting any reflection either on the author's ability, we are constrained to remark that these letters had already lost much of their interest and were, at best, only of academic interest a year later, when the writer thought it worthwhile to reprint them in book form. Mr. Gwynn appears to have been very painstaking and to have tried to familiarise himself with all sides and facets of the questions that constitute the Indian problem. We are assured by Lord Meston, who contributes an Introduction, that "in his letters we have no rodomontade or propaganda; we have only the talk of the plain man—the busy merchant in the town, the village worthies over their evening pipe, the doctor and the schoolmaster, the petty official and the student, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh." We confess

that while for Mr. Gwynn's own observations we have genuine respect, we have read Lord Meston's Introduction, with its little-minded self-complacency, with impatience. But though Mr. Gwynne's communications of 1922 to the *Manchester Guardian* have become obsolete, they will have a permanent value for historical purposes, of a period remarkable for acute and intense anti-British feeling.

Indian Problems in Religion, Education, Politics.

By the Right Rev. Henry Whitehead (Constable and Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

Bishop Whitehead of Madras was, during his residence in this country, popular and widely respected by Indians by reason of his undisguised sympathy with their aspirations. A book from him, written in his well-earned retirement, is to be warmly welcomed. He describes India as a land of friendship, and his book is written in the hope that it may contribute something to the understanding of a problem on the solution of which depends the welfare and happiness of more than three hundred million people. But to politics he assigns a comparatively minor place, beginning with religion "because religion has been the chief pre-occupation of India from the earliest ages of its history and has had a dominating influence in determining the special character of Indian civilisation." Dr. Whitehead's experience of Indian life was gathered in Calcutta and Madras during the long span of forty years, and the four parts of his book dealing respectively with the conflict of religions, the Christian Church in India, Education, and Politics are full of wise and shrewd observations, always good-natured, if at times unpalatable. In politics the Bishop's own position may without injustice be expressed in the words spoken to him by M. Clemenceau when he visited India: "He thought there was no likelihood of the British Government being overthrown, 'but,' he added with an impressive gesture, 'there must be no more Amritsars, you cannot rule India like that.'" Altogether, the Bishop's book is a thoughtful and thought-provoking volume, which deserves serious attention at the hands of the educated Indians.

India in Ferment. By Claude H. Van Tyne (D. Appleton and Co., 25, Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2) 1924.

Mr. Van Tyne is head of the Department of History in the Michigan University and he came out to India during 1921-22. In the present volume he gives "the impression which Indian life and Indian politics at a most interesting time in India's history made upon an academic American." An American

historian, trained in research and the weighing of historical evidence, found every door open to him for study of the opinion, the personalities, the aims, the hopes and the antagonisms which have made of India a focal point of the world's attention. He visited and interviewed persons of all shades of opinion, from the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi, and tried to learn what the people as well as the leaders thought on the complex problems of Indian politics. Coming as it does from an unprejudiced and independent student, the book is of considerable value and is, on the whole, a fairly faithful account of the spacious days of which he writes. Its chief usefulness lies in the author's patent anxiety to see both sides of a question. Thus, on Mr. Gandhi's arrest his remarks are: "I found that I had mingled feelings about it. I thought of Gandhi's gentleness, his loveliness, the atmosphere of saintliness about him, the frail body always overtaxed and even driven on by a high sense of duty. I recalled him—simple, undefiled, living in the pure radiance of the spirit. These thoughts made me sad. But when I reasoned about it, I knew that, had I been Viceroy, I should have arrested Gandhi six months earlier!" But if Prof. Van Tyne could have foreseen the reactionary decisions of the Conservative Government in England he would have hesitated to conclude that "England may have come too slowly to her present policy toward India, but those who know the truth will not chide her for the way in which she has done things there since her policy was once determined." But views apart, the chief merit of the book is as that of a faithful record. The talented author made a point of learning what the people themselves, as well as their leaders, thought on the complex problem of Indian politics. The result is a book which is filled with the most intensely interesting information. As Professor Van Tyne himself says he has tried to tell only what he saw or heard. The great value of his book surely resides in the fact that it is an accurate report of things said to him by the actors themselves in the great political drama going on in India. This is its distinctive merit, for which it deserves appreciation.

The Making of Modern India. By Nicol Macnicol (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

Dr. Macnicol is already well-known to our readers as a thoughtful, scholarly and sympathetic student of Indian problems and the author of *Indian Theism*. In the volume under notice he seeks to provide some material by which to estimate the character of the

forces that are making New India, and the direction in which these forces are carrying her. They are, as the author is careful to point out, of many kinds—political, social and religious; some of the most powerful are the ancient forms of thought and of belief which modern influences are modifying, but by no means eliminating. "At the centre of all these, influencing them and influenced by them, are those outstanding personalities, Indian in the texture of their minds and souls, who are leading their people into the unknown land of to-morrow." Dr. Macnicol would, we are sure, be the last man to claim exhaustiveness for his study: there are indeed several important aspects which he has not touched at all. But within the limitations he set to himself he has written an exceedingly clear and sympathetic account of the Indian situation as it strikes a thoughtful foreign scholar. The missionary speaks in his final words: "There is nothing that is rooted more deeply in the soul of the Indian peasant than his sense of God, and whatever else he loses with the coming to his land of a new day and with the wakening of new ambitions, he will not, we trust, lose this." On the whole, the book merits serious consideration.

Gandhi and the Indianisation of the Empire. By J. F. Bryant (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., London) 1924.

Mr. Bryant, as a member of the Indian Civil Service and also for some time of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has had unique opportunities of studying at first hand the political situation of India. In the present thoughtful volume, we have his well-considered views—mainly confined to a historical presentation—on the Khilafat movement, Non-cooperation, the Akali propaganda, the Legislative Assembly, mending or ending the legislatures and other equally important topics. His opinions are generally interesting, and while he is frankly in sympathy with the position of the Government, he also warns the white man that he cannot lightly throw off the burden which he has fastened upon himself. With regard to Indian reforms, he takes up the position that was long taken up by the late Mr. C. R. Das and has been advocated persistently by Mrs. Besant and her associates of the Convention, and also by Lord Ronaldshay. He says: "What India wants is something essentially eastern, characteristically Indian. She wishes to have an opportunity of trying to solve her own problems instead of letting them be muddled out for her." Coming from a Civilian, it is an admission to be

thankful for. There is much in the book which is thought-provoking.

Sidelights on the Crisis in India. By H. Harcourt (Longmans, Green & Co., Paternoster Row, London and Bombay and Calcutta) 1924.

Mr. Harcourt is a retired member of the Indian Civil Service. He has adopted a novel plan in writing this book. In the words of Dr. Cyril Norwood, who writes a short foreword, it is not a formal or exhaustive treatise, nor is it a political or partisan pamphlet. It is an interchange of conclusions, of which the presentation is fresh in conception, and carried out with some freshness of treatment. "On some salient topics, and some aspects of life in India, it gives the point of view of two men, an Englishman and an Indian, who have sympathy enough to be friends, but whose method of approach is of necessity different." We do not agree that it is not written in a partisan spirit; the epilogue belies that contention. The "mailed first" has found a friendly advocate in Mr. Harcourt; nor does the book add much to our knowledge or assist in any solution of the problems confronting the Indian politician. At the same time it is always an advantage to see ourselves as others see us. Viewed in this light the work under consideration has a value of its own, as showing the educated Indian what can be said on the other side.

India and the Empire. By Lord Meston (The Daily News, Ltd., Bouverie Street, London) 1924.

Lord Meston's pamphlet in the "New Way" series, is designed towards clarifying the existing confusion in accepted political doctrines; the pamphlets are issued under the auspices of the Council of the Liberal Summer Schools, and profess to have been written with a conviction that existing evils cannot be cured by the glib repetition of sweeping formulas, or by violence or class-conflict, or by mere destruction, but only by hard thinking and good will. The pamphlet before us is an address given by Lord Meston in August, 1924 and is characterised by his usual literary felicity. But though the mouth speaks great things, the substance, the essence, the binding sympathy is lacking and it is difficult to find in the address any constructive suggestion. The conclusions of the recent Reading Birkenhead 'conversations' seem to be foretold by Lord Meston with an almost uncanny precision thus: "We adhere to the policy defined and embodied in the Act of 1919. We shall reject

any attempt to vary the main structure of that policy before the statutory enquiry of 1929 matures, though we are ready in the meantime to consider sympathetically any modification in detail or in procedure that may be advisable to give better effect to the spirit in which that policy was conceived. Meanwhile we must assent without hesitation to the free employment of the special safeguards which the 1919 Act provided against such efforts as are now being made to render the policy unworkable." It is something to be plainly told that in regard to matters Indian, this country can expect nothing better from the Liberals than from the Conservatives and why blame the poor Conservatives after this Liberal fulmination?

The Struggle for Power in India. By Bernard Houghton (Sunshine Publishing House, Princess Street, Bombay) 1924.

Among the small band of independent and sympathetic foreign writers on Indian subjects, Mr. Bernard Houghton—a retired Civilian—occupies an honoured place. Inspired throughout by an idealism rare in the practical race to which he belongs, he is at times tempted to hold up an image of democracy such as exists nowhere in the modern world. Then, too, charity is not one of Mr. Houghton's vices; he has no patience with men who will not agree with him. His final words of advice are: "You have got to act. You have got to rouse the sluggard, inspire the coward, wake from their fool's paradise those who dream that a privileged class will even be reasoned out of power. The Moderates must be shown the error of their ways and rallied to their country's cause, those Moderates so pliant in principle, so cringing to their overlords, resolute only in their clutch on office." The author needs to be reminded that violence in expression is not necessarily a substitute for reasoned argument. But no educated Indian but will appreciate his deep sympathy with India's progress towards Freedom.

The Rising Temper of the East. By Frazier Hunt (The Bobbs-Merrill & Co., 18, East Vermont Street, Indianapolis, U. S. A.) 1923.

The author of this book came to see Mr. Gandhi and visited Egypt, Arabia, Persia, China, and Japan. He describes how every country he went to he found seething with revolution, and everywhere he heard the same cry for liberty. He writes in a picturesque style and his story is sympathetically told. He mixed

among the common people, the taos, the fellaheens, the coolies, the peasants—and everywhere he found the same longing for liberty for better homes, better food, better education and the same passionate impulse to convert that longing into a reality. Mr. Hunt's book is one that will give to its readers food for careful thinking. Though it records but the passing impressions of a traveller, nevertheless it is valuable as showing what a cultured American carried in his mind as the result of all that he saw and heard in various eastern countries. The book should prove a useful corrective to the misleading works by the average British tourists.

The Tale of My Exile. By Barindra Kumar Ghose, Arya Office, Pondicherry) 1924.

Mr. Barindra Kumar Ghose is a younger brother of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, who was transported on conviction in the Manicktola bomb conspiracy case. It is a remarkable human document that he has now placed before his readers, in which his innermost thoughts, his longings and his hopes are all revealed with unerring skill; and few can read the simple tale without being deeply moved. It throws much light on the psychology of the revolutionary movement in this country and merits attention on this account as well.

The Kenya Problem. By the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (*The Servants of India Society*, Poona) 1924.

The series of political pamphlets issued, from time to time, by the *Servants of India Society*, Poona, possesses a value of its own. The booklets comprised in the series are full of information, rarely overstate a case and attempt to convince more by facts than by passion. The volume under consideration contains a selection from the speeches and writings of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Sastri, on the vexed subject of Kenya. Mr. Sastri, not many years ago, was generally hailed as an "Imperial statesman"; but disillusionment came to him early and in the speeches and writings here reprinted he spurns "the second-hand citizenship" of the Empire which is all that is offered to "the brightest jewel of the British Crown". We commend this volume to the notice of all serious students of Indian politics; they will find in it a presentation of the Indian case which is as unanswerable as it is moderately expressed. What a pity India has so few Sastris!

India—A Nation. By Anne Besant (New India Office, Madras) 1924.

The wonderful energy and vitality of Mrs. Besant, and her untiring services to the cause of India, must always entitle her to the respectful gratitude of our country. By her speeches as by her writings, in India as in foreign countries, she is constantly striving to further the cause of Indian self-government. The book before us appeared first in 1915 and it is gratifying that a third edition should have been called for now. It is written in Mrs. Besant's usual vigorous style and we hope it will continue to be widely welcomed, as it offers within a short compass much useful information, not generally accessible.

National Problems. By Dr. Chandra Chakraberty (58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) 1924.

We have had the pleasure in the past of reviewing some of the works of Dr. Chandra Chakraberty. He always attempts to resist the temptation of dealing with ephemeral topics and deals with the momentous ones that are in danger of being obscured or neglected. In the book under notice he addresses himself to such subjects as Industry, Religions, Social and Educational Reforms and Hygiene; and only a short final chapter is devoted to the growth of Nationalism. While we do not agree with all his conclusions, we are bound to record our appreciation of the writer's independence of thought and courage of conviction. Dr. Chakraberty's writings are generally thoughtful and deserve attention.

India's Lepers. By Frank Oldrieve (Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 24, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) 1924.

The author of this book, Mr. Frank Oldrieve, formerly Secretary for the Indian Mission to Lepers, is now Secretary for the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association. He has written this book in order to plead the cause of India's lepers and to convince every reader that a great effort ought to be made to rid the land of this terrible disease that has afflicted its people for so many centuries. That the problem is one of great seriousness will be realised when it is recalled that of a total estimated number of 300,000 lepers in the British Empire, no fewer than 200,000 belong to India. This disease, which had long been given up as hopeless and beyond remedy, is now curable and Mr. Oldrieve's book should convince the generous donor that few other humanitarian movements deserve the same sympathy and assistance as the Mission to Lepers. The several photographs re-

produced in the book tell a harrowing tale, relieved by constant gleams of hopes of complete recovery. The book is a useful addition to the literature of social service.

India's Outcastes. By the Rev. W. S. Hunt (Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London) 1924.

Mr. Hunt's book deals with the problem of the mass movements among the untouchables in this country and will be found instructive. It is divided into six chapters dealing respectively with mass movements, the untouchables, how they look, live, work and worship; what kind of Christians they are, and subsidiary matters. It is a book that will be found useful not only by Christian missionaries but those of the Indian faiths also. The problems of the untouchables being a crucial one, the book fulfil an admitted need.

RECENT WORKS ON INDIAN ECONOMICS.

Economic Conditions in India. By Padmanabha Pillai (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Carter Lane, London) 1925.

Dr. Padmanabha Pillai, who is a member of the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva, belongs to the rising school of Indian economists that are fully trained in the modern methods of investigation. In the book before us—a thesis approved by the London University for a doctorate—the author studies the economic life of India with particular reference to the industrial organisation and takes stock of the possibilities of developing Indian industries on modern lines. The topic is one of absorbing interest at the present day in India, where publicists, businessmen, and economists are all alike endeavouring to frame a programme for the future development of the country which would enable her to make the most of her teeming population and vast economic resources. An adequate discussion of the entire problem is an essential pre-requisite to the formulation of any definite industrial policy. This is well furnished in the book. In the well-weighed words of Dr. Gilbert Slater, who contributes an Introductory Note, Dr. Pillai endorses the demand for more rapid industrialisation, and recognises that India must try the experiment of protective duties for manufactures, if only for the sake of learning by experience the inadequacy of that supposed panacea and its drawbacks. After that, public opinion may begin to pay fuller attention to the other requisites of industrial effi-

ciency. He rightly urges that an increase of agricultural efficiency is equally necessary; he emphasises the importance of village handicrafts. Altogether Dr. Pillai has written a book of great interest and importance and we trust that he will continue his studies in this very much neglected subject. We have, however, to complain of the absence of an index.

Indian Currency and Exchange. By H. L. Chablam (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1925.

Mr. Chablam's book is intended primarily for College and University students, but may with advantage be read by our public men desiring to obtain a knowledge of first principles that will be helpful to them in course of the endless controversies centering round the subject of Indian currency. The first part of the book gives a detailed and full account of the general principles of currency and exchange in their application to India. The second is mainly critical and embodies Mr. Chablam's own conclusions. One of his most important views is thus expressed: "The main object to be aimed at should be to ensure the automatic expansion and contraction of a currency. For this it is enough to have 'a convertible rupee,' convertible not in gold coins, but gold bullion only." This will indicate that the author has his own independent views and we are glad that he is seldom dogmatic. Barring differences on so controversial a topic as currency, there is much in Mr. Chablam's book which would be found useful by its readers.

Currency and Exchange in India. By B. G. Bhatnagar (Ram Narain Lal, Mahabodhi) 1925.

The Bases of Indian Economy. By B. G. Bhatnagar (Ram Narain Lal, Mahabodhi) 1925.

Mr. Brij Gopal Bhatnagar, the author of the above two volumes, is a Lecturer in Economics in the Allahabad University. He is devoted to the study of Economics and has had the great advantage of receiving his training in methods of research under Professor H. S. Jevons. While he is an unconcealed nationalist, he is never so blinded by his legitimate hopes and wishes as to omit to take note of stern facts. It is a pleasure to read these books; they are written in a clear, attractive style and are full of carefully-gathered and well-arranged statistics and facts. On the question of exchange his views may not receive universal acceptance; he recommends an interim gold exchange standard with gold in active circulation. The second volume is intended more for the student than for the general public. He divides his subjects into three bases, physical, socio-

religious and legal. Quite naturally most of his illustrations are drawn from the provinces of Agra and Oudh, but the book can with advantage be read by students in other provinces as well, and the author's labours deserve appreciation.

A National System of Taxation. By A. Ramaiya (P. S. Mahadeva Iyer, 1110 Naick New Street, Madras) 1924.

Mr. Ramaiya's work which is a study in the theory of taxation in relation to national welfare which is worthy of a place beside the writings of well-known authorities; it is full of thought and the author has numerous original suggestions of his own to offer. It is not possible to analyse the contents of the book in a short notice, and it will be also unfair to condense the author's conclusions. But we commend the book to the attention of all students of Economics, who will find it not only instructive but thought-provoking. Mr. Ramaiya's treatise is comprehensive, systematic and lucid.

The Population of India. By Brij Narain (Rama Krishna & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore) 1925.

Prof. Brij Narain, a frequent and valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*, needs no introduction to our readers. In his present book he examines the influences which have a bearing on the growth of population in India. As he emphasises, the death rate and the rate of infant mortality in India are the highest in the world; India has the largest number per thousand of children below 10 and the smallest number of persons above 50. The population problem is thus one of great urgency and importance. The subject is studied in this book with great ability and thoroughness and is dealt with under sections like Movement of the Population; Birth and Death Rates; Sex, Marriage and Household; Density, Urban and Rural Population and Literacy; Occupations of the People; Organised Industries; the Malthusian Doctrine, over-population and National Income. The author covers the whole range to be traversed in dealing with the subject and he brings to the discussion critical acumen and knowledge. The book is fairly exhaustive in its scope, and accurate in its data and conclusions.

Protection for Indian Steel. By E. H. Solomon (Publications Department, University of Calcutta, Calcutta) 1924.

The question of steel protection in India has now

entered into the region of accomplished facts, though much criticism is still being lavished on the Tariff Board by interested parties for a re-examination of their position. Professor Solomon, who is now in the Economics Department of the Aligarh Muslim University, presents in this volume a thoughtful and systematic study of the whole problem, steering a way of his own between the protagonists and opponents of the protectionist policy, and his conclusion is that it is perhaps the best possible effort to perform the difficult task of according such protection to the Indian steel industry as will be sufficient to assist its gradual and steady growth without inflicting an intolerable burden on India. This is a position from which no sensible protectionist need dissent.

The Economic History of Ancient India. By Santosh Kumar Das (5/2, Ananda Dutt Lane, Howrah) 1925.

Prof. S. K. Das has rendered great service to Indian students by the publication of his very useful book which is a veritable encyclopædia of information on the subject it deals with and will, we have no doubt, receive the encouragement and support it so richly merits. The researches of Dr. Shama Sastry, Prof. Jolly and Professor Samaddar—and now Prof. Das—make it possible for us to reconstruct the ancient economic conditions of our land. We unhesitatingly commend the book to students of ancient Indian economic polity.

India's Forest Wealth. By F. A. Smythie (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1924.

Mr. Smythie's book is the sixth of the India of To-day series—the previous volumes of which we have appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*—issued under the general editorship of Dr. Rushbrook Williams. It deals with a little-studied but most useful subject and Indian politicians and students will have to devote increasing attention to the important forest resources of India and to develop them as the years pass. The present work, which is admittedly not exhaustive, should be widely read as containing an extremely interesting account of the forests of India.

Labour and Housing in Bombay. By A. R. Burnett-Hurst (P. S. King & Son Ltd., Great Smith Street, London) 1925.

As author of "Factory Legislation in India" and

joint author, with Prof. Bowley, of "Livelihood and Poverty," Prof. Burnett-Hurst of the Allahabad University has already made a name for himself among the younger economists of our day. He was for sometime on the staff of the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay, and was thus enabled to investigate into the economic conditions of the wage-earning classes in that city. In his very interesting foreword Sir Stanley Reed says: "The great essential is that all who are interested in the future of Indian industry should take to heart the advice which Mr. Stanley Baldwin gave to the City of London—to think economically, to go down to the homes of the people and see how they live. That is what Mr. Burnett-Hurst has done in this thesis, and it can be unreservedly commended to all who desire to know something of Indian industry." We thoroughly endorse these observations. Mr. Burnett-Hurst is a careful enquirer and his study is both able and thorough. It is written in an interesting style, and no fewer than forty-two illustrations add to its utility. The book deals with such matters as general characteristics of the city of Bombay; the supply of Labour; Housing and Sanitation; Infant Mortality; the Mill-hand; the Dock-Labourer; Labour in the building-trade; labour in the Dockyards and Railway Workshops; Trade Unions; and Welfare Work. We congratulate the learned professor on the production of a work of great merit.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa. No. 7, Edited by J. E. Holloway, Directory of Census and Statistics. (Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery Office, Pretoria; South Africa) 1925.

In noticing the last edition (No. 6) of the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, we commended it as a most valuable compendium of statistical data relating to the South African Commonwealth and as a model book of reference. The new issue (No. 7, dealing mainly with the year 1924) gives, for purposes of collation and comparison, the figures for the years 1910 to 1923. The book supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial conditions, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs," land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservation, agri-

culture and fisheries, mines, manufacturing industries, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. These are but the major headings—each of them being sub-divided into many minor ones. The contents list condensed above would enable the reader to appreciate better the comprehensive scope of the book, than any description of it. Thus the *Official Year-Book*, issued annually by the Government of South Africa, is a monument of industry and public spirit. The edition under notice is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Separate chapters are now assigned to the treatment of new subjects now prominent, and several have been rewritten and rearranged and various other features of interest and utility have been introduced. Altogether the *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa* is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

North Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Railway
(The Manager, Chinese Eastern Railway Economic Bureau (Harbin, North Manchuria, China) 1924.

The big and bulky tome lying before us—called *North Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Railway*—is not a guide-book to that line but an excellent and valuable work of reference to the country which that railway traverses. It is not meant primarily for the traveller, but for the man interested in the trade, commerce and economic resources of North Manchuria and Eastern China. It is such a book as would have delighted the heart of Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type of humanity called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a well-digested compendium of facts and figures, data and tabular statements, about the economic resources, trade conditions, commercial possibilities of and means of communication in North Manchuria and Eastern China. Excellent photographic reproductions materially enhance the usefulness of the letterpress.

Official Yearbook of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia. No. I for 1924. Published by the Colonial Secretary (Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia) 1925.

Last year Southern Rhodesia attained the status of Responsible Government and this historic event has been rightly signalized by the inauguration of an official year-book, the first issue of which is lying before us. Though it is the first comprehensive attempt to collate the records of the country, it is nevertheless quite up-to-date, while the many special contributions materially add to its attractions. The information it gives is historical, political, administrative and economic. The present sociological condition of the colony is well brought out and its many potentialities clearly indicated. The facts and figures are presented in a lucid form and the compilation is likely to be highly serviceable to all seekers after useful information about Southern Rhodesia. Almost every aspect of the colony coming under the categories of history, economics, politics, and administration, is dealt with in as many as thirty-nine chapters, written by experts and specialists. Accuracy and up-to-date-ness are thus the characteristic features of the book. The value of the text is substantially enhanced by the inclusion in it of a series of five excellent maps—general, mineral, orographical, climatological and geological. Altogether a high-class year-book and a notable addition to annual books of reference.

The Empire Commercial Guide and Year-book. First edition. Edited by W. C. Hart Saxby (The British Commonwealth Trade Press, Ltd., 212, High Holborn, London, W. C. 1.) 1925.

The Empire Commercial Guide and Year-book is a new and useful addition to annual reference literature. It is a comprehensive and authoritative handbook to the trade, industry and commerce of the British Empire, and has evidently been specially compiled for the benefit of manufacturers, shippers, factors and merchants, and all others interested in import and export trade with the overseas dominions, colonies, dependencies and mandated territories of the British Commonwealth. The volume has been carefully put together and its accuracy is remarkable for a first edition. The data collected and presented are derived mainly from official sources, and are as such reliable. The *Empire Year-book*—to shorten the title—brings under one cover, in a handy volume, a great deal of concise and accurate information, which is not generally accessible, about the commercial and industrial life and economic conditions of the component parts of the British Commonwealth overseas. India

occupies a section covering about thirty pages. The facts and figures brought together in the Indian section are judiciously selected. The book, as a whole, is a creditable production and deserves to take rank with the standard annuals in the literature of reference.

The Socialist Annual 1925. (I. L. P. Information Committee, 14, Great George Street, Westminster, London, S. W. 1) 1925.

Not content with the *Labour Annual*—issued by the Labour Publishing Company Ltd. of 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W. C. 1, which was noticed in terms of appreciation in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*—there has recently been brought out yet another year-book for the behoof of the socialists. It is a new series of the *Socialist Annual*. There is much new matter in it to justify its existence. It provides facts and figures relating to socialistic affairs in such a form as to be of value to busy persons carrying on propagandist work “for the socialist and labour movement.” The compilation has been planned on co-operative lines, a number of qualified contributors having been placed under requisition for the data brought together. The result is a work of great usefulness, covering all aspects of socialist activities and progress. The *Labour Annual* and the *Socialist Annual* usefully supplement each other, and both should stand side by side on the reference bookshelf of a publicist or a propagandist.

The Canada Year-book 1924. (Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada) 1925.

The latest edition of the *Canada Year-Book* is a marvellous compendium of general information and statistical data about the great North American Dominion of the British Commonwealth. The vast mass of accurate and well-digested matter brought together within its covers, containing over one thousand pages of neatly printed data and tabular statements, is concerned with the physiography, history, constitution, institutions, population, production, industry, trade, commerce, transportation, finance, labour, local administration, and social, economic, political and civic conditions of Canada. The statistical data is based on the latest information rendered available by census reports and other official publications. The *Canada Year-Book* is very similar to the official annual issued by the Government of South Africa and it were much to be wished that the Government of India embarked upon a reference annual modelled on the same line. At present we

have neither an official publication similar to the Canadian and South African Year-books, nor a non-official one similar to *Canada To-day*. It would be well if some enterprising legislator would ventilate the matter in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

“The Times of Ceylon” Green Book. (“The Times of Ceylon” Press Colombo, Ceylon) 1925.

“The Times of Ceylon” Green Book has established itself long since as a highly useful work of reference connected with the Island of Ceylon. The latest edition has been carefully revised and thoroughly brought up to date, and the comprehensive nature of the information it renders accessible makes it an invaluable handbook for everyone who has any dealings with or interest in Ceylon, its people, its products, its trade, commerce and industries. Particularly commendable is the highly efficient system of indexing which enables reference readily to be made to any particular point on which information is required. Though not attempting to compete with books of reference called directories—of which Ceylon possesses one of the best of its class and kind—the *Green Book* is so well planned and executed that it offers all the advantages of a directory without its inherent disadvantages. We hope it will receive the support it so well merits.

The Health Book. By Dr. R. S. Copeland. (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 11, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

Dr. Copeland's *Health Book* is an American work and naturally takes note of social and climatic conditions in America. Nevertheless there is a good deal in it of general utility in other countries as well. Its great merit is its successful avoidance of technicalities. It gives in more than four hundred pages sound, medical instruction in plain and easily intelligible English. The author is one of the foremost medical authorities in his country and he writes with the authority of an expert. The book is divided into three parts dealing with emergencies, common ailments and general advice on health problems and in each of these groups the subject-matter is alphabetically arranged for purposes of convenient reference. The scope of the book is comprehensive ranging from “adenoids” to “when to call the doctor!” Thus Dr. Copeland's *Health Book* is a highly useful reference work which should be kept handy in every family. Its use will save a deal of unnecessary worry and expenditure.

G. H. Cutts. (E. J. Larby, Ltd., 30, Paternoster Row, **Cutt's Holiday Apartments Guide**. Compiled by London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Cutt's Holiday Apartments Guide is a highly useful reference work for the holiday-seekers at the famous health resorts in Great Britain, and is now in the third year of publication. It is intended to assist the man of moderate means to obtain suitable accommodation at the various holiday resorts. The places are arranged in alphabetical order and under each are given the names of apartments, boarding houses and private hotels, which the compiler can recommend on the score of cleanliness, comfort, homeliness and cheapness—in fact, those establishments only which are of good reputation. As such *Cutt's Guide* is likely to prove of great utility to holiday-seekers in Great Britain.

RECENT GUIDEBOOKS AND ATLASES.

Baedeker's Northern Germany. Seventeenth revised edition. (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany) 1925.

In noticing, in earlier issues of the *Hindustan Review*, the post-war editions of Baedeker's handbooks to London and Paris, we gave the necessary facts about the origin, growth, development and present condition of the famous publishing firm of Germany, which—installed at Leipzig—has, in the name of its founder, given the English language a new word, which is synonymous with super-excellence in the compilation of guidebooks for travellers. Frederic Harrison (in his famous essay on Tennyson) wrote of Byron's *Childe Harold* that it is "only Baedeker in rhyme." Since we last wrote on the subject, death has been announced of the proprietor of the firm, who was the son of the founder—Karl Baedeker. The late proprietor, Herr Fritz Baedeker, died in April last, at the age of 81. The world-famous guidebooks, which bear his father's name, were first launched as long ago as 1839 by Karl Baedeker, then a publisher of Coblenz, whose first venture was "Belgium and Holland." Karl Baedeker died in 1859. His sons, Fritz and Ernst, continued the work of their father and added continuously to the list of guide-books until every part of Europe was represented in the series, besides several other countries outside Europe, i.e., Egypt, India, Canada, and America. Suffice it to say for their accuracy and thoroughness that, when the war broke out, both the British and their allies did not hesitate to make use of the familiar red-cover guides and every available

copy was pressed into service, whether in English, or German. The work of preparing new volumes and revising those already in existence still goes on under the direction of Herr Hans Baedeker, who has succeeded his late lamented father—Herr Fritz Baedeker—as the head of the publishing firm. The latest addition to the series in English is the *Handbook for Northern Germany*, excluding the Rhineland, which is dealt with in a separate volume. Like all the other post-war editions of Baedeker—*Canada* (1922) *Switzerland* (1922) *Berlin* (1923) *London* (1923) and *Paris* (1924)—*Northern Germany* is thoroughly abreast of the latest changes brought about in the wake of the Great War. It is faultlessly accurate, wonderfully compact and judiciously helpful both in what it tells and what it refrains from telling, and sustains the justly high reputation of the firm as the makers of ideal guidebooks. It is embellished with 160 maps and plans which increase materially the utility of the book. Verily, Baedeker's are ideal guidebooks and a boon to travellers.

Florence: An Illustrated Guide. By Lt.-Colonel H. A. Newell. (C/o Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, 38, Bishopsgate, London) 1925.

If it be correct that like a poet or an orator, a guidebook-maker also is born and not made, then Lt.-Colonel Newell is, beyond all doubt, a born compiler of handbooks for travellers. He started his series, some years back, with the cities of India and is now dealing with those of Italy. His Indian series of guidebooks extends over sixteen volumes covering as many cities or sites, to which he added later *Ambala to Peshawar by Motor Car*. Having thus fairly exhausted India he has lately turned his attention to Italy. We noticed sometime back, in terms of appreciation, his *Venice: An Illustrated Guide*, on the heels of which now comes the volume on Florence. Like its predecessor it is exceedingly well put together and is a capital handbook to one of the most historic and artistic cities of Europe, and the most important in Italy after Rome. It would be found of very great utility by visitors to or residents in Florence. We are glad to learn that Lt.-Colonel Newell is devoting his well-earned leisure to compiling guidebooks to other famous Italian cities.

The Ceylon Railway. By G. F. Perera ("Ceylon Observer" Office, Colombo, Ceylon) 1925.

In his book, *The Ceylon Railway*, Mr. G. F. Perera has offered to the reading public an exceedingly well-documented sketch of the history from the earliest

times and organization of the railway system of that Crown Colony. Mr. Perera's useful work, which is profusely illustrated with excellent photographic reproductions and also furnished with maps, is both instructive and interesting. To the author and many others the problem of transport and its solution in Ceylon are subjects of abiding interest, for (as remarked by the late Mr. James Ferguson in his well-known work called *Ceylon in 1903*) "the greatest material change from the Ceylon of pre-British days to the Ceylon of the present time is most certainly in respect of means of internal communication." Accordingly the author tells us in his book the story of the beginning and growth of the railway system and the parts played by the Government and the various classes of people in fostering the enterprise, which has contributed substantially to the economic and social development of Ceylon. Altogether, an excellent book.

The Gay City. By Arthur Phillips. (Cecil Palmer, 49, Chandos Street, W. C. 2) 1925.

How to Enjoy Paris. (M. V. Vernier, Publisher, 9, Rue Scribe, Paris) 1924.

The "Gay City" of Mr. Arthur Phillips is Paris and his book is a guide "to the fun of the fair" in the metropolis of the great French Republic. But the author insists that the book is not a guidebook in the conventional sense of that term. Rather he claims that it "is a series of suggestive impressions from which those who visit the Gay City may get an inspiration which will help them to enjoy and understand the Bohemian, artistic and lighter side of Paris life." This claim is well-founded. The author deals only with cafes, restaurants, theatres, operas, music-halls, racing, dancing and other centres and forms of amusement. He does not refer to libraries, museums and other intellectual places. His business is to enable you to enjoy yourself while in Paris and he has performed his task with knowledge and skill. *The Gay City* is capital little handbook to the lighter side of Parisian life.

How To Enjoy Paris is a successful effort to enable the visitor to the Gay City to get the very best of the French capital. Originally issued in French, it has been adapted to the requirements of English-knowing travellers in the edition under notice. It is to be issued twice a year—in spring and autumn—so that it may always be thoroughly up-to-date. As it is, it is fully abreast of the latest changes in Paris and Parisian life. It is not merely a dry-as-dust

catalogue of scenes and sights but serves to initiate the visitor into the spirit of Paris, with all its intellectual and artistic resources. It is a comprehensive introduction to Parisian life and manners.

The Oversea's Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles. By Alwyne Pride. Fourth annual edition. (Foster, Groom & Co., Ltd., 15, Charing Cross, London, S. W. 1) 1925.

London 1925. Forty-sixth edition. (Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd., Warwick House, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

London: The Complete Guide. (Love and Malcomson, Ltd., 18, Featherstone Building's, High Holborn, London, W. 1) 1925.

Mr. Alwyn Pride's *Overseas Visitor's Guide to London and the British Isles* is now in the fourth year of publication. Its previous annual editions have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. The 1925 edition has been thoroughly overhauled and is fully abreast of the latest changes, and the author has covered ground concerning nearly everything of interest to the visitor. There is, of course, a description of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Altogether Mr. Pride's *Guide* is deserving of acknowledgment as a reference-work which is equally interesting, accurate and up-to-date, and which no visitor to Great Britain can do without. Issued annually and kept up-to-date, it is an indispensable handbook for visitors to the British Isles, as it helpfully caters for their needs and requirements.

London 1925—or to give it its full designation, *A Pictorial and Descriptive Guide to London and its Environs*—is one of the excellent series of Messrs. Ward, Lock's "Illustrated Guide-Books," which is a famous collection of tourist literature, and is notable alike for the accuracy of its letter-press and the attractiveness of illustrations. The volume dealing with the metropolis of the British Commonwealth is now in its forty-sixth edition and this in itself is a proof conclusive of its success and popularity. The current edition is thoroughly up-to-date, as it has been carefully revised and overhauled.

The late Mr. Herbert Fry's well-known *Guide to London* now appears in its forty-fourth edition, completely revised, as *London: The Complete Guide*. Its distinctive feature—apart from excellent descriptions of routes—continues to be a series of twenty bird's-eye-views of the principal streets and also a street map of Central London. Neatly got-up, fully up-to-date and handy in size, it is a very useful handbook to London.

Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Switzerland. (Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Ludgate Circus, London) 1925.

Of the many series of British guides for travellers, one of the best is that issued by the world-famous firm of Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd. (of Ludgate Circus, London) who are the best-known caterers for tourists in all the continents, both in the way of making arrangements for and supplying literature of information on all details of travel. Their handbooks of travel are practical and informative. Messrs. Cook have experience of tourist's intellectual requirements since 1841, when the firm was established, and they justly claim to their credit nearly eighty-five years' experience of tourist's literature. Their handbooks cover a wide range, and some of them are—amongst British guides—about the best of their class and kind. The volume under notice—which deals with Switzerland—is well-written and comprehensive. It is not a mere "practical" guide-book, but tries to convey to the reader's mind—by means of choice extracts—some idea of the spirit and atmosphere of the various places described. Apart from its utility as a guide-book, it will be found useful by stay-at-home readers in gaining a correct and vivid impression of Switzerland. It is a very useful addition to the series of admirable guide-books bearing the stamp of the premier firm is its line. The value of the letter-press is materially enhanced by the inclusion of many well-drawn maps and plans, and also details of the routes in French Savoy and the Italian lakelands.

Pilgrim Walks in Rome. By P. J. Chandlery, S. J., Fourth Edition. (Manresa Press, Roehampton, London, S. W.) 1925.

We welcome the fourth, revised and enlarged edition of the Rev. Mr. Chandlery's unique work in its line, *Pilgrim Walks in Rome*—which is an excellent guide to the sacred places in the eternal city and its neighbourhood—embellished with eighty-five full page illustrations, two maps and two plans. Though primarily intended for devout Roman Catholic pilgrims, it should appeal to a much larger circle of travellers to the capital of Italy and the seat of the Pope. For nearly two thousand years Rome has drawn crowds from all parts of the world, not merely students or sightseers who come to gaze and wonder, but pilgrims in the strict sense of the term, and it is to help these that this book has been written. During a prolonged residence in Rome, the author collected all the information he could for the benefit of others having no such opportunity, and the result is a volume which as a guide to the places of sacred

interest is one of the best and most complete that has ever been published. We commend it to those for whom it is intended to cater and also to the larger number of travellers whose interest in Rome and Roman sacred buildings is intellectual and not merely spiritual.

The Universal Hand Atlas. New Edition. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., London and Bombay) 1925.

Handy Reference Atlas of London. Fifth Edition. (John Bartholomew and Sons, Duncan Street, Edinburgh) 1925.

Road Atlas to Great Britain. (George Philip and Son, Ltd., 32, Fleet Street, London, E. C. 4) 1925.

Great credit is due to the firm of Messrs. Nelson for their having published in a very compact form their *Universal Hand Atlas*—some 260 maps of the countries and chief cities of the world. The publishers with a view to produce a small volume, which can be easily slipped into an overcoat pocket, have given a very large number of maps, and an excellent index, giving the latitude and longitude of a place so that its position can be known even when practical reasons have led to the omission of any particular name. The Atlas is fully up-to-date and all the political changes have been incorporated. Among the maps are two of Calcutta and Bombay and their environs. There are also some useful statistical tables. The British Commonwealth appears to have four cities with populations exceeding a million, eight others of over half a million and thirty others with populations of over 200,000. Of this total of 42, India contributes thirteen, Australia four, Canada two, South Africa two, China (Hongkong) one, Scotland two, Ireland two, Wales one, and England the remaining fifteen. On the whole, Nelson's *Universal Hand Atlas* is an almost ideal work of its class and kind and deserves a genuine appreciation and a large circulation.

The firms of Messrs. John Bartholomew of Edinburgh and Messrs. George Philip of London are best known for excellence in cartography and their geographical publications and atlases justly enjoy world-wide reputation. The former's *Handy Reference Atlas of London*, which has just appeared in a fifth edition, is fully abreast of the latest changes in the topography of the capital of the British Commonwealth and has been throughout judiciously revised and overhauled. It will be found exceedingly helpful by visitors to and residents in London.

Messrs. Philip's *Road Atlas to Great Britain* would be a boon to pedestrians, and particularly to

motorists. It is about the best Atlas of its type and gives all such details and particulars as are likely to be of use to the knights of the road. We wish we had an equally good road-atlas to India.

RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

Recent Developments in International Law (Tagore Law Lectures delivered in the Calcutta University). By Professor J. W. Garner, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, U.S.A. (Publications Department University of Calcutta, Senate House, Calcutta) 1924.

The authorities of the Calcutta University are well-advised in getting out, from Europe and America, eminent specialists to deliver the series of Tagore Law Lectures on various branches of Law. So far back as 1883, they secured the services of that distinguished German savant and Indologist—Dr. Jolly—to deliver a course of lectures on an important branch of Hindu Law—which was subsequently issued as the *Hindu Law of Inheritance, Partition and Adoption*. In 1894 they managed to get out Sir Frederick Pollock to deliver lectures on an important legal topic—which were issued later as *The Law of Fraud, Misrepresentation and Mistake in British India*. In 1921 they chose Dr. J. D. Garner, —a very well-known American Professor—to come out and deliver the Tagore Lectures for 1922 on recent developments in International Law. The series of lectures dealt with the following topics:—1. Recent and Present tendencies in the Development of International Law; 2. Development of Conventional International Law; The Hague Conventions; 3. Development of the Conventional Law of Maritime Warfare; The Declaration of London; 4. Development of International Aerial Law; 5. Interpretation and application of International Law in Recent Wars; 6. Interpretation and application of International Law during the World War; 7. The Treaties of Peace (1919) and International Law; 8. Progress of International Arbitration; 9. Development of other Agencies for the Peaceable Settlement of International Disputes; 10. Development of International Legislation and Organisation; 11. Development of International Court of Justice; 12. Progress of Codification; 13. Reconstruction of International Law. It would be seen that the course of Dr. Garner's lectures traverses the whole range of the subject. The result is a book which is at once comprehensive, learned, luminous and above all stimulating. In these lectures the author has

traced and evaluated all the more important developments of International Law which, originating in more remote times, have attained their present state since the opening of the twentieth century. He has also discussed in this volume the actual interpretation and application of the law, as well as its development, pointed out the divergencies of opinion and of practice, indicated the principal tendencies which have characterised the recent history of the law and put forth some observations on the probable future lines of development in the light of new and rapidly changing conditions. Thus whether we take into account the scope of the book or the treatment of the subject, we have no hesitation in pronouncing Dr. Garner's *Recent Development in International Law* as a solid and notable contribution to the literature of the Law of Nations.

The Law of Evidence Applicable to British India. Eighth Edition. By Sir John Woodroffe. (Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta) 1925.

Sir John Woodroffe's *Law of Evidence Applicable to British India*—the first edition of which (written in collaboration with the now Rt. Hon. Syed Amir Ali) was issued in 1898—has long since been acknowledged as a classic in Anglo-Indian legal literature. We, therefore, welcome its eighth edition, just published, carefully revised by the learned author. Its merits are well-known by now. The commentary meets the wants of all—the bench, the legal profession and the law students. It contains a useful bibliography of works on the Law of Evidence (chronologically classified from 1735 to 1923) and a luminous Introduction on the scope of the Indian Evidence Act. Sir John Woodroffe's edition also incorporates the late Sir James Fitz-James Stephen's famous study by way of Introduction to the Act of 1872 and Mr. Whitworth's criticism of his theory of relevancy. Each section of the Act is followed by a paragraph enunciating the principles underlying it, and an exhaustive commentary based upon a masterly survey of English, American or Indian cases and authorities. The commentary is thus an ideal work which leaves little scope for any improvement. In fact, Sir John Woodroffe's work is a veritable encyclopædia of the Law of Evidence and no other publication dealing with the Indian Law, can compare with it in *intrinsic merit*. The get-up is excellent and we can unhesitatingly congratulate the talented editor and the publishers on the publication of the new edition which was long overdue. It is to be hoped that this monumental edition of the Indian Evidence Act will meet with

that large measure of appreciation at the hands of the Bench and Bar which its worth entitles it to.

Parliamentary Procedure in India. By Daniel Chamier, Bar-at-Law. ("The Times of India" Press, Fort, Bombay) 1925.

Now that parliamentary institutions have come to stay in India, a treatise on parliamentary procedure and practice was badly needed. Mr. Chamier has attempted to supply this need in his publication called *Parliamentary Procedure in India*. Though by no means an adequate treatment of the subject, yet in the absence of a better book even the sketch offered will be found useful. It is to be hoped that the author, who has evidently modelled his book on that standard work on the subject—May's *Parliamentary Practice*—will attempt a larger and more comprehensive treatise. In the meantime, we commend it to the members of the central and the provincial legislatures, as also to budding politicians. To the layman the most interesting section is that dealing with parliamentary language. We know that Burke taunted Lord North for "extending his right leg a full yard before his left" and for "rolling his flaming eyes and moving his ponderous frame." But such language would not be allowed now-a-days either in the Houses of Parliament or in any legislature in India. But in this respect Indian legislatures are building up their traditions and Indian precedents show that it is not parliamentary to speak of "this infantile Assembly," or to say that another hon'ble member is showing *zid*., or to call a pact "stupid" or "foolish," though it may be called "mischievous." On the other hand a member cannot be called "mischievous" though he may be said to be "actuated by something like petty-mindedness." The word "futile" is not permissible, nor is it so to say that the President is "treating the members like school-children." Commissioners can be called "a sort of clog in the wheel," but it is not parliamentary to assert that a Government department devotes itself to manufacturing evidence. All this and much more of equal interest can be learned from Mr. Chamier's useful little book, which deserves recognition as a pioneer work in its field.

The Government of India Act. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1925.

A compact and handy edition of the *Government of India Act*—such as is now available in the

authorized text made accessible—was badly needed. The work under notice gives the text with the amendments and the rules made thereunder and in force on the 1st of December, 1924—with the exception of those relating to elections, legislative business and the Fundamental Rules. The Government of India Act 1915 was a consolidating measure which systematized and re-enacted the scores of parliamentary statutes relating to the administration of British India from 1770 to 1912—a period of nearly a century and a half. An Act of 1916 amended it in some minor matters and also enacted some new provisions. Then came in 1919 the amending Reform Act, section 45 of which provided that the amendments made by it and the Act of 1916 shall be incorporated in the text of the Act of 1915, which will be known as the Government of India Act, and which thus is a certified version of the Act of 1915, with the subsequent amendments duly incorporated in it. The publication under notice, therefore, rightly reproduces only those sections of the amending Acts which are of a substantive character, including of course, the famous Preamble of the Reform Act of 1919. Besides, it reproduces the texts of the Reports of the Joint Select Committee on the Reform Bill and the draft-rules. Thus it is a highly useful text-book.

Celebrated Crimes. By George Dilnot. (Stanley Paul & Co., 8, Endsleigh Gardens, Upper Woburn Place, London) 1925.

Messrs. Stanley Paul & Co., have recently specialized in the publication of books dealing with the data of criminology such as Mr. Charles Kingston's *Famous Judges and Famous Trials* and *Dramatic Days at the Old Bailey*, Mr. McCluer Stevens' *Famous Crimes and Criminals* and Mr. Charles Pearce's *Unsolved Murder Mysteries*. The latest addition is Mr. George Dilnot's *Celebrated Crimes*. Here are studies of some of the most notable crimes and criminals of modern times ranging from the colourful careers of adventuresses such as Chicago May and Sophie Lyons and of great burglars such as Max Shimborn, to the rooking of Goudre the bank forger and the dramatic stories of such murderers as Deeming and Stenie Morrison. In presenting these vivid sketches accuracy has been maintained to the most minor details without loss of dramatic effect and men and women are shown as they appeared in actual fact. Mr. Dilnot—in the sixteen sketches he offers us—betrays a mastery of the subject and his book will be alike interesting to the student of criminology as to the seeker after romance.

International Law in Ancient India. By S. V. Viswanatha, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., 6, Old House Street, Calcutta) 1925.

It is a valuable work that has been put together by Mr. S. V. Viswanatha, (Senior Lecturer in History and Economics, National College, Trichinopoly) called *International Law in Ancient India*. Parts of the work originally appeared in periodicals and were well received by scholars. The author has, therefore, done well in completing the work and placing it before the reading public in a systematic form. The subjects discussed are the sources, divisions, general rights and obligations, diplomatic agents, alliances and treaties, ethics of warfare, enemy character, instruments and methods of warfare, termination of war and neutrality. It would thus be seen that the ground covered is fairly extensive. The list of references appended shows that the author has mastered the original literature of the subject in Sanskrit. His exposition is lucid and trustworthy based as it is on original sources and commendable research. The book is planned in a scientific spirit and is marked by freedom from prejudice and impartiality. It is a notable addition to our knowledge of ancient India.

Constitutional Principles and Constitutions. By S. B. Sen Gupta, M.A., B.L. (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta) 1925.

Though primarily meant as a student's text book Mr. Sen Gupta's *Constitutional Principles and Constitutions* is likely to make a wider appeal to the reading public in India, as it is an accurate, compact and well-written sketch of the subject. In Part I the author introduces the reader to a study of the constitutional principles which underlie all governmental organizations and regulate the relations of one department with another; in Part II he has sketched out the outlines of the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland and America, and has brought into relief the salient points of each. References to authorities are placed at the head of each chapter and are a useful feature of the book. On the whole, it is a capital little work.

The Indian Companies Act, 1913. By S. K. Rangachariar. Second edition. (Law Printing House, Mount Road, Madras) 1925. **The Stamp Act (II of 1899).**

The second editions of Mr. Kasturi Rangachariar's commentaries on the Indian Companies Act and the Stamp Act are, indeed, very welcome. The works of an expert in the elucidation and exposition of statutes, these two books came to occupy deservedly high place immediately on their publication, in the ranks of Anglo-Indian legal literature. The new editions have been judiciously revised, carefully overhauled and brought thoroughly up-to-date as digests of case-law. Containing all the amendments of the text, fully abreast of the reported decisions, and enriched with instructive notes and commentaries elucidative of the text, each of the two books is a standard work on the subject it deals with. They are creditable alike to the talents and industry of the editor and the enterprise of the publishers.

RECENT SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

(A) ENGLAND.

England To-day. By George A. Greenwood (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1924.

Mr. George Greenwood's *England To-day* is a social study, an attempt to examine and discuss the new condition of England created by the war and the peace. It contains sections dealing with the workers, the middle classes, the new and the old rich, the revolution in the country side, and England's place in world relation. Finally the author asks the question 'Whither'? and, counselling faith and optimism, sounds strongly an optimistic note. In the words of Mr. A. G. Gardiner, it presents a picture of a nation in upheaval, surging to and fro with little conscious sense of direction, dazed and bewildered by the loss of its ancient landmarks and the weakening of its normal sanctions. It is a picture by a journalist, swiftly noting down the observed facts of an episode that is passing before his eyes, rather than the record of an historian dealing with events in perspective, or a situation that has developed and awaits, the *denouement*. For these reasons Mr. Greenwood's book is useful and interesting.

English Citizenship. By Frederic Swann (Longmans, Green & Co., London, Paternoster Row, London) 1924.

Mr. F. Swann's *English Citizenship* is a revised and enlarged edition of his book which first appeared in 1913; and it will be widely welcomed as a clear exposition of what membership of the Empire means,

as it furnishes an interesting account of the civic institutions of England, and of the working of the English system of Imperial and local Government. Mr. Swann's book will be of considerable utility to all who desire a close study of citizenship, in its ideal and practical aspects.

How England is Governed. By the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman (Selwyn and Blount Ltd., Adelphi, London) 1924.

Mr. Masterman is well-known already as a writer on literary and political subjects, and he was also a member of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet. His latest book describes, in popular style, the nature of the government of England, the method of legislation, and of administration, and traces further the life of the citizen as he grows into contact with and experience of law until he develops into an elector. It gives an account of the methods of voting for law-givers and law-administrators, of the powers of the various elected bodies, and of the functions of these bodies. The writer writes from personal knowledge of the working of the administration in most of the branches and his book is therefore invested with special authority. It is not always possible to have text-books written by statesmen and administrators and it is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction that one so experienced and well-informed as a Cabinet Minister has been willing to expound in popular language, the mysteries of the working of the British constitution—not as it is set forth in standard treatises, but as it obtains and operates in actual practice. Viewed in this light, Mr. Masterman's book—*How England is Governed*—deserves a cordial welcome by the student of the subject.

(B) THE FAR EAST.

Japan in World Politics. By K. K. Kawakami (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1924.

An earlier book *Asia At The Door* by Mr. Kawakami was received with appreciation on its publication, some years ago. In the present volume a fervent loyalty to the United States, the land of his adoption, leads the author into an investigation of her friendship for Japan. He shows how it began, how it has been impaired and how the alleged causes for disagreement are unreal. He then examines the reasons leading toward a restored and developed agreement between the two nations, and finds them advanced by every honorable mutual interest. His views will be welcomed by all who have at heart the peaceful development of the various nations. But the author

is a bit of an idealist, though he does not ignore stern realities.

The Press and Politics in Japan. By Kisaburo Kawabe (The University Press, Chicago, U.S.A.) 1924.

Dr. Kawabe studies in this book the relation between the newspaper and the political development of Modern Japan, and indicates the process by which Japan has made remarkable progress, mainly through the development of communication, as a result of the modern printing press. He makes a general survey of the systems of communication and education which are essential to the development of newspapers and gives a comprehensive account of Japanese journalism in correlation with its political life. It is a valuable book on a subject of surpassing interest; and a ten-page bibliography adds considerably to its utility and excellence.

The Administration and Politics of Tokyo. By Charles A. Beard (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1924.

Dr. Beard speaks of Tokyo with intimate knowledge, for he undertook, at the instance of Viscount Goto, the study of Japanese Municipal Government. In this work he has applied to Japanese conditions the Governmental research methods and the administrative principles developed during the past fifteen years by the Bureau of Municipal Research in New York. He has succeeded in producing a remarkable volume which must be of great use to all Japanese municipal authorities. It will be found of great usefulness by our local Government reformers.

The Problem of China. By Bertrand Russell (George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, Ltd., London) 1924.

There are few more original or more powerful thinkers among living Englishmen than the Hon. Bertrand Russell, who is as versatile as he is learned, and one constantly marvels at the breadth and variety of his interests. He writes in *The Problem of China* of the effects upon the Far East of the contact of Chinese and Western civilisations. He was for sometime professor of philosophy in the University of Peking and speaks, therefore, with personal knowledge. Chinese civilization had, until a century ago, about the same importance in the world as Græco-Roman civilization, but science has given industrial and military preponderance to the western system. Japan has produced a blend of the two, and China is in process of

producing a different blend of its own. Mr. Russell tries to trace the interactions of political and cultural problems, with a view to show the dangers of foreign aggression in China, and to emphasize the importance of China's contribution, past and future, to the civilization of the world. The international problems of the Far East are considered, both as they affect China and as they affect the relations of the Great Powers. China has suffered many wrongs at the hands of the Great Powers; but the author attempts to show that, for the future, a greater realization of China's rights is as much to the interest of the Western Powers as to that of the Chinese themselves. Like all Mr. Russell's writings, his *Problem of China* is a singularly thoughtful production.

China. By Emile Hovelague (J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London) 1924.

This work, originally written in French, has been translated into English by Mrs. Laurence Binyon and the translation is graceful and vigorous. China has seldom found a more brilliant and sympathetic interpreter than M. Hovelague. Mrs. Binyon's translation, of a book which has already won a well-deserved reputation in France, will give both general readers and travellers the best possible introduction to an ancient civilization. The opening chapters vividly convey the shock of first encounter for the European who lands in China and finds his outlook on life almost inverted. Under skilful guidance he then visits the cities of China, the Great Wall, and passes through more than one climate before he pauses to consider her history, her religion, her art and her philosophy. A remarkable parallel is drawn between Taoism and the philosophy revealed in Wordsworth's poetry. Those desirous of studying the problems of modern China should study this instructive book.

(C) SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Economic Condition of Soviet Russia. By S. N. Prokopovitch (P. S. King & Son Ltd., London) 1924.

The author, a professor of Economics in the University of Moscow, endeavours in his book—called *The Economic Condition of Soviet Russia*—to give an impartial account of the evolution of Russia's national economy under the Soviet Government. He has given a purely economic analysis of the measures adopted by the Government during the last five or six years, and of their effect, without attempting to deal with any political conclusions which might be deduced therefrom. The book is full of interest,

and, treating as it does in a scientific spirit of a country that has been the scene of so many novel experiments, deserves to be widely read. It is hardly re-assuring to be told that "the Soviet regime recognises no freedom of the press and no freedom of knowledge;" or that the prevailing definition of truth in Soviet Russia is "that which is profitable to me or my party." Many such candid utterances show that the author has expressed his free and independent views; it is not surprising that the book has been printed in Paris and not anywhere in Russia!

The Remaking of Russia. By Kurt Wiedenfield (The Labour Publishing House Ltd., Great Ormond Street, London) 1924.

Herr Wiedenfield is the original German writer of this book, which has been translated into English by Eden and Cedar Paul. The author does not, in this book, expound communism as an economic system, nor does he criticise the doctrine scientifically in the light of Russian experience of its working; his concern is rather with political outlooks. He has tried to show what sort of State has been produced by communism out of the realm of the Tsars, and to ascertain what energies have been hindered and what have been furthered by the working of communism in Russia. As Comander Kenworthy rightly says in the Introduction, the book is written with little bias; and an obviously sincere attempt has been made to give a true picture of recent and present conditions. As such, *The Remaking of Russia* is of great value as an unbiassed sketch of the subject.

Russia To-day and To-morrow. By Paul N. Milinkov (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

M. Milinkov draws in this volume a picture of the birth of the Russian democracy, in the midst of the ruins of the past, which will never return. The author has reprinted some of the lectures on the subject delivered by him to various audiences in America; and has retained their original form. Some of the subjects he discusses are; why the Revolution could not be averted; why the Bolsheviks got the upper hand; the Revolution and Nationalists; Anti-Bolshevist Russia; the Decline of Bolshevism; Russia tomorrow; and Russia's contribution to the world's civilisation. In the lecture on the foreign policy of Bolsheviks we learn, in passing, of the Bolshevik plans regarding India, a revolution in this country being their "trump card." If so, never were the poor Russians more mistaken. The book will be found instructive and useful.

Co-operative Movement in Russia. By Elsie Terry Blance (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1924.

The author of this book has performed her task well and ably; her work is just what it should be—clear, accurate, and free from bias. It contains a brief survey of Russia in the nineteenth century, and then presents an account of the early co-operative movements. That is followed by a detailed review of the movement early in this century, together with a discussion on the effects of the Bolshevik regime. The ninth and final chapter on the educational significance of the Russian co-operative movement is one of surpassing interest. A full bibliography adds to the value of the book, which should find a place on the shelf of all students of the co-operative movement.

(D) BRITAIN AND EGYPT.

Britain and Egypt. By M. Travers Symons (Cecil Palmer, Chandos Street, London) 1925.

The author of this book is already well-known as the writer of "The Riddle of Egypt." Here he discusses the rise of Egyptian nationalism, a most fascinating subject. A dozen years spent by him in Egypt in intimate touch with political affairs, sympathetically with nationalist ideals, frank acknowledgment of what has been worthy of praise in Britain's rule, strong criticism of Egyptian reactionaries, as well as of the extraordinary lack of understanding of Egyptian psychology displayed by British statesmen, a plea for basing the future conduct of the Governments of the two nations on lines more in accordance with the trend of civilisation towards ideal international relations—these form the author's equipment for writing another book on the eternal "Riddle of Egypt." The result is a work of tremendous interest. Our readers in this country will study the book with special interest as Indian conditions are in so many ways similar to those in Egypt, and yet there are so many fundamental differences that a careful comparative study can not but be profitable. We strongly commend this book to Indian nationalists.

Egypt under the Egyptians. By Murray Harris (Chapman and Hall Ltd., London) 1925.

From all accounts, the administration of Lord Allenby in Egypt was exceedingly tactful; he did all he could to assist the Egyptian cause. It was Napoleon who declared in St. Helena that Egypt was the most important country in the world. Its recent history deserves to be carefully studied and the present book supplies the necessary stimulus and

aid. There is, perhaps, no country that is at the moment such an object of curiosity as Egypt; and there are few men who know Egypt more intimately and understand it better than Mr. Murray Harris, who has seen much service there, both official and journalistic. The policy of Great Britain in Egypt has been governed, so we are assured, in the main by ethical considerations, but partly also by stress of circumstance. It is Mr. Harris' contention that the ethical issue has been obscured by the impractical doctrine of self-determination as the essence of practical ethics is discipline, and it was England's ethical duty to insure the march of ordered government and the development and enlightenment of Egypt. In yielding to a solution that seemed easy at the moment the Government lost sight of the paramount importance of British supremacy in Egypt, which was acknowledged by every statesman of note in the last century, even before the cutting of the Suez Canal. Mr. Harris finds confirmation of these views of his in the immensely improved atmosphere since the recent British Note. Mr. Harris, during his years in Egypt, was in constant touch with the Embassy. But he has the freedom which no official can have of telling the truth of what he saw and heard there. It is not possible for an Indian critic to agree with all that Mr. Harris writes. But there can be no two opinions that he has written a very suggestive and thought-provoking work.

The Occident and the Orient. By Sir Valentine Chirol (The University Press, Chicago, U. S. A.) 1924.

Through his former position as Director of the foreign department of the London *Times*, and frequent travel in the East, Sir Valentine Chirol is peculiarly fitted to expound the changing relations of the East and the West. He has, in the present volume, given a clear and connected story of their inter-relationship of their mutual influence, of plot and counterplot, in Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Mesopotamia, Persia and India, as they affect modern Western civilisation. Far-reaching changes have happened during the last half-century. "We may call these changes," the author remarks, 'the reawakening or the revolt of the Orient, but whatever we may call them, they have already profoundly transformed the former relationships between the Occident and the Orient based upon the claim of Occidental civilisation to inherent and indefeasible superiority over the civilisations of the Orient, and they already threaten to raise a still more dangerous issue of racial conflict between the white man and the coloured peoples who constitute

the vast majority of mankind." The lecture dealing with India, to which we naturally turn first, is comparatively dull and tells us nothing which could not be found in Sir Valentine's earlier works. But the other chapters are full of interest and the book, as a whole, is marked by the well-known qualities of Sir Valentine's writings.

(E) EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN.

The Agrarian Revolution in Roumania. By Ifor L. Evans (The University Press, Cambridge) 1924.

Mr. Evan's book on Roumania is a useful contribution to a little-known subject. Agrarian reform has occupied, since the termination of the great war, an important place in the minds of most people, particularly in Eastern Europe in which Roumania, geographically, occupies a prominent position. As in India, the rural inhabitants in that country form more than 80 per cent. of the total population. It is only natural, therefore, that the question of agricultural organisation and production should be one of much importance. A study such as has been undertaken by Mr. Evans gains still further in interest from the light which it throws on somewhat similar agrarian developments in Russia. But he has not been content to place the subject in its proper historical setting; he has given also a short account of the people, the land, and the general technique of the subject of economic activities. He supports his conclusions with a wealth of statistical material and he writes in a clear and lucid style. The book is thus valuable for its facts and data, apart from the views expressed by the author—which are generally sound.

Canadian Federation. By Reginald George Trotter (J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London) 1924.

Dr. Trotter has written a comprehensive survey of the origins and achievement of the Canadian Federation. In his own words, his endeavour has been to avoid the limitations of the political chronicle narrowly focussed upon the official scene; and he has shunned the tendency of biography to exaggerate the prominence of a single hero. His aim has been to give non-political factors due weight, and the work of the men involved in the story has been viewed with an effort to eliminate from the narrative all partisan bias. A long and detailed bibliography adds considerably to the value of a book of deep and lasting interest. Now that responsible Government for India is in the air, Dr. Trotter's *Canadian Federation* should appeal widely to educated Indians.

The Government of France. By Joseph Barthelemy (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1924.

The original French book, of which *The Government of France* is a translation (by Mr. J. B. Morris) appeared first in 1919, but the present edition has been brought up-to-date and incorporates information relating to certain recent changes in the French constitution, particularly in regard to the method of electing deputies and the numbers of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. M. Barthelemy's book is already regarded in France as a standard work on the French constitution; it is the most complete account of French administration, within the compass of a single volume, that has yet appeared. We have here an exposition of every detail of French political and local organisation, and an account of the working of Parliament, the administration of justice, and the control of finance. Such a comprehensive and instructive work ought to be widely read in this country. It is an ideal text-book.

Four Years of Fascism. By Guglielmo Ferrero (P. S. King & Son Ltd., London) 1924.

"Da Fiume A Roma" is an authoritative book dealing with the new movement in Italy. Signor Ferrero does not mince matters, and frankly speaks out what is in his mind. That lends a peculiar interest to this volume called *Four Years of Fascism*—which has been translated into English by Mr. E. W. Dickes. The author says:—"This book has been written for those who believe that intelligence and knowledge still have rights in the world. The author has nothing to hope or to fear from the new rulers, just as from the old ones neither good nor harm could come to him. If he is not infallible, he is disinterested in the conflict of interests and passions which for a decade has devastated Italy." Such being his outlook, he has written freely, frankly and impartially and the result is a highly critical treatise on Fascism, as it at present obtains in actual practice in Italy.

The Oil-Trusts and Anglo-American Relations. By F. H. Davenport and S. R. Cooke (Macmillan & Co., London) 1924.

This is a courageous book and the authors deserve to be congratulated on it. They deal first with Great Britain and oil-power; the Oil-Policy of the United States; oil and international conferences; and political principles. There are three useful appendices dealing

with the San Remo Agreement, the Oil Resources of the world and on the annual production of crude oil. Two maps add to the interest of the book, which sheds much light on an unknown subject.

Victors and Vanquished. By "C. B. Thomson" (Jonathan Cape Ltd., London) 1924.

"C. B. Thomson" is the *nom-de-plume* of Brigadier-General Lord Thomson. In this book he has compressed his impressions formed during a tour through the Balkans and Hungary. The year 1914 brought home conviction to the British public that the problems of Central and South-Eastern Europe are also their own. A Prince was shot in the distant Balkans and five weeks later Britain was at war. That war did not settle those problems. Indeed, the author of this volume foresees that the smouldering racial feuds of Serbs and Bulgars, Roumanians and Hungarians, may soon ignite another appalling conflagration. Or the flames, he suggests, may be kindled if the exasperation and humiliation of Germany reach white-heat. He knows the Continent thoroughly and he is particularly intimate with the Balkans, for he was Military Attaché to Roumania in 1915. In this little book he gives the fruit of a tour of South-Eastern Europe last autumn and of a visit to Germany at Christmas, and he not only draws attention to the peril, but submits also means by which it may be averted. Considering the author's intimate knowledge and long personal experience of the countries described, it is not surprising that his book is stimulating.

International Relations. By Viscount Bryce (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1924.

The late Viscount Bryce's name is a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of this volume. He tried to discuss in these lectures why political friendliness between States has not increased, though the economic relations between nations have been growing closer. Why is it that before the clouds of the Great War have vanished from the sky, new clouds are rising over the horizon? To these and other questions Lord Bryce suggests some valuable answers. The book is worthy of its authorship, highly instructive and strikingly suggestive.

A Study of International Government. By J. W. Hughan (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London) 1925.

Dr. Hughan traces in this volume the gradual development of international Government from

classical times down to the present and presents a systematic analysis of the forces which enter into the problem of effective international organisation to-day. In view of present-day interest in international problems this book is both timely and important. It will be found to be of interest by students of world affairs; as the author has brought to the discussion a correct perspective.

National Governments and the World War. By F. A. Ogg and C. A. Beard (The Macmillan Company, New York) 1924.

The authors regard the Great War as, at bottom, a struggle between two great schemes of human Government—autocracy and democracy. Democracy has, they think, triumphed. But even democratic nations need a fuller realisation of the bearings of government organisation and practice upon public well-being, a better knowledge of the political experience and problems of other peoples and a new enthusiasm for national and international reconstruction on lines such as will conserve the gains of the War. The present book will help to diffuse this knowledge and spirit and is to be warmly welcomed.

DRAMA.

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH DRAMATISTS.

We have already had the pleasure of noticing with appreciation the first volumes of this admirable series of modern dramatic writings issued by Ernest Benn Limited. A further batch is on our table and the reading has confirmed our enthusiasm and delight with which we welcomed the series.

The Masque of Venice. By George Dunning Gribble.

The Scene that was to Write Itself. By George Dunning Gribble.

The Rat Trap. By Noel Coward.

Peter and Paul. By H. F. Rubinstein.

The Man with a Load of Mischief. By Ashley Dukes.

Nocturne in Palermo. By Clifford Bax.

The Rigordans. By Edward Percy.

Atonement. By Edward Thompson.

(Ernest Benn Limited, London) Cloth 5s. and Paper 3s. 6d. each.

We will take the last play first, as it is a play of and about India. Mr. Edward Thompson is well-known in Bengal for his sympathetic studies of

Tagore and Bengalee Literature. A great scholar and a shrewd critic of literary art, Mr. Thompson as a playwright takes his task too seriously. He unfolds situations with a scrupulous care for true dramatic ensemble; the interest is sustained by characteristic epigrams and sharp dialogues; a sense of humour preserves the craft of his word-play. And yet Mr. Thompson, as an Englishman-scholar resident out in India, has somehow failed to penetrate, with all his literary sympathies for Indian culture, beneath the Indian skin, and his presentation of modern political India in *Atonement* appears to over-reach the mark. As a play *Atonement* is sober, judicious and well-proportioned, meritorious in sentiment and skilful in dramatic setting. As an essay in politics it does not succeed because the tangle remains as baffling, as vague and as unconvincing as at the beginning. Possibly we are doing injustice to the author: it is likely he does not intend to deliver judgment, but proposes merely to show in relief the multi-coloured facets of the problem of the races in India. As such the play becomes intriguing for at the end the series of puzzles and psychological complexes is as numerous as ever. We have drafted above our general impressions but as we look closely into the web of the play we notice a frank and bold treatment of themes which at best turn out but quickmires. The characterisation is strong and full of colour. There is Mrs. Lomax, the "country-born," plaintively sighing of Home and laying the law on the price of chicks and flower-pots. Max Horton and Walsh are two kindred spirits, one young and inexperienced, the other mature and learned of the wisdom of years, and yet both reacting instinctively in the same manner to tragedies, gruesome and cruel. The portraiture is significant and betrays the idealistic vein in Mr. Thompson's dramatic kit. Gregory, the Baptist padre, is perhaps a typical Englishman who thinks, but one who is an Englishman first, and anything else afterwards. We can not however say of the Indian characters in the play that the picture is true to type or even complete: the playwright has not comprehended in a true measure the psychological make-up of the Indian mind. Emotion may be the predominant trait of Indian character, but we firmly disagree with Mr. Thompson that emotion is essentially effeminate, or that in its predominance over other instincts in the Indian mind it has produced an effeminate reaction. Is not emotion the key to success on the battlefield? In face of certain death emotion alone supplies the promptings to valourous deeds and heroic fights. But we must not be hyper-critical. Mr. Thompson's play on India is an oasis in the desert; as a dramatic piece of writing

it is a complete success. Discrimination and sympathy are always welcome to the distraught Indian mind of to-day, and *Atonement* provides an almost cheerful compensation for the monstrous constructions of eastern life which plays like *The Green Goddess* exhibit to applauding London audiences. Poor London Theatre-goers!

The Masque of Venice is probably the most delightful play we have read for some time. The author, Mr. Gribble, is almost unknown in British literary circles, but if the *Masque* is his first literary effort it is an extremely promising earnest of a career that will find an honourable and prominent place in the history of 20th century dramatics. We meet here with an extremely delightful play of wit and humour. The literary touch is almost uncanny, because subdued; and the entire setting is exquisitely planned. There is a keen and shrewd sense of proportion, a knowledge of the subtleties of human nature and a true perception of the elusive Comedy-Spirit. Egeria, nymph Egeria, has not taught ancient wisdom to Don Pedro adone, but calls out to us to look within ourselves and offer "an expiation, honourable amends, a catharsis, and the surest means of allaying the mysterious adversary." Illusion and conventions go hand in hand. But it would be unjust to say that Mr. Gribble wrote *The Masque* with a purpose: he is too fine a dramatist, and achieves remarkable success by adherence to true dramatic spirit. Altogether a perfect and delightful reading.

In *The Scene that was to write Itself* Mr. Gribble turns his hand to stage satire. He preserves here also the fine humour and wit which characterises the *Masque*, but he becomes introspective in a sense and laughs at his kind. "The Author" is a skilfully drawn and a superb satire. What delightful thrusts he makes, for instance, witness the admixture of Don Juan and Casanova, "the electric charge that I will fire into the vacuum tube of British Philistia to set the electrons whirling." Mr. Gribble's ironic laughter is contagious, and this little playlet will be a delightful interlude between heavier stage acts.

Mr. Noel Coward's *Rat Trap* is a very serious and instructive study in the eternal problem of love and marriage. Like a modernist the playwright faces the question squarely and does not hesitate to call a spade a spade when there is occasion for it. The mating of an exceptionally clever and sensitive woman with a comparatively mediocre and egotistic intellect produces

situations which need careful handling. By being utterly frank and sincere with himself, Mr. Coward pursues ruthless logic in the person of Olive triumphant when her dire prophecy of the humbling of intellect to Love comes out true. But being a masculine author the playwright is a shrewd judge of human frailties and when differences appear insuperable the Oracle can no longer help solve the riddle. The supreme intellect of Shiela unravels and analyses the realities of faithless love and as she submits again she does so not for sentiment but with full knowledge that the old love had died out. Only a very skilful handling would make of such situations an entire dramatic piece and the *Rat Trap* is undoubtedly a very successful piece of writing. If Shiela's Shadow Show refuses to materialise amid the antagonisms of love and intellect, and ultimately is born out of anguish and unhappiness it only symbolises the obscure truth that great books are the experience of unhappiness and turmoils of the soul. *The Rat Trap* is a play dealing with psychological impossibilities of equality in marriage relations, and as Dame Nature has put the greater burden on the wedded wife the submission of Shiela appears so poignantly human as almost to constitute a tragedy. Mr. Coward deserves commendation for this very thoughtful excursion into a difficult field, and he has succeeded admirably in an admittedly complicated plot.

We have already noticed in an earlier issue the very suggestive play *Peter and Paul* by Mr. Rubinstein. In his own inimitable manner the author presents the conflict of literary ambition *versus* a life of ease in situations which are intensely human. The play is composed of two personalities with ideals and facts of life reversed, relieved by suggestive voices from the spirit world. Every scene is alive and refreshing. The author significantly illustrates, it may be said, the propositions he adumbrated in his earlier play *What's wrong with the Drama?* Mr. Rubinstein richly deserves the acclamations accorded to his unusual, but clever and effective play.

We have learnt to expect from Mr. Ashley Dukes neat and skilful handling combined with rare literary merit. The chief *metier* however of Mr. Dukes' plays is rich, sparkling dialogue. His *The Man with a Load of Mischief* sustains his reputation. It is a charming play full of colour and eloquence. Quality *versus* the People—what absorbing themes for the pulpit! Mr. Dukes turns the situation to very good ends and by the magic of his wit produces a comedy of the first rank. The world to which the playwright

holds up a mirror is well described by his lady: "Too many fops and their tailors, too few men. Too many wits and too little honesty. Too many bottles and too little entertainment.....A dunghill sprouting sword-grass, a hedgerow rank with lords and ladies. No fruitful earth." Fewer words could not more eloquently tell the tale.

Mr. Clifford Bax's *Nocturne in Palermo* is a frolicsome little piece which aims at "no rarities." Light "as air it is." It takes you perhaps twenty minutes to read but the impression, one wholly of delight and charm, persists for long. A more pleasant little phantasy one could hardly wish for. Mr. Bax is a clever and neatly finished artist.

The Rigordans by Mr. Edward Percy is a serious, sober play of moderate dimensions, dilating on the old commonplace theme of goodness that is evil in a new and striking manner. It is the elder sister here who plays the role of the unjust saint, austere and unbending in her relations both to her younger sister and to her brother. Miss Julia was not a rarity in the mid-Victorian era, she may be one now perhaps. The author does not seek to redeem her character in any way or supply excuses for her foibles, but he ruthlessly analyses the barren hypocrisy of churchiness. Perhaps there is a "Squitch-strain" in all of us and but for this failing humanity would not have reared the great edifice of charity and hope..the perennial source of our idealism...

Conversations on Contemporary Drama. By Clayton Hamilton (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1924) 9s.

This volume is a collection of nine impromptu lectures delivered before students of the Columbia University. The author is very particular in styling these informal talks as conversations and supplies cogent reasons for doing so, as his 'lectures' were not set addresses but mere talks at and to the audience. There is a distinct advantage in the procedure, for the criticism is unfettered and not shy of logical confines. Mr. Clayton deals with Rostand, Barrie and Bernard Shaw, Pinero and Galsworthy, Maeterlinck and Pirandello. He has something to say on his native American playwrights and selects a rising star in the person of O'Neill to develop his ideas about the functions of drama. The collection is not at all heavy and this is the chief merit of this eminently readable book, for our introduction to the big names will not thus frighten us from seeking a more intimate knowledge with their works. It is

superfluous to quarrel with the author for his omissions and chastisements which one may consider as unmerited, for he does not aim to write an abiding study, nor a literary criticism. Mr. Clayton, as a practical theatre man, judges his stars with a simple test whether their productions serve the temple of entertainment or not. We may not quite agree, but there is no doubt there is much to be said for this way of looking at drama. Mr. Clayton has done a useful service in directing attention to contemporary drama, for it has not yet met with judicious appreciation.

Introduction to Galsworthy's Plays. By R Sadasiva Aiyar, M.A. (Author, Willingdon College, Sangli) 1925.

Avowedly a text for University students Mr. Aiyar has nevertheless attempted an appreciative criticism of Galsworthy as a playwright. As a text the book seems to serve the purpose admirably. After an introductory chapter on the origins and affinities of the present drama a passing reference is made to contemporary dramatists out of whom the author picks out John Galsworthy for detailed comment. Then follows a synopsis of his plays with a running commentary and a concluding chapter on Galsworthy's art, the magic of his prose and the keen turn of his dialogues. This is admirable as far as it goes, although there is scope for much improvement in the matter and manner of arrangement. When we come to critically consider the lavish encomiums which the author piles on the art of Galsworthy we feel inclined to cry halt for the superlatives blur instead of help us in understanding the content of his work. Galsworthy is a great writer of English prose, he is a literary man *par excellence*, but he is not a dramatist, he does not possess the theatre-sense. He himself says that "a drama must be shaped so as to have a spire of meaning." But a drama is certainly not meant for propagandism; a theatre is a temple of entertainment. Galsworthy writes plays from a sense of duty, *i.e.*, he feels he has something to say about social injustices, and in his opinion drama provides the best medium. We do not agree. However there is room for differences and one should welcome Mr. Aiyar's efforts in making more widely known the leading man of letters in Britain.

Too much Money. By I-rael Zangwill (William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1925) 3s. 6d.

Mr. Zangwill's latest play *Too Much Money*

received cordial encomiums on its production in New York—that city of too much money and lucre, although its performance before a London audience did not receive so much support. The degree of reception accorded in the two metropolises represents in a way the intensity of the appeal which the play has for men of different temperaments. As a piece of dramatic writing it is clever as all Zangwill plays are and his dialogues sparkle with neatly turned phrases which keep up the interest of the auditors to the last. The plot is intriguing: A born millionaire in search of domestic happiness is advised by a self-made millionaire to abjure his millions for a while, declare himself bankrupt before his 'artistic' spouse and try a one-room tenement for the recovery of his wife's affections. The experiment is fraught with several disasters and is on the breaking point on several occasions when the skill and the ingenuity of the playwright works the miracle and turns the indolent, sighing and 'art-loving' Annabel into a business woman of the first rank. Miss Roseleaf flits through the pages in the wake of her zeal for scientific preciseness and feminist efficiency; the 'life-enhancing' Thisbe is not an unentrancing creature at times. The laugh which Mr. Zangwill obtains at the expense of futuristic cubism may appear uncharitable, but if Sir Robert McCorbel, Baronet, has no grounds for complaint, the artists of the Cube should not grouse. *Too Much Money* is a very readable play and fully sustains the author's high reputation.

The Rose of India. By Francis A. Judd (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1924) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Judd is becoming known in theological circles as an elegant writer of verse on sacred subjects. But his claim to recognition is not really based on the sanctity of his theme alone. The decorative and ornate element in his poetry has moulded his stanzas into lines of haunting eloquence. He delves in the Glory of the Past and makes those glories live again afresh and vital. In *The Rose of India* he has maintained his lofty and dignified style in keeping with the sacred strain of his theme. The martyrdom of St. Thomas, a legend well-known in southern India, provides him with ample opportunity for framing a poignant romance of those dim ages of which we know so little. The author possesses the proper temperament to deal with the pathetic tragedy and we read in his pages again the story which will, for Christians, for ever remain one of the grandest stories of the world.

Loaves and Fishes. By W. S. Maugham (William Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1924) 3s. 6d.

Mr. Maugham's art does not need any commendation to theatre-lovers. He is in the first rank of British playwrights and his light comedies have given pleasure to vast audiences for a number of years. *Loaves and Fishes*, a humorous comedy in four acts, was produced on the stage in 1911 and we are now indebted to the house of Heinemann for the text. We have read the delightful conversation, the witty craftsmanship and the neat phraseology with avidity and pleasure. In *Loaves and Fishes* the dominating personality is that of an arch-humbag, the Vicar of St. Gregory's—a typical Society Church. With the true insight of a playwright writing for theatre audiences Mr. Maugham does not heap recriminations or remorse on the sanctified head of the Hon. and Rev. Canon, but rewards him with an episcopacy and a charming young bride, whom his son was too shy to make love to even under paternal promptings. It is not really a flaw in Mr. Maugham's careful plot that other characters in his story appear insipid: theatre entertainment demands a central 'star' personality and there is not a more *vivid* and entertaining personality than the Hon. and Rev. Spratte expatiating on his Moutmorency lineage, making love to charming widows and bashful school-girls, or reading a cynically brute lesson to his daughter who is on the verge of a *mesalliance* with a Socialist orator who is a 'nobody.' Altogether a delightful and frank comedy of manners and society.

FICTION.

The Love Game. By Suzanne Lenglen (George Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41, Park Street, Kingsway, London, W. C. 2) 1925.

Mademoiselle Lenglen is undoubtedly one of the greatest living exponents of the game of tennis and the title she has chosen for her first venture in fiction gives a subtle indication of the nature of the book. In it the great artist in of lawn tennis treats of the game in a way that will give unbounded delight to its many devotees. Incidentally, yet most effectively, it shows how success may be achieved and how it is possible to advance from the dead level of mediocrity to the pinnacle of excellence. And all this is done quite naturally in the course of a story of absorbing interest. It is, indeed, much more than a novel in which the main interest lies in the game of lawn tennis, for it deals with the greater game of life in which we all play our part with varying degrees of

skill, and shows that the same rules apply and the same qualities serve. We commend this book to readers of good fiction.

The Treasure of Ho. By L. Adams Beck (W. Collins & Co., Ltd., 48, Pall Mall, London, W.), 1925.

The name of Mr. L. Adams Beck stands for something among discriminating readers of the best modern fiction. *The Treasure of Ho* is a novel with a rich Far Eastern background. The hero, a young Englishman living in Peking, visits "a lost Buddhist temple beyond the Western Hills"—and there he finds thrills and wealth and love. The wicked old Empress Dowager of China very nearly ends the career of John Mallerdeen and he sees many strange things during his adventures in Mongolia. Mr. Beck knows his China intimately and few writers have the power of interpreting the occultism and mysticism of the East so convincingly and picturesquely to the Western mind. The author claims for his work that it is historical in the main—many of the incidents having been based on realities—and also that the "magical events" have been witnessed and authenticated by travellers in the orient for many generations past down to the present day. Mr. Beck's book is a romance of great interest and merits appreciation.

A Bundle of Myrrh. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., London) 1925.

Mrs. Nepean has made Wales and the Welsh her own. Through the many charming romances which we have had the pleasure to notice before we have come to love and endear the country which furnishes so picturesque a setting for the delightful love stories. In her latest volume *A Bundle of Myrrh* Nan, poor tragic Nan, provides a very poignant reading. The loss of her first love, her marriage to a strong, cynical young man, her miserable unhappiness, her flight and ultimately the triumph of pure and eternal flame—these form interesting episodes in this novel. The reading is so absorbing that one wishes to read through to the end at one sitting.

Petals in the Wind. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., London) 1925. 7s. 6d.

The most beautiful thing here is the strong, passionate and pathetic love of Caradic, the shepherd boy, for his girl-mate, the heiress of an old but decaying family. The tangle of events is fascinating and the author's keen sense of incident and adventure helps her in weaving a plot which is gripping.

Megan has her great turmoils of heart and soul. Her first love for a weak but sincere son of a wealthy tradesman does not come to fruition and her trials form a poignant reading. David and Ivor and Caradic are three characteristic figures well drawn and in sharp contrast to each other. So are Gwen and Megan, the two types of Welsh beauty, adorned and unadorned by city glamour respectively.

Jewels in the Dust. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1924) 7s. 6d.

In *Jewels in the Dust* Mrs. Nepean depicts in her usual romantic manner the impetuously emotional strain in Welsh character. Welshy, the beautiful gipsy daughter of the land, reveals in her strong, rugged emotions both the strength and the weakness of impulsive people. Mervyn, the prodigal and wayward lover, atones for his cowardice by a total wrecking of life's ideals and fortunes. How ultimately the charm of her native hills beckons Welshy to her homeland and the manner in which she recovers and helps in re-building the love of her prodigal love is the story of this book. Like all Mrs. Nepean's stories the story is thrilling from end to end.

Gwyneth of the Welsh Hills. By Edith Nepean (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 2s. 6d.

This is a reprint of Mrs. Nepean's earlier story of Wales. Gwyneth is the child of mystery—delightful and elusive. She is seduced by an unscrupulous philanderer who is heir to a large estate. When Gwyneth recovers her mysterious birth-rights she finds herself to be the daughter of the Squire whose heir was her seducer. Complications then ensue and the interesting plot is slowly unfolded, until the humble commoner who had befriended her during Gwyneth's wanderings is rewarded with the consummation of a pure and sincere love.

Iridescence. By Cecil Adair (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Adair possesses the knack of wringing charm out of dry commonplace surroundings, but when he develops the desire of a young girl to find the glories of light and colour, the author excels himself and fills up the incidents of her progress with a vivid and beautiful imagination. Eileen, the child of iridescence, is an entirely sweet girl with whom you fall in love instantly. The story of the redemption of a lost son and the emergence of forgiveness in a

hard, cruelly bitten father is the work of this delightful child of nature's beauty. *Iridescence* is well written in a picturesque style and is replete with lofty and healthy adventures.

The Heart's Justice. By Amanda B. Hall (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Rolf Sterling, a super-efficiency manager, gets interested in the simple and affectionate daughter of his old Foreman, who is of gentle birth and is mad after an idea. Marriage could not take away little Miss Muffet's devotion to her father, and incompatibilities of temperament and outlook soon estrange the young couple. How the skein is untangled through a series of successive emotional jolts is vividly portrayed in *The Heart's Justice*. The plot is well laid and the final surrender of Miss Muffet coupled with the self-realisation of Rolf forms delightful reading. David Harlow is a characteristic figure, loveable and pathetic both in his secret sorrow and in the final giving away of his daughter unto another man's keeping.

A Wife in Kenya. By Nora K. Strange (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

Those who have read Miss Strange's first two novels of the life in East Africa will feel gratified at the excellence of her new novel *A Wife in Kenya* where racial bitternesses are to a certain extent kept in the background. The new novel is set in equally picturesque surroundings. Beryl and Pierce Napier are an ill-assorted couple, very frank with each other and to themselves. Their great friend and uncle, Philip Lugard, suggests, instead of divorce, a trial of a year's stay in Kenya. Miss Strange depicts beautifully with a vivid imagination, the lonely life of the white woman, Beryl's personal struggles with herself and her happiness, her adventures with an unknown love, and the final emergence of sympathy for her husband's passion and a grasp of the mere male's point of view. Jules Vacance, the lonely, lovely figure of romance and chivalry, flits across the pages. We end on a triumphant note in a delightful work of fiction.

Adventures at Rye Town. By Maud Stepnet Rawson (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

What delightful adventures the two weaknesses—passion for natural history and a fondness for hospitality to Jack Straws—brings to Arthur Cardrax and his family forms the pleasant topic of Miss

Rawson's narrative The plot is sketchy as but suits the adventurers. But when the latest pick-up masquerades as an idle good-for-nothing, giving yet the impression of a strong and real man, the incidents are laid thick with mystery and charm until the final discovery of the hero and his lovely award the capture of the most exquisite findal of all—Mya, Myrtle Cardrax,

The Red Mill Mystery. By Detective Dunn (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 7s. 6d.

One of the good mystery tales full of puzzling situations and clever bye-plays. Detective Dunn takes an enthusiastic delight in the telling. He contrives to throw round the mystery of the murder an almost baffling veil. A slight love story, the humourous situations when a criminal impersonates as a Society lover, the hair breadth escapes and the skilful contrivances—all these maintain the interest to the end until the mystery is completely resolved.

Adolphe. By Benjamin Constant (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1925) 2s. 6d.

Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe* is considered by some to be one of the greatest love stories of the world in any language. It portrays the progress of the author's liaison with Madame de Stael, another notable figure in history. To capture the vividness of the poignant charm with which the heart's story is related one needs to know the French temperament. But it is a matter of congratulation to the translator, Mr. J. Lewis May, that in the English translation much of the original fervour and passion is retained. The volume is published in the International Library series.

A Romance of the Nursery. By L. Allen Harker (John Murray, London, 1925) 2s. net.

Mr. Harker's *Romance of the Nursery* was first published 23 years ago and ever since it has been a popular youth's paradise. It is a perennial. Every time it is read it intrigues the imagination and extorts admiration for the keen and shrewd insight which the author has displayed in depicting his children. Fiammetta—what a delicious little name!—and Paul live vividly through the pages. The nursery chronicle is whimsical and fascinating and alive. A fresh reading has added zest to our enthusiasm and delight. Mr. Murray has done a good service in publishing a cheaper edition and so bring it within the reach of a larger circle of readers.

The Grip of Life. By Agnes and Egerton Castle (John Murray, London, 1925) 2s.

The cheap edition of the *Grip of Life* should find a ready welcome. The story of Ughtred and Solange, both children of nature with vastly differing temperaments, reads like a tale culled out of the pages of *Destiny*. Kismet, or call it what you like, rules over men and stars and there is no escape. How Ughtred Maxwell loses his soul and through troubles and tribulations manifold regains his lost ideals through the love of his wife forms a gripping story. The plot is ingenious and the telling of it picturesque so as to provide an absorbing tale.

TRANSLATIONS OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

The Word of Lalla the Prophetess. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart. (University Press, Cambridge), 1924.

Sir Richard Temple—the eminent orientalist—has made a verse-translation of the sayings of Lal Ded, the mystic poetess of ancient Kashmir, prefacing them with an Introduction on the sources of her religion and on her religion itself and with an explanation of each poem. Lal Ded lived between 1300 and 1400 A.D. and left behind her a large number of stanzas in the old Kashmiri language, in which her teachings are found embodied. Sir Richard has rendered them into smooth English verse and enriched his work with an illuminating Introduction of 160 pages on the sources, theory and doctrine of Lalla's religion, and enriched the book with instructive annotations. The result is a work which is a notable contribution to the literature of mysticism and a credit to oriental scholarship. It should find a place on every orientalist's bookshelf.

The Vision of Vasavdatta. By Lakshman Sarup. (Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore), 1925.

Professor Lakshman Sarup has rendered a notable service to Sanskrit studies by issuing his critical edition of the text of *Svapna Vasavadattam* of Bhasa, accompanied by an Introduction, a faithful translation into English prose and useful annotations—exegetical, grammatical, mythological and historical. It is thus a critical study of a famous play of Bhasa, a distinguished playwright, who lived even before Kalidasa, and is—in the opinion of many competent critics—even a greater dramatist than the latter. His plays which had disappeared have only been discovered in recent years. Professor Sarup's Introduction is of great interest. In it he traces the legendary

lore about the hero of the play, as also discusses the essentials of drama as expounded by the world's greatest critics from Aristotle to Brunetiere. The work will appeal both to the scholar and the lover of good literature.

The Haft Paikar. By C. E. Wilson, 2 vols. (Probsthain & Co., 41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1), 1924.

The "Oriental Series" inaugurated by Messrs. Probsthain & Co., deserves the patronage of orientlists and students of Asiatic literatures and philosophies. In it have been issued so far some excellent, original works and translations of great merit of eastern classics. The latest addition to the series is Mr. C. E. Wilson's translation (from the Persian) of the *Haft Paikar* ("The Seven Beauties") of the famous mystic poet—Nizami of Ganja, enriched with an elucidative commentary. Nizami's *Haft Paikar* is a renowned classic in Persian poetry, and in the literature of mysticism it may be said to stand second only to the *Masnavi* of Jalalu-ud-din Rumi. An English translation of it, with an adequate commentary, was badly needed alike by the student of Persian literature and Oriental mysticism. Mr. Wilson's book will now remove a long-felt want. The translator is well-equipped by knowledge and scholarship for the work he has undertaken, and the result is a contribution of ripe learning, which deserves appreciation at the hands of students of the subject. The book is a notable addition to oriental literature in English.

The Odes of Sheikh Maslihud-Din Sa'di Shirazi. By Sir Lucas King, Kt., C.S.I., LL.D. (Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London), 1925.

The name of Sheikh Maslihud-Din—better known as Sa'di Shirazi—is familiar in India and the Mussalman world. His *Gulistan* and *Bostan* are perhaps the most popular books in Persian literature. But his odes are not so well-known, nor had they been so far translated into English. This has now been accomplished very creditably by (the late) Sir Lucas King, who was fully qualified for the task by his knowledge of Persian and Arabic. Professor Nicholson in his Introduction remarks that the odes of Sa'di "contain some of the most exquisite poetry in Persian literature and if they lack the deepest inspiration, they abound in moral and spiritual ideas created, perhaps, by others, but moulded into perfect shape by a masterhand". This is a very just criticism of Sa'di's odes and it is a matter of congratulation that Sir Lucas King so successfully rendered them into excellent English prose before his death.

The Tale of Genji... By Arthur Waley. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Mussum Street, London, W. C. 1), 1925.

Mr. Arthur Waley has made his mark as an excellent translator into English of Chinese and Japanese classics. His latest contribution is a rendering from the Japanese of a tale written by a Japanese court lady of the eleventh century, which is recognized as one of the long novels of Japan. The translation of the work when completed is expected to occupy six volumes. We shall revert to Mr. Waley's translation of this Japanese classic later.

THREE LATEST "SERIES" OF BOOKS.

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. (of Broadway House, 68—74, Carter Lane, London, E. C.) have embarked upon a notable publishing enterprise by inaugurating a new series called the "International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method," edited by Mr. C. K. Ogden, M.A. The purpose of the International Library is to give expression, in a convenient form and at a moderate price, to the remarkable developments which have recently occurred in Psychology and its allied sciences. The older philosophers were pre-occupied by metaphysical interests which for the most part, it is believed, have ceased to attract the younger investigators, and their forbidding terminology too often acted as a deterrent for the general reader. The attempt to deal in clear language with current tendencies in Psychology, Philosophy, and scientific method—whether in England and America or on the Continent—has justly met with a very encouraging reception, and not only have accepted authorities been invited to explain the newer theories, but it has been found possible to include in the new series a number of original contributions of high merit. The attention of students of Science and Philosophy should be, therefore, drawn to the comprehensive character of this series, (containing both reprints and new works.) The very high standard maintained may be judged from the two latest additions—a reprint (in one volume) of Lange's famous *History of Materialism*, which is an authoritative work on the subject, and a new work called *Colour Blindness* by Dr. Mary Collin's which embodies the results of the latest research, criticizes past and present theories, discusses the various tests, contains a diagnosis of several individual cases, and concludes with a general survey of the whole field and its relation to theories of colour vision. We shall watch the progress of this great series with a sympathetic interest.

Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd. (of 35 & 36, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) have started a new series of reprints of and selections from classics called the "Teaching of English", which is designed to put into practice the principles enunciated in the Report bearing the same name. The books of this series are intended to provide an inexpensive but very attractive pocket library for thoughtful readers. The series contains anthologies of verse and prose, each arranged on some definite and suggestive plan, complete stories by modern authors, Shakespeare's plays edited on new lines, collections of shorter literary stories, a short history of English Literature, a collection of essays, and a number of the most popular books for children which have stood the test of time. Great care has been taken to make the books in get-up and appearance worthy of the positions of the classics and the enterprising publishers deserve congratulation on their having succeeded in issuing a series calculated to create and foster a real love of good books, by providing volumes agreeable alike to the eye and the hand. Each book contains a frontispiece—generally a portrait of a great writer—while many of the volumes are fully illustrated with pictures in line made from drawings by artists of repute. Altogether it is a notable series of the classics and should appeal to the old and the young alike.

Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd. (of 8 Bouverie Street, London, E. C. 4) have just issued the first batch of books in a new series called "The Augnstan Books of English Poetry." Mr. Hilaire Belloc—the editor—and the publishers deserve acknowledgment of their enterprize, which includes selections in a very generous measure from Keats, Shelly, Bridges, Brooke, Tagore and others. Many poets are included whose works are still copyright and the holders of it are also entitled to our gratitude for their so readily granting the necessary permission for making the selections. The series is a marvel of cheapness at six pence a volume. It offers much riches in a short compass and richly merits a very large circulation.

REPRINTS, SELECTIONS AND COMPILATIONS.

Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. (of Bedford Street, London, W.C. 2) have added four new volumes to their world-known "Everyman's Library" series. These are Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped*, *The Master of Ballantrae* and *The Black Arrow*.

Virginibus Puerisque and *Familiar Studies of Books and Men*, and *An Inland Voyage, Travels with a Donkey and Silverado Squatters*. They also propose to add shortly *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and other *Tales and Poems* by the same author. This edition of Stevenson will be a notable addition to the "Everyman's Library". The same firm have also embarked upon a new illustrated edition of the works of Major Charles Roberts—who has a decided kinship with Stevenson. Major Robert's books deal with natural history, but they possess the thrill associated with a good romance. The volumes issued so far are *Babes in the Wild*, *Wisdom in the Wilderness* and *The Heart of the Ancient Wood*. By reason of their charm of style, Major Robert's books, in their new illustrated edition, should secure for themselves a large circle of readers.

The Oxford University Press (British India Building, Nicol Road, Bombay) have reprinted (in one volume), with judicious omissions, two earlier notable works of travel by Mr. David Hogarth, under the appropriate title of *A Wandering Scholar*, containing vivid portraiture of life in Turkey, Greece and Egypt. Although originally written many years back, these graphic delineations yet retain considerable interest and deserved republication. The same firm have also brought out exceedingly well-compiled selections from the prose and poetry of Dryden and Coleridge with excellent Introductions and useful notes. These should be of great value to students of English literature. A notable feature of this series is reprint of famous essays dealing with each author.

Professor of Amarnath Jha of the Allahabad University, and a most valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*, is a well-known for his scholarship and love of literature. He has followed his selections from John Morley's essays by *Selected Essays of Frederick Harrison* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 82, St. Martin's Lane, London) which is compiled with literary acumen and critical judgment. The essays are well-chosen and the notes betray the wide range of the editor's knowledge. It should be a welcome addition to the many admirers and students of Frederick Harrison.

Professor H. G. Rawlinson and Mr. W. N. U. Dunlop have done well to condense in one handy volume Gibbon's immortal history. These *Selections from Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Longmans, Green & Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, E. C. 4) which have been judiciously made will be found highly useful as a text-book for an elementary knowledge of the subject. A sketch of Gibbon, and a number of maps and illustrations, add to the usefulness of this compilation, while the Introductions at

the head of each chapter are specially to be commended as affording the students much assistance. Altogether it is a creditable condensation of Gibbon.

ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Lt.-Col. Waddell made his mark as an antiquarian so far back as 1892 by the publication of his *Discovery of the Lost Palibothra of the Greeks*, which was followed some ten years later by *The Excavations at Palibothra*. After making the explorations at Patna—the results of which were embodied in these two earlier works—he turned his attention to Tibet and produced in 1895 his *Buddhism of Tibet*—the first study by a European of the esoteric religion of that country—followed ten years later by *Lhasa and its Mysteries*. Both these are still justly regarded as standard works. He also published in 1899 his delightful *Among the Hymalayas*. Lately he has tackled the question of the origin of the British race and in his *Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, published last year, he tried to establish that the people of Great Britain were a branch of the famous Phœnicians, who themselves were not Semites (as hitherto believed) but Aryans in race, speech and script and identical with the people known as Summerians. His book evoked great interest, though his conclusions were not accepted by scholars. He has now published (through the well-known firm of Messrs. Luzac & Co. of 46, Great Russell Street, London, W. C.) *The Indo-Summerian Seals Deciphered*, in which he contends that the theory advanced by him in his earlier work has received “dramatic confirmation” by the discovery of the large find of Summerian seals of about 3000 B. C.—unearthed in the Indus Valley last year and described by Sir John Marshall at the time—which according to the author establishes the identity of the Summerians of the Indus Valley as the early Aryans. Lt.-Col. Waddell has the fairness to admit that in advancing these theories he is “in opposition to much of what is held to be, if not established doctrine, at any rate good working theory with regard to Summerian, Phœnician, Indian and British history.” But he nonetheless presses his view with an earnestness born of strength of conviction. Whatever the ultimate value of his theories, there can be no two opinions that his book is stimulating and thought-provoking to a degree. By its boldness it challenges examination and investigation and merits serious consideration at the hands of scholars and students of

history. For obvious reasons, the book under notice deserves special attention in India, as it has an important bearing on the problems of ancient Indian history.

Mr. L. N. Flint—Professor of Journalism in the University of Kansas and author of an excellent work called *The Editorial*—has just issued through Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., the famous American publishers (of 29–35, West 32nd Street, New York U.S.A. and 25, Bedford Street, London) the first serious contribution to journalistic ethics, under the title of *The Conscience of the Newspaper*. This book is an entirely new and distinctive type in the literature of journalism. Many books discuss in general terms the ethical problems of the newspaper and the principles that should guide the conscientious editor, but this is the first book to present those problems and principles in the form of actual cases such as come before the newspaper editor in his daily work. The cases on which the book is based have been collected from all grades of newspapers of the United States. Each case gives the facts and the particular editor's decision, and the author's comment drives home the principle involved. The first division of the book, “Newspaper Practice and the Editor's Conscience,” approaches each editorial problem from various angles, illustrated by cases. It is a symposium of matters of newspaper conduct and gives specific information on editorial decisions. The second division sums up the principles of journalism, in its relations to the public, as they are understood and practiced by the leading, high-class newspapers. The five chapters depict American journalism as it is to-day. In the third part account is taken of influences that seem to be shaping the future of journalism. An appendix contains all the codes of ethics in which associations of newspapers and of newspaper men have expressed the present standards for the conduct of the press. Professor Flint's book is thus a very valuable contribution alike to the literature of journalism and of ethics and should receive a wide appreciation. It should be the working journalist's *vade macum* for the solution of ethical doubts and difficulties, and should find a place on his bookshelf.

Messrs. H. I. Chabiani and G. N. Joshi have put together with skill and knowledge a good and useful “source-book” called *Readings in Indian Constitution and Administration*. It is a collection of extracts from original sources chosen with the purpose of illustrating the chief phases of the administrative and constitutional development of India under British rule and also of the working of the system at present.

The extracts, which are selected from a large number of standard works, deal with all phases of Indian administration and constitution—the position of Parliament and the Secretary of State in Indian affairs, the Government of India and their relation with the Provincial Governments, the central and provincial executives and legislatures, the judicature, the administrative divisions, public services, local self-Government, law and order, finance, public works, education and public health. The scope of the book is comprehensive and it covers the whole field of Indian administration and constitution; the selections have been made judiciously and discriminatingly, and the book will be found highly useful as a sourcebook of the Indian constitution and its development.

It is a very interesting work—Mr. Aaron Watson's reminiscences called *A Newspaper Man's Memories* (Hutchinson & Co., 34, Paternoster Row, London, E. C.). For many years Mr. Watson has been a prominent and celebrated journalist, and in his long and interesting newspaper career he has come into contact with a great many celebrities in the political, newspaper and literary world. In this book he details his career from the beginning. He has much of interest to say of the adventures which can befall the newspaper man on provincial papers, and as the book goes on it increases in interest from the force of Mr. Watson's association with prominent people, of whom he tells many stories which are both new and witty. The author has handled his material with the practised art which one would expect from him, and there is no doubt that this book will be welcomed by all who love to read interesting anecdotes of an age which is passing.

Mr. G. N. Pocock's *Pen and Ink* (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London) is a series of twelve practical talks on the art of writing English prose. It is a useful, little book and is intended primarily for two classes of readers. Firstly, for those who have mastered the main difficulties of expression and have achieved a style of their own, but have not had much experience in teaching those who are less competent; secondly, for those who have something to say but experience difficulty in expressing their ideas in the form of effective words. Numerous examples of style are used to illustrate the talks. In addition, there is an admirable series of short studies of modern English authors. *Pen and Ink* will be of practical use to student and teacher alike, and it is a work of great utility.

Mr. F. A. Wright's *Greek Athletics* (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1) is, indeed, a very interesting book. It successfully attempts to apply to modern conditions of life the principles of physical training prevalent amongst the ancient Greeks, whose principal athletic exercises fell into three main classes. To the first class belonged boxing and wrestling, to the second running and jumping, to the third throwing the discus and the javelin. In the boxing-contests biting and 'gongfng' were strictly forbidden, although frequently attempted, as for example by Alcibiades. With their statues to guide us, Mr. Wright holds, it will be the fault of the moderns if they do not again reach the standard of physical perfection which the Greeks attained. What is needed according to the author is a system of national training, carefully planned by experts, and adapted alike for children, youths, and grown men. We wonder if our modern conditions of life will permit physical training to be imported on so systematic and elaborate a scale. But it is obviously worth trying. In any case Mr. Wright's *Greek Athletics* is a work of great interest and utility.

The Hispanic Society of America (67, Great Russell Street, London) is a very useful institution, the primary object of which is the advancement of the study of the Spanish and the Portuguese languages and of the literature and history of the countries where these are spoken. Amongst its numerous highly useful publications, one of the most so is Dr. Bernard Moses' *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America*. This book is the only work in English which covers the field, and is a highly meritorious. It introduces the reader to the principal persons in the colonies who wrote under the inspiration of their experience in the new world, whether their contributions were in the realm of poetry, history, geographical description, or ecclesiastical discussion. From whatever point the colonial writers proceeded to their tasks, whatever their quality, profession, or experience, their works, all taken together, constitute an ample illustration of Spanish colonial life in South America, which deserves attention, and the work under notice is a very helpful guide to this literature. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by the inclusion in it of illustrations, a map and a bibliography. Altogether it is a work of merit and distinction.

In his *Politicians on a Pedestal*, Mr. J. A. Lovat-Fraser offers (through the Horseshoe Publishing Com-

pany, Ltd. of Bristol) interesting studies of the public careers of some contemporary statesmen, including amongst others Lord Carson, the late Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George, Earl Balfour and Lord Birkenhead. The sketches are very well-written and are informative and instructive. The book is a useful addition to biographical literature.

On the Road to Delhi by Mr. W. H. Peyton (Ajmere, Rajputana) is a collection of essays on the various phases of contemporary Indian life. There is much in it which educated Indians will read with

pleasure and profit, though they may not always agree with the writer. But his outlook is fresh and his mind is not warped by racial or political bias, which is a great asset.

Tips for Tennis Players by Phillis Satterthwaite and *Tips for Cyclists* by Mr. G. H. Stranger (both issued by C. Pearson, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London) are capital little guides to the subjects they deal with. Both are written by acknowledged experts and are, therefore, sound and useful.

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